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SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

BEARING ON

INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

VOLUME I

From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.

EDITED BY

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NOT TO BE REMOVED.

TO

THE HON'BLE

DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

॥ सिद्धम् ॥

विक्रमाङ्कप्रकाशाय गौडाम्बरविवस्वते ।
कोविदकुलरत्नानां पालकायामितौजसे ॥
हिन्दुरायसुरत्राणगुप्तकिरीटचारवे ।
श्रीलश्यामाप्रसादाय पुण्याश्रुतोपजन्मने ॥

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरुज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।
सुरेः श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

ाकेति विषयस्थिते फरीदपुरमण्डले ।
जातेन भिषजः कवेर्यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥
मातुश्च कुसुमाद्याया: कुमार्याश्तनुजन्मना ।
दीनेशाह्वेन दीनेन कृतिरियं समर्प्यते ॥

॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

PREFATORY NOTE

Inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit constitute an important branch of Indian literature. No study of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit can be complete without a knowledge of the enormous mass of literary material, both in prose and verse, embodied in inscriptions. In epigraphic records, references are quite abundant to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Their study is therefore not only indispensable to the student of political history, but also to all who are interested in India's contribution to the civilization of the world. Students of the history of Indian philosophy, literature, law, society, geography, etc., have all got to supplement their knowledge by a study of epigraphic literature. Attention may, by way of illustration, be invited to (1) the mention of Śaṃkarāchārya in a Cambodian record and (2) of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in a Deccan epigraph of 634 A.D., (3) the reference to a Māheśvara sect in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D., (4) to the system of trial by ordeal in a Vishṇukuṇḍin record and (5) to the Brāhmaṇa ancestry of the Kadambas who later on ranked as Kshatriyas, (6) the help derived from epigraphy regarding the identification of Śrāvasti, etc., etc.

There are many epigraphs which are excellent pieces of *kāvya* and can stand comparison with the best products of the celebrated masters of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their superiority to extant literary tradition as sources of political and institutional history has been demonstrated by scholars since the days of Colebrooke and happily needs no

further emphasis. Unlike a large number of literary works, most of the inscriptions can be assigned to a definite date or epoch. Unlike most literary works, again, the epigraphic records can be more easily grouped geographically and are thus the best test for the regional classification of the *rītis* of poetical composition as expounded by rhetoricians and also of a similar grouping of the Prakrit dialects preferred by grammarians. A considerable number of epigraphs were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings, and there is no doubt that the merits of their published works secured royal favour for them. But in the majority of cases all other works of the poets are lost and their claim for a glorious place in the history of Indian literature is eloquently advanced only by particular epigraphic *kāvyas* that have survived. The cause of this fortunate survival is that the royal *praśastis* were usually engraved on stone or metal and not on easily perishable materials such as palm and birch leaves, etc., as was the case with literary works. Hariseṇa, Śāba-Vīrasena, Vāsula, Keśava, Vatsabhaṭṭi, Kubja and numerous unnamed authors, whose works have been quoted in the following pages, were poets who claim recognition; but the only specimens of their composition survive in inscriptions.

The importance of epigraphic studies needs no elaboration. It is therefore in the fitness of things that some of the Indian Universities have prescribed a large number of inscriptions in the original for students preparing for the degree examinations in various subjects. It is to be hoped that the time will come sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when educationists who have the welfare of the country in their heart will seriously consider as to whether some of the records, e.g., those of Aśoka rendered into Sanskrit, may

be prescribed even for the students of H. E. Schools and Chatushpāṭhis. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic literature has so far created no great enthusiasm amongst certain sections of scholars interested in the study of Indian classics. It has been my aspiration since my student days to compile a *Corpus* of inscriptions and place it in the hands of Sanskritists, not well-acquainted with this vast field of literature. An opportunity soon presented itself.

In July 1937, I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, and epigraphy was one of the subjects that I was asked to teach. It is wellknown that the Calcutta University has unique arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of Indian history and culture in all their various aspects. Naturally therefore it has prescribed a number of inscriptions for the M.A. examination particularly in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Ancient Indian History and Culture. These records are brought out in a number of different publications, most of which are beyond the means and reach of students. Since, however, an inscription has to be studied from several points of view—historical, philological, geographical and the like, it is absolutely necessary for its proper appreciation that a copy of each record shall be in the hands of every student attending the lectures. Thus I felt the necessity of a handy volume containing the text of inscriptions prescribed for the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University, together with certain other records whose study is essential for a knowledge of the Indian epigraphic literature in all its phases. I approached the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who readily encouraged the idea and asked me to proceed with the compilation

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of a Selection as quickly as possible. A plan of the work was drawn in consultation with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I set myself seriously to the work about the beginning of 1939. A Selection containing the text in Devanāgarī script of many important inscriptions including those prescribed by some of the Indian Universities, dating from the sixth century B. C. down to the age of the Great Mughals, was then completed by me. The University of Calcutta decided to publish the work in two volumes and appointed Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri, M.A., Pañchatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, to prepare a neat copy for the press and also to help me in the laborious task of proof-correction. The press began its work about the beginning of 1941 and the printing of Volume I of the work containing the records down to the age of the Imperial Guptas was completed by the middle of 1942. The work of printing was greatly facilitated by the kind iterest taken by Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University.

Volume I of the *Select Inscriptions* covers the period beginning with the Akhaemenian occupation of north-western India in the sixth century B. C. and ending with the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A.D. To prepare a comprehensive volume dealing with all the important inscriptions that have been discovered down to the present day is a task which requires several years for its successful completion and cannot be lightly undertaken in the India of to-day. I have therefore thought of a modest scheme. But in order to make the work illustrative of the well-marked epochs and localities of which notice has to be

taken by a serious student of the subject of Indian epigraphy, the Selection has been made out of the most interesting records, especially those of important ruling families which have left their mark on the history and development of Indian civilization. Special stress has been laid on such dynasties of all-India importance as the Maurya and the Gupta. To illustrate important points of historical interest as well as to indicate the nature of the draft of royal charters in different periods and localities, a large number of inscriptions belonging to dynasties and individuals of minor importance has also been included. Some of the records selected belong to countries outside the geographical limits of India proper. A few records of the Akhaemenian emperors of Persia have been incorporated as they refer to the relations of India with ancient Iran. From very early times — in some cases from the fourth century B.C. at the latest, but in others from about the beginning of the Christian era—Ceylon, Indo-China and the Islands of the Southern Sea were studded with settlements founded by enterprising princes and merchants of India. Naturally therefore some records discovered in those parts of the world have been included just to point to that glorious chapter of ancient Indian history concerning the colonial enterprise of the Indians of old. Similarly, some documents discovered in Central Asia, another tract of land greatly influenced by the activities and culture of the ancient Indians, have been incorporated.

To provide space for as many important records as possible, the plan in the following pages has been principally to publish, for the present, the text of inscriptions without English translation and introductory discussions. Nevertheless, to make the work useful to students indications

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have been given as to the find-spot and age of a particular record as well as its linguistic, palaeographic and metrical peculiarities. References to previous writings on a record have also been supplied. As regards the Prakrit records, absence of English translation will, it is hoped, not stand in the way of their proper appreciation as a word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* including explanatory notes has been provided. As regards the Sanskrit inscriptions, an attempt has been made to explain technical expressions and to indicate various points of interest in the foot-notes. No pains have been spared to make the volume useful to the class of young learners for whom it is intended, namely, students who are preparing for the degree examinations of Indian Universities. Needless to say that a fair knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to a student who is desirous of studying the volume. If the present work succeed in removing a long-felt want, the author will consider his labour amply repaid.

The book has been prepared and printed within a comparatively short period of time. The author had moreover to work under considerable inconvenience caused by domestic worries and the abnormal situation now prevailing in Eastern India as a result of the recent developments in international situation. Under these circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid errors and misprints for which he craves the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work would be most welcome and will be carefully cansidered when the author may get an opportunity of revising it for a future edition.

The author does not find words to express his feeling of gratitude for the kind encouragement received from the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, but for whose sympathy the book would have never been prepared and published. To Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author is indebted for many valuable suggestions and help of other kinds. Thanks are also due to Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri for some interesting comments and for his assistance in the preparation of the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of most of the Prakrit records and in correcting some of the proof-sheets. Mr. Sudhakar Chatterjee, M. A., B.L., a Research Scholar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has prepared the Indexes and has thus laid the author under a debt of gratitude. The author further thanks the authorities of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., especially Mr. J. C. Sarkhel and his staff, for the kindness and consideration shown to him. The Archaeological Survey of India has kindly supplied blocks on loan for Plates Nos. VIII, XVI-XX, XXVII, XLVIII, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, that for Plate No. XXVIII. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon has supplied photographic prints for Plates Nos. XLI-II, and the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) the estampages for Plates Nos. XXXIV-V. Photographic prints from the estampages were prapared at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Arts, Calcutta University. Plates Nos. I-III, IX, XI-IV, XLIX-LI are from old blocks in the Calcutta University Press. Blocks for Plates Nos. XV, XXXVIII-IX have been prepared from Plates in works published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and that for Plate No. XLIII from a publication of the Cambridge University Press. Blocks for the remaining Plates have been prepared from publica-

tions of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thanks of the author and the publishers of the *Select Inscriptions* are due to the authorities of all the above bodies.

ग्रन्थस्य यत् प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति
लेख्याद्बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण ।
यद्वा मया कुकृतमिहाकृतं वा
कार्यं तदत्र विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम् ॥

Department of Ancient Indian
History and Culture,
Calcutta University.
25th August, 1942.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHIC SCHEME

The text of inscriptions has been given in Devanāgarī script and, with the exception of a few minor points of difference, the system of transcription followed is practically the same as that of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Hyphen marks, which of course do not occur in the original, have been freely inserted to separate words in composition as far as it is desirable to divide them. Number of lines in the writing of the original has been indicated by English numerical figures on the left hand side of the transcript and that of verses by thick English numerals put at the end of them on the right hand side. When such number of verses is found in the original, it has been printed in Devanāgarī numerals at the proper place. Verses have been printed in stanza form, so that they may be easily distinguished from the prose lines at a glance. Ordinary brackets are used, though rarely, to suggest a correction (usually with a query) or to indicate the reading apparently intended by the scribe. Square brackets without query are used to indicate the fact that the *aksharas* or signs are damaged but not undecipherable. An asterisk attached to *aksharas* or signs in square brackets indicates that the *aksharas* and signs are completely damaged and undecipherable and that the restoration suggested, though in some cases very probable, is not always quite beyond doubt. *Aksharas* which are carelessly left out by the scribe or engraver and are wanting in the original are usually restored by scholars in square brackets with an asterisk. To avoid a confusion between the restoration of a completely damaged *akshara* and that of

another which is wanting in the original, the latter has been put in ordinary brackets with an asterisk. Through inadvertence, punctuation marks have however been put in square brackets with asterisk even though they are not in the original. Excepting the prevalent system followed in regard to punctuation marks, the difference between an *akshara* with asterisk in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that in the former case the *akshara* was engraved but is now lost, while in the latter it was not engraved in the original at all. Similarly, the difference between an *akshara* with a query in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that the former indicates a possible or suggested reading of a doubtful or lost *akshara*, while the latter is only to suggest a substitute for the *akshara* printed in the transcript.

Illustration : —

8[1] अस्मद्वंशागामि-[2]राजभिरन्यैश्च [साम][3]ान्यं भूमिदान(य?)[4]मवेक्ष्य(।*)-[5]

9 स्मदायो(ऽ*)नुमन्तव्यः [।*][6] अपि चात्र व्यास[2]-गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।

1 The number indicates that the following *aksharas* belong to line 8 of the original.

2 The hyphen mark is not to be found in the original.

3 साम of the word सामान्यं is damaged but decipherable.

4 The query indicates that the reading दाय is also possible or that दाय may be suggested instead of दान of the transcript.

5 The *ā*-sign of क्ष्या in l. 8 was left out apparently owing to inadvertence. The original has नके in l. 11 and र was similarly left out. The *avagraha* or sign of elided *a*, though usually not found in the original as in l. 9, has always been supplied in the transcript.

6 The punctuation mark is not found in the original.

10 षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि [स्वर्गे मोदति*][1] भूमिदः [1*]

आक्षेप्ता

11 [2]चानुमन्ता(न्ता)[3] च तान्येव न(र*)के वसेत् ॥ 1[4]

The scheme of transliteration into Roman script also follows that of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Vowels: —अ = a; आ = ā (not *á* used in earlier publications, nor *â* which is sometimes also used to indicate length as a result of *sandhi*); इ = i; ई = ī (not *í* or *î*); उ = u; ऊ = ū (not *ú* or *û*); ऋ = ṛi; (not *ṛ* generally used in foreign publications); ॠ = ṛī (not *ṝ*); ऌ = ḷi (not *ḷ* generally used in foreign publications); ॡ = ḷī (not *ḹ*); ए = e (not *ē*, as the necessity of distinguishing the vowel from the short *e* used in Dravidian script has not been felt); ऐ = ai; ओ = o (not *ō* used when it is to be distinguished from the short *o*); औ = au.

Consonants: —क = k; ख = kh; ग = g; घ = gh; ङ = ṅ; च = ch (not *c* generally used in foreign publications); छ = chh (not *ch*); ज = j; झ = jh; ञ = ñ; ट = ṭ; ठ = ṭh; ड = ḍ; ढ = ḍh; ण = ṇ; त = t; थ = th; द = d; ध = dh; न = n; प = p; फ = ph; ब = b; भ = bh; म = m; य = y; र = r; ल = l; व = v (not *w* which is sometimes rather carelessly used); श = ś (not *ç* sometimes used in foreign publications, nor *sh* which is sometimes rather carelessly used); ष = sh (not *ṣ* generally used in foreign publications); स = s; ह = h; ळ = ṛ; ढ़ = ṛh; ऴ = ḷ; ं = ṃ; ः = ḥ; ≍ (*upadhmānīya*) = ḫ; ⧑ (*jihvāmūlīya*) = ḫ.

1 The passage स्वर्गे मोदति is completely lost and is restored with the help of other records. There is no guarantee that the reading is not मोदते or क्रीडति.

2 Note that the line has been begun not from the beginning of l. 11, but from after the space indicated by the previous word of the third *pāda* of the verse.

3 त्ता of the original is apparently a scribal mistake for न्ता.

4 The number indicates that the *śloka* in *anushṭubh* is verse No. 1 of the inscription.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Act. Or.	=*Acta Orientalia*, Oslo.
Allan, *Cat.*	=*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, by J. Allan.
An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.	=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
A. R.	=Annual Report.
Arch. Surv. Ind.	=Archaeological Survey of India.
Arch. Surv. W. Ind.	=*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
A. S. S. I.	=*Archaeological Survey of Southern India.*
B. E. F. E. O.	=*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme Orient*, Hanoi.
Bhandarkar, *List.*	=*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXXIII.
Bom. Gaz.	=*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.*
Br.	=*Brāhmaṇa.*
C.	=*Circa, circum* (i.e., round about).
Carm. Lect.	=*Carmichael Lectures*, by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta University, 1918, 1921.
C. H. I.	=*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, edited by E. J. Rapson, 1923.
Corp. Ins. Ind., I	=*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, edited by E. Hultzsch.
Corp. Ins. Ind., II	=*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II. Part i. *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by Sten Konow.
Corp. Ins. Ind., III	=*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III. *Gupta Inscriptions*, edited by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
E. Hist. Ind.	=*Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, 1924.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Ep. Ind.	=*Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi
G. E.	=Gupta Era.
Ind. Ant.	=*Indian Antiquary*.
Ind. Cult.	=*Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
I. H. Q.	=*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
J. A. O. S.	=*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
J. As.	=*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
J. A. S. B., N. S.	=*Journal of the* [*Royal*] *Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, Calcutta.
J. B. B. R. A. S.	=*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
J. B. O. R. S.	=*Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
J. G. I. S.	=*Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.	=*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
Journ. Dep. Let.	=*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
J. R. A. S.	=*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, London.
J. R. A. S. B. L.	=*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Calcutta.
Khar. Ins.	=*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Parts I-II, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart; Part III, edited by Rapson and Noble, Cambridge.
Lüders, *List*	=*A List of the Brāhmi Inscriptions*, by H. Lüders. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X.
Mahābh.	=*Mahābhārata*.
Mem. A. S. I.	=*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*.
Mod. Rev.	=*Modern Review*, Calcutta.
Mys. Arch. Surv.	=Mysore Archaeological Survey.
Pol. Hist.	=*Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1938.
Proc.	=*Proceedings*.

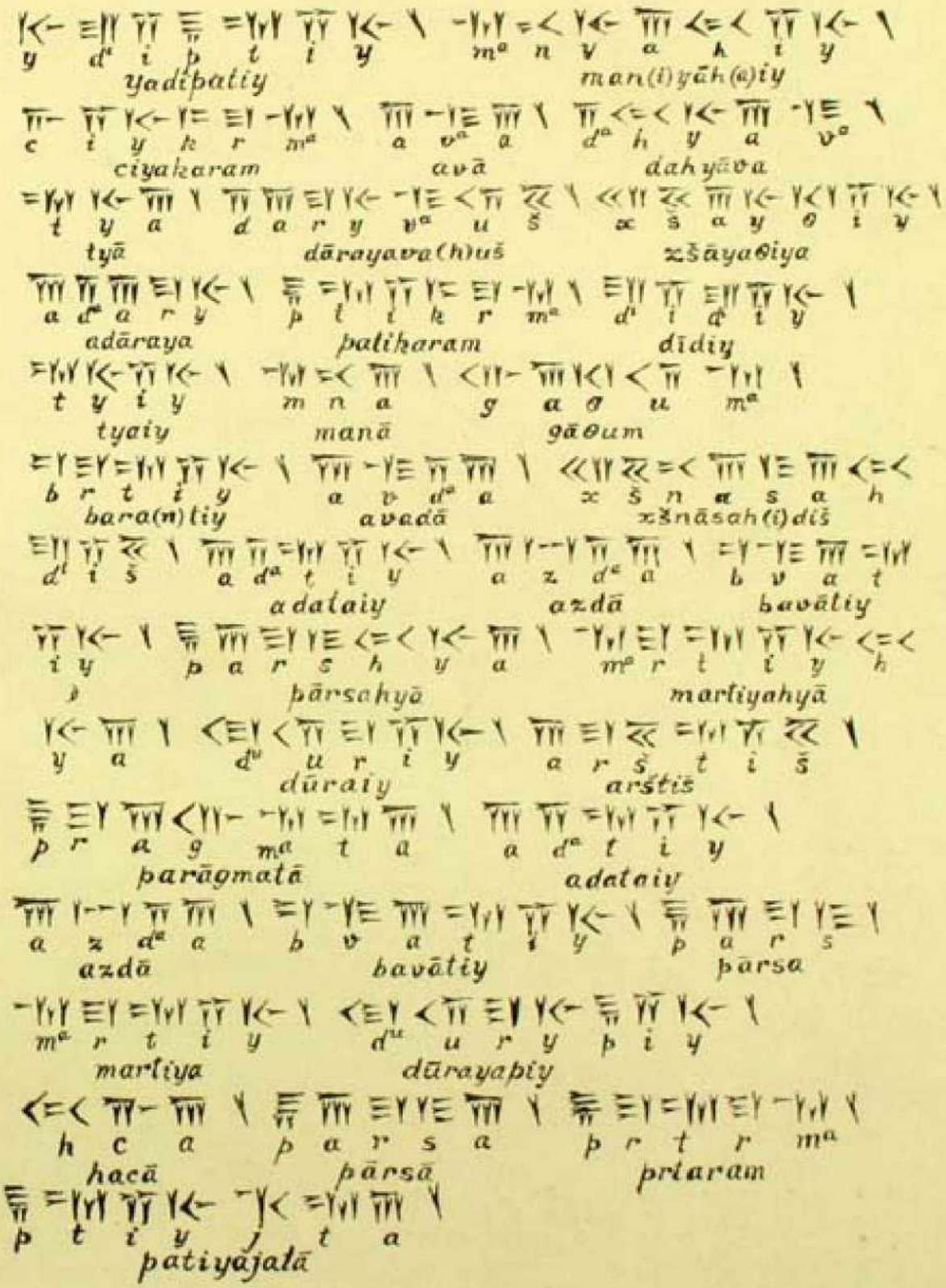
Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.	=*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.	=*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.*
Prog. Rep.	=*Progress Report.*
Rām.	=*Rāmāyaṇa.*
Rapson, *Cat.*	=*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Andhras*, etc., by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
Ś. E.	=Śaka Era.
Smith, *Cat.*	=*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
V. E.	=Vikrama Era.
Z. D. M. G.	=*Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft.*

CENTRAL LIBRARY

BOOK I

Inscriptions of the Akhaemenian and Maurya Periods

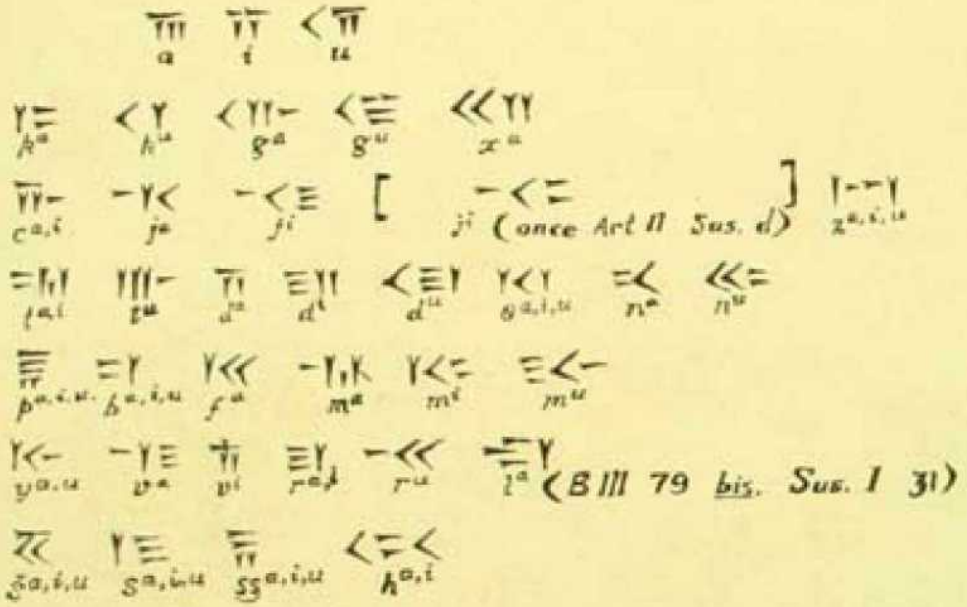
A



From *Old Persian Inscriptions*, by S. Sen.

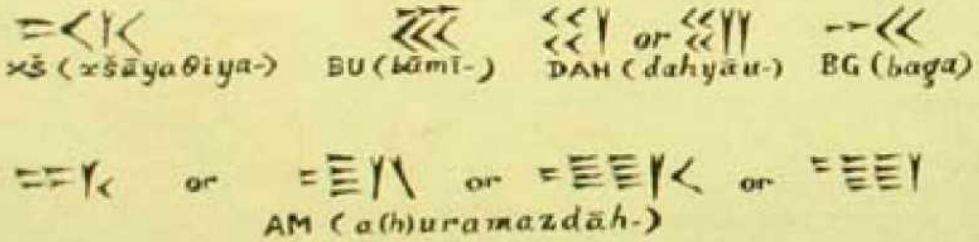
Specimens of Cuneiform writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—A

B



Word-divider

Ideograms



Numerals

From *Old Persian Inscriptions*, by S. Sen.

Specimens of Cuneiform writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)— B.

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIANS

No. 1—Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column (No. I) Inscription of Dārayava^{h}ush (=Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.)

BISUTŪN[1], Persia.

KING and THOMPSON, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistūn*, 1907; H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 2, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 1-3; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6.

Language: Old Persian.
Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT[2]

1 Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush**[3] *khshāyathiya* vazrka *khshāyathi*[ya] [*khshāyathiy*]-

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1 To commemorate his victories, Darius caused to be sculptured on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia, through the Zagros, a huge tablet on which he represented himself with conquered rebels bound before him ; the accompanying inscription in Old Persian, Susian and Babylonian describes his campaigns and gives the glory to A^{h}uramazdā. This is the tablet of Behistan, Bahistān, Behistūn, Bisitūn or Bisutūn discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 (Hall, *A. H. N. E.*, 7th ed., p. 571).

2 Prepared from Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. In transliterating the Old Persian records we have used *kh*, *th*, *sh* and *ch* for *x*, *θ*, *š* and *c* which are generally employed by scholars. This is to make this part of our work uniform with other parts in which Modern Persian خ، ش and چ have been transliterated with *kh*, *sh* and *ch* . The latter method has been followed by some scholars, e. g., by H. N. Wright in his *Catalogues* of Indo-Muslim Coins.

3 Many scholars write *vaush*. We have inserted the sounds, in this instance and in others, as they are said to be actually pronounced.

2 ānām *khshāyathiya* **Pārsaiy** *khshāyathiya* dah[yūnām] **Visht-**

3 **āspahyā** pus*sa*[1] **Arshāmahyā** napā **Hakhāmanish[iya]** [㊞] [*Th*]ātiy

4 **Dārayava**[h]**ush** *khshāyathiya* manā pitā **Vishtāspa** Vi*sh*tāspa-[hyā] [pit]ā **Arsh-**

5 **āma** Ar*sh*āmahyā pitā **Ariyāramna** Ariyāramnahyā pit[ā] **[Cha**[h]**ishpish]** *Cha*[h]*ish*p-

6 ai*sh* pitā **Hakhāmanisha** [㊞] *Th*ātiy **Dārayava**[h]**ush** *khshāya*-[*th*iya] [ava]hyarā-

7 diy vayam **Hakhāmanishiyā** *th*ahyāmah[i]y [㊞] Ha*ch*ā paruv-[iyata] [ā]mātā a[h]ma-

8 h[i]y [㊞] Ha*ch*ā paruviyata hyā a[h]mā*kh*am tau[h]mā *khshāya*-[*th*iyā] [ā]ha [㊞] *Th*-

9 ātiy **Dārayava**[h]**ush** *khshāyathiya* VIII manā tau[h]māy[ā] [tyai]y [pa]ruvam

10 *khshāyathiyā* āha[㊞] Adam navama [㊞] IX duvitāparnam [vayam] *khshāyathi*-

11 yā a[h]mah[i]y [㊞] *Th*ātiy **Dārayava**[h]**ush** *khshāyathiya* va[*sh*nā] **A**[h]**uramazd-**

12 **āha**[2] adam *khshāyathiya* a[h]miy [㊞] **A**[h]**uramazdā** *khshassam* manā [fr]ābara [㊞] *Th*-

13 ātiy **Dārayava**[h]**ush** *khshāyathiya* imā dahyāva tyā manā [pat]iyāi*sh*a va*sh*n-

14 ā **A**[h]**uramazdāha** [a]dam*shām* *khshāyathiya* āham **Pārsa** [kh]**Uvaja [B]ābairush A-**

15 **thurā Arabāya Mudrāya** tyaiy drayahyā **Sparda Yaun[ā] [Māda] Armina Kat-**

16 **patuka Parthava Zra**[n]**ka Haraiva** [kh]**Uvārazmiya Bākhtrish [Sug]uda Ca**[n]**dāra**[3] **Sa-**

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1 Some scholars transcribe *th*[r]a instead of *ssa*.

2 Ahura-Mazda is the Avestic name of God ; *Ahura* means "god" or "the giver" and *Mazda* "the omniscient." In a very old list of 54 names of God, these two are mentioned separately. See *Sir A. Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume* III, Pt. 2 (Calcutta University), p. 97.

3 Gandhāra is mentioned in the list of countries. It is also referred to in the big Susa palace inscription (l. 34) of Darius: yakā hachā *Ga*[n]*dārā* a[bar]iy

17 **ka Thatagush Ha[ra]^{hb}uvatish Maka** fraharvam dahyāva XXIII [𐎡].....[1]

TEXT[2] SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्वसुः[3] ×क्षायथ्यः (=शासकः, राजा) ×वज़ुकः (वज्रकः ?=महान्), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः ×पार्से (=पारसिकदेशे), क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां (=जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य (इष्टाश्वस्य ? Hystaspes) पुत्रः, ×ऋषामस्य (ऋक्सामस्य ? Arsames) नपात् (=नप्ता), ×साखामनीषः (Akhaemenian) । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'मम पिता विष्टाश्वः, विष्टाश्वस्य पिता ऋषामः, ऋषामस्य पिता +अर्यारम्नः, अर्यारम्नस्य पिता ×चसिश्चिः, चसिश्चेः पिता ×सखामनीषः' । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'×अवस्पराधि (=अतः) वयं साखामनीषाः शस्यामहे । +सचा पूर्व्यतः (=पूर्वकालतः) ×आमाताः (=अभिजाताः ?) स्मसि (=स्मः) । सचा पूर्व्यतः स्या (=सा=या) अस्माकं तोक्मा (=सन्तानः =वंशः) क्षायथ्या (=राजकीया) आसीत्' । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'८ (अष्ट) मम तोक्मनः त्ये (=ते=ये=याः) पूर्वं क्षायथ्याः आसन् । अहं नवमः । ९(नव-संख्यकाः) द्वितापर्णं (=आनुपूर्व्येण ; यद्वा, शाखाद्वयकभेण) वयं क्षायथ्याः स्मसि' । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+वश्ना (=इच्छया) +असुरभेधसः (=ईश्वरस्य) अहं क्षायथ्यः अस्मि ।

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hachā Karmānā, "Teak from Gandhāra was brought and from Karmania." This is said in connection with the construction of the palace at Susa by Darius. A Ga^{n}dāriya (man from Gandhāra) is mentioned in the list of subjects in the South Tomb ins. (l. 4) at Persepolis, attributed to Artaxerxes II (c. 404-359 B. C.). Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Gandhāra is identified with the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. "Sindhu" was conquered later than the date of this record (c. 520—16 B.C.)

1 The inscription on Column I has no less than 96 lines of writing.

2 "The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the North-West of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages Sanskrit and Pāli" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literture*, I, p. 41). In Sanskritizing the text we have followed the original closely in accordance with rules of comparative philology and have often used words which are un-Sanskritic or not strictly Sanskritic. Words that are not noticed in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit and cannot be connected with it are marked with ×, and those related to it at least in form are marked with +.

3 *Dāraya*=holder or holding ; Sanskrit *dhāraya* or *dhārayat*.

असुरमेधाः [मया] क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) प्राभरत् (=प्राभारयत्)' । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः —'इमाः दस्यवः (=जनपदाः) त्याः (=ताः=याः) मम (=मां) प्रति एयुः (=आगताः), वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् आसां क्षायथ्यः आसं—×पार्सः (Persia), ×सुवजः (Susiana), +बाबेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुराः (Assyria), ×अरबायः (Arabia), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt). त्ये +ञ्रयस्याः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रान्तिकवर्तिनः देशाः), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda, Sardis), यवनाः (Ionians), ×मादः (Media), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×कतपतुकः (Kappadokia), पर्शवः (पर्थवः ? Parthia), ×ञ्रङ्गः (Drangiana), ×सरेवः (सरयूः ? Aria; mod. Herāt), ×सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), ×बाख्त्रिः (बल्हीकः ; Bactria; mod. Balkh), +सुगुदः (Sogdiana), गन्धारः (Gandaria,) शकः (Skythia), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), +सरख्वती (Arakhosia)[1], ×मकः (Makae)—प्रसर्वं (=सर्वाः मिलिताः) दस्यवः २३ (=त्रयोविंशतिः) ।'

No. 2—Persepolis Inscription (e) of Dārayavahush (=Darius).

PERSEPOLIS, Persia.

H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 38, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 49-50; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 92-93.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT[2]

1 Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khshāyathiya* vaz-
2 rka *khshāyathiya* *khshāyathiyānā-*

1 Avestic Harahvaitī ; mod. Province of Kandahār; known as White India under the later Parthians in the 1st century A. D. Hindu civilisation prevailed in this country which remained more Indian than Iranian till the Mahomedan conquest (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 326-27).

2 From Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. This portion of the numerous records, which is marked "e" by scholars, is on the south retaining wall of the terrace. The inscriptions are in three versions, viz., Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

3 m *khshāyathiya* dahyūnām tyai-
4 *sh*ām parūnām **Vishtāspahyā**
5 pussa **Hakhāmanishiya** [֍] *Th*ātiy Dāra-
6 yava^{h}u*sh khshāyathiya vashnā* **A^{h}urama-**
7 **zdāhā** imā dahyāva tyā adam
8 adr*sh*iy hadā anā **Pārsā** kā-
9 rā tyā ha*ch*āma atrsa manā bāj-
10 im abara ^{kh}**Uvaja Māda Bābairu-**
11 **sh Arabāya Athurā Mudrāy-**
12 **ā Aramina Katpatuka Sparda Ya-**
13 **unā** tyai ^{h}u*sh*kahyā utā tya-
14 iy drayahyā utā dahyāva t-
15 yā parau[va]iy **Asagarta Parthava Zra^{n}-**
16 **ka Haraiva Bākhtrish Sug[u]da ^{kh}Uv-**
17 **ārazmiya Thatagush Hara^{kh}uvatish H-**
18 **i^{n}dush**[1] **Ca^{n}dāra Sakā Maka** [֍] *Th*ātiy
19 **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khshāyathiya* yadiy
20 ava*th*ā maniyāha^{i}y ha*ch*ā aniya-
21 nā mā [t]rsam imam **Pārsam** kāram pādi-
22 y[֍] Yadiy kāra **Pārsa** pāta ahatiy hyā
23 duvai*sh*[ta]m *sh*iyātis*h* a*khsh*atā hauv*ch*i-
24 y aurā nirasātiy abiy imām vi*th*am [֍]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्वसुः ×क्षायथ्यः ×वज़ुकः (=महान्), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः +दस्यूनां त्यासां पुरूणां (=जनपदानां तेषां [=येषां] बहूनाम्), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः ×साखामनीषः । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—'+बभ्रा +असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः (=इमे देशाः ते [=ये]) अहम् +अधृषि (=अधार्षम्) सह अनया ×पार्सया ×कारा (=पारसिक्या सेनया) ; त्याः (=ताः =याः) +सचा मत् (=मत्तः) अवस्यन् ; मां ×भाजिम् (=करम्) अभरन् (=अहरन्) ×सुवज़ः (Susiana), ×मादः (Media), बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अरवायः (Arabia), ×अशुराः (Assyrians), ×मुद्रायाः (Egyptians), ×अरमिनः (Armenia), ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×स्पर्दः (Sparda), यवनाः (Ionians), त्ये (=ते =ये) शुष्कस्य (=शुष्क-देशस्य [वास्तव्याः]) उत (=अपि च) त्ये (=ते =ये) +ज़यस्याः

1 The Susa Palace ins. (c), l. 44, refers to ivory brought from India (*Hi^{n}dauv*), Kusha and Arakhosia (Sen, *op cit*, p. 119). A Hi^{n}duvīya (man from Sindhu = Indus Valley) is mentioned among the subjects in the South Tomb ins., l. 13.

(=समुद्रान्तिकस्थाः), उत दस्यवः त्याः (=ताः =याः) पूर्वे (=पूर्व-दिक्स्थाः)—[+]अश्वगर्तः (Sagartia), पर्शवः (Parthia), [×]ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), [×]सरेवः (Aria), [×]वाख्त्रिः (Bactria), [+]सुगुदः (Sogdiana), सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), [+]शतगुः (Sattagydia), [+]सरस्वती (Arakhosia), सिन्धुः (India[2]=district on the Indus), गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकाः (Skythians), मकः (Makae)' । शंसति धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायथ्यः—'यदि [×]अवथा (=इदृशं) [+]मन्यासे (=मन्यसे)—"[+]सचा अन्यस्मात् मा [+]तसम् (=त्रासिषम्)" इमं पार्सं कारं पाहि (=इमान् पारसिकान् जनान् रक्ष)। यदि कारः पार्सः पातः अस्ति, स्या दविष्ठं [×]च्यातिः अक्षता (=सा सुचिरम् उन्नतिः अव्याहता)[+]अवरा [+]न्यृच्छति अभि इमां [+]विशम् (अवस्तात् आगच्छति अभि इमं विशं [=राज-वंशम्])' ॥

No. 3—Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava[h]ush (=Darius)

HAMADAN, Persia.

HERZFELD, *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 34 ; BUCK, *Language*, 1927 ; SCHWETNER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI ; KENT, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, p. 330 ; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Language: Old Persian.
Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT[1]

1 **Dārayava[h]ush** *khshāyathiya* vazrka *khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām khshāyathiya* dahy-

2 ūnām **Vishtāspahyā** pu*ssa* **Hakhāmanī-**

3 **shiya** [㊋] *Thātiy* Dārayava[h]u*sh khshāyathiya* ima *khshassam*

4 tya adam dārayāmiy ha*chā* **Sakaibish**

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1 Prepared from Herzfeld's and Sen's transcripts. This record is duplicated and is in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

5 tyaiy para **Sugdam** amata yātā ā **Kushā** ha-
6 *chā* **Hi^{u}dauv** amata yātā a **Spardā** tyamai-
7 y **A^{h}uramazdā** frābara hya ma*thishta* bagān-
8 ām [꙰] Mām A^{h}uramazdā pātuv utāmaiy vi*th*am [꙰]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

धारयद्वसुः $^{\times}$क्षायध्यः $^{\times}$वज़्कः (=महान् राजा), क्षायध्यः क्षायध्यानां, क्षायध्यः $^{+}$दस्यूनां (=जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, $^{\times}$साखामनीष्यः। शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायध्यः—'$^{+}$इमत् (=इदं) क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) त्यत् (=तत् =यत्) अहं धारयामि $^{+}$सचा $^{+}$शकेभिः (=शकेभ्यः) त्ये परं सुग्दात् (Sogdiana), अमुतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात्[1] (=यावत् कुशं), सचा $^{+}$सिन्धौ (=सिन्धोः, from India=district on the Indus) अमुतः यावत् आ $^{\times}$स्वर्दात् (Sparda), त्यन्मे (=तत् [=यत् राज्यं] मे) असुरमेधाः प्राभरत् (=प्रायच्छत्), स्यः (=सः=यः) महिष्ठः $^{+}$भगानां (=महत्तमः देवानाम्)। माम् असुरमेधाः पातु उत मे $^{+}$विशं (=वंशम्)।'

No. 4—Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription (a) of Dārayavahush (=Darius).

Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, Persia.

Tolman, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 44 and 46, *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 56-58; Kent, *Language*, XV, p. 162ff.; S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 96-98.

Language: Old Persian
Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT[2]

1 Baga vazrka **A^{h}uramazdā** hya im-
2 ām būmim adā hya avam asm-

1 Kusha (evidently beyond Mudrāya or Egypt) is generally identified with Ethiopia; cf. Kuśadvīpa of the Purāṇas.

2 From Tolman's, Kent's and Sen's transcripts. Of several records this is the first half of an inscription (marked "a" by scholars) containing 60 lines. They are on a tomb; above is a double row of figures supporting the platform where Darius stands before a burning altar; higher up is the divine symbol.

3 ānam adā hya martiyam adā h-
4 ya *sh*iyātim adā martiyahyā
5 hya **Dārayava^{h}um** *khsh*āy*th*iyam ak-
6 unau*sh* aivam parūvnām *khsh*āya*th*-
7 iyam aivam parūvnām framātā-
8 ram [❀] Adam **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*āya*th*iya va-
9 zrka *khsh*āya*th*iya *khsh*āya*th*iyānām
10 *khsh*āya*th*iya dahyūnām vispazanā-
11 nām *khsh*āya*th*iya ahyāyā būmi-
12 yā vazrkāyā dūraiapiy **Visht[ā]s-**
13 **pahyā** pu*ss*a **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** [P]-
14 ārsahyā pu*ss*a **Ariya** Ariya-*ch*[i]-
15 *ss*a [❀] *Th*ātiy **Dārayava^{h}ush** *khsh*ā[ya]-
16 *th*iya va*sh*nā **A^{h}uramazdāhā** im[ā]
17 dahyāva tyā ada[m] agrbāya[m]
18 apataram ha*ch*ā **Pārsā** [❀] Adam*sh*ām
19 patiya*khsh*ayaiy [❀] Manā bājim aba[ra]ha [❀]
20 Tya*sh*ām ha*ch*āma a*th*ah^{i}[y] [ava] [a]-
21 kunava [❀] Dātam tya manā ava[d]i*sh*
22 adāriy [❀] **Māda ^{kh}Uvaja Parthava [Harai]-**
23 **va Bākhtrish Suguda ^{kh}Uvāra[zm]-**
24 **ish Zra^{n}ka Hara^{kh}uvatish Thatagu[sh] [Ga]^{n}-**
25 **dāra Hi^{n}dush Sakā** haumavar[gā] **[Sa]-**
26 **kā** tigra*kh*audā **Bābair[ush] [A]-**
27 **thurā Arabāya Mudrāya [Aramina]**
28 **Katpatuka Sparda Yauna Sakā** tyai[y] [pa]-
29 radraya **Skudra Yaunā** takabarā **Pu^{n}[tāy]-**
30 **ā Kushiyā Machiyā Karkā** [❀]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

$^{+}$भगः $^{\times}$वज्रकः (=देवः महान्) $^{+}$असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः =यः) इमां भूमिम् $^{+}$अधात् (=असृजत), स्यः $^{\times}$अवम् $^{+}$अश्मानम् अधात् (=यः अमुम् आकाशम् असृजत्), स्यः मर्त्यम् अधात् (=यः मानवम् असृजत्), $^{\times}$ख्यातिम् (=उन्नतिम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः धारयद्वसुः $^{\times}$क्षायथ्यम् अकृणोत् (=प्रकरोत्), एकं पुरूणां क्षायथ्यं (=बहूनां [जनानां] राजानम्), एकं पुरूणां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्) । अहं धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः वज्रकः, क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः $^{+}$दस्यूनां विश्वजनानां (=राजा देशानां सर्वमानवानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वज्रकायाः दूरे अपि [स्थितायाः] (=राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः),

विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, ×साखामनीष्यः, ×पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, +अर्यः +अर्य-चित्रः (=आर्य-वंश्यः)। शंसति धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायध्यः —'+वश्रा असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः स्याः अहम् +अगृभायम् +अपतरं +सचा पार्सात् (=इमे देशाः ते [=तान्=यान्] अहम् अगृह्णां दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्)। अहम् एषां +प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि)। मम ×भाजिम् अभरन् (=[ते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्)। यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि (=तत् [=यत्] एतेभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत), ×अवत् अकुरुवन् (=अदः [एते] अकुर्वन्)। +धातं यत् मम अवत् ×दिः +अधारि (=[वि]हितं यत् मया अदः तैः अकारि)।—×मादः (Media), ×सुवजः (Susiana), पर्शवः (Parthia), ×सरेवः (Aria), ×बाख्त्रिः (Bactria), +सुगुदः (Sogdiana), ×सुवारज्मिः (Khorasmia), ×ज्रङ्कः (Drangiana), +सरस्वती (Arakhosia), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India=valley of the Indus), शकाः +सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ×तिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः ; pointed-capped Skythians), +बाबेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुराः (Assyrians), ×अरबायः (Arabia), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda), यवनः (Ionia), शकाः त्ये +पारेऋयः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रपारवासिनः[1]), स्कुदः, यवनाः तकभराः[2] (=तकधारिनः), पुन्तायाः (Puntians), कुषियाः (Kushians), मचियाः (Maxyes), कर्काः (Karkians)' ॥

No. 5—Persepolis Inscription [h] of Khshayārshā (=Xerxes, c. 486-65 B.C.)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

HERZFELD, *A.M.I*, *VIII*, pp. 56-77; KENT, *Language*, *XIII*, pp. 292-305; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 148 ff.

Language: Old Persian.

Script: Cuneifrom.

TEXT[3]

1 Baga vazrka **A^{h}uramāzdā** hya imām būm-
2 im adā hya avam asmānam adā hya

1 Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Sakas with the Śākadvipa of the Purāṇas. Some scholars read *tara-draya*, "across the sea", in the text.

2 According to some, तक may be a kind of head-dress or coiffure.

3 Prepared from Sen's transcript.

3 martiyam adā hya *sh*iyātim adā
4 martiyahyā hya **Khshayārshām** *khsh*āyath*i*-
5 yam akunaus*h* aivam parūnām *khsh*āyath-
6 iyam aivam parūnām framātāram [֍] Ada-
7 m **Khshayārshā** *khsh*āyath*i*ya vazrka *khsh*āya-
8 th*i*ya *khsh*āyath*i*yānām *khsh*āyath*i*ya dahy-
9 ūnām parū-zanānām *khsh*āyath*i*ya ab-
10 yāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūraiy a-
11 piy **Dārayavahaush** *khsh*āyath*i*yahyā pussa
12 **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** Pārsahyā pussa
13 **Ariya** Ariya-*ch*issa [֍] *Th*ātiy **Khshayārshā**
14 *khsh*āyath*i*ya vas*h*nā **A**^{h}**uramazdahā** imā
15 dahyāva tyais*h*ām adam *khsh*āyath*i*ya āh-
16 ām apataram hac*h*ā **Pārsā** [֍] Adams*h*ām
17 patiya*khsh*ayaiy [֍] Manā bājim abara[ha] [֍] T-
18 yas*h*ām hac*h*āma ath*a*hiy ava akunava [֍] D-
19 ātam tya manā avadi*sh* adāraya [֍] **Māda**
20 ^{kh}**Ūja Harā**^{kh}**uvatish Armina Zra**^{n}**ka Parthava**
21 **Haraiva Bākhtrish Sugda** ^{kh}**Uvārazmi-**
22 **sh Bābairush Athura Thatagush Sparda**
23 **Mudrāya Yaunā** tya drayahiyā dā-
24 raya^{n}tiy utā tyaiy paradraya dāraya^{n}t-
25 iy **Machiyā Arabāya Ca**^{n}**dāra Hi**^{n}**dush**
26 **Katpatuka Dahā Sakā** haumavargā **Sakā**
27 tigra*kh*audā **Skudrā Ākaufachiyā**
28 **Pu**^{n}**tāyā Karkā Kushiya** [֍] *Thātiy* **Khsha-**
29 **yārshā** *khsh*āyath*i*ya yath*ā* tya adam *kh-*
30 *sh*āyath*i*ya abavam astiy a^{n}tar aitā
31 dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipi*sh*tā a-
32 yauda [֍] Pasāvamaiy **A**^{h}**uramazdā** upastām
33 abara [֍] Vas*h*nā A^{h}uramazdahā ava dahyāvam
34 adam ajanam utas*h*im gāth*a*vā nīs*h*āda-
35 yam [֍] Utā a^{n}tar aitā dahyāva āha yad-
36 ātya paruvam **Daivā** ayadiy [֍] Pasāva va-
37 *sh*nā A^{h}uramazdahā adam **Daivadāna-**
38 **m** viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā
39 mā yadiyais*h* [֍] Yadāyā paruvam Daivā
40 ayadiy avadā adam A^{h}uramazdām ayada-
41 iy artāch*ā* brazmaniy [֍] Utā aniyas*h*-
42 *ch*a āha tya dus*h*krtam akariy ava ada-

43 m naibam akunavam [❀] Aita tya adam aku-
44 navam visam vash*n*ā A^{h}uramazdahā aku-
45 navam [❀] A^{h}uramazdāmaiy upastām abara y-
46 ātā krtam akunavam [❀] Tuva k[ā] hya
47 apara yadimaniyā^{hy}iy *sh*iyāta ahaniy
48 jīva utā mrta artāvā ahaniy
49 avanā dātā parīdiy tya A^{h}uramazd-
50 ā niyash*t*āya [❀] A^{h}uramazdām yadaish*ā* a-
51 rtāch*ā* brazmaniy [❀] Martiya hya avan-
52 ā dātā pariyaita tya A^{h}uramazdā n-
53 īsh*t*āya utā A^{h}uramazdām yadataiy a-
54 rtāch*ā* brazmaniy hauv utā jīva
55 *sh*iyāta bavatiy utā mrta artāvā
56 bavatiy [❀] *Th*ātiy **Khshayārshā** *khshāyath-*
57 iya mām A^{h}uramazdā pātuv hach*ā* ga-
58 stā [u]tamaiy vi*th*am utā imām dah-
59 yāvam [❀] Aitā adam **A^{h}uramazdām** jadiy-
60 āmiy [❀] Aitamaiy A^{h}uramazdā dadātuv [❀]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

• $^{+}$भगः $^{\times}$वजृकः (=देवः महान्) $^{+}$असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः= यः) इमां भूमिम् अधात् (=असृजत्), स्यः इमम् अश्मानम् (=Ved. मेघम्=आकाशम् ; Mod. Pers. *āsmān*) अधात, स्यः मर्त्यं (=मानवम्) अधात्, स्यः $^{\times}$च्यातिम् (=अभ्युदयम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः $^{\times}$क्षयार्षा (Xerxes) $^{\times}$क्षायध्यं (=नृपम्) अकृणोत् (=अकरोत्), एकं पुरुणां (=बहूनां) क्षायध्यम्, एकं पुरुणां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्)। अहं क्षयार्षाः (Xerxes) क्षायध्यः $^{+}$दस्यूनां पुरुजनानां (=देशानां बहुजनानां), क्षायध्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि (=राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः), धारयद्वसोः क्षायध्यस्य पुत्रः, $^{\times}$साखामनीष्यः, $^{\times}$पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, $^{+}$अर्यः (Aryan), $^{+}$अर्यचित्रः (=आर्यवंश्यः)। शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायध्यः—'$^{+}$वश्रा (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्येषां (=इमे देशाः तेषां [=येषां]) क्षायध्यः आसम् $^{+}$अपतरं $^{+}$सचा पार्सात् (=दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्)। अहम् एषां $^{+}$प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि)। मम $^{\times}$भाजिम् अभरन् (=[एते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्)। यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि $^{\times}$अवत् अकृणवन् (=तत् [=यत्] एभ्यः मत्तः अशंसत अदः [ते] अकुर्वन्)। हितं यत् मम अवत् $^{\times}$दिः अधारयन् (=विहितं [=विधानं] यत् मम अदः ते अपालयन्)—$^{\times}$मादः (Media), $^{\times}$सूजः (=सुवज, Susiana),

+सरस्वती (Arakhosia), ×अरमिणः (Armenia), ×द्रङ्गः (Drangiana), ×पर्थवः (पर्शवः ? Parthia), ×सरेवः (Aria), ×वाख्त्रिः (Bactria), ×सुग्दः (=सुगुदः, Sogdiana), सुवारज्मिः (Khorasmia), +बावेरुः (Babylonia), ×अशुरः (Assyria), +शतगुः (Sattagydia), ×स्वर्दः (Sparda), ×मुद्रायः (Egypt), यवनाः त्ये +द्रयसि आ धारयन्ति उत त्ये +पारेद्रयः धारयन्ति (=यवनाः ते [=ये] समुद्रस्य समीपे वसन्ति अपि च ते[=ये] पारेसमुद्रं वसन्ति), ×मचियाः (Maxyes), ×अरबायः (Arabia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India= the Indus valley), ×कप्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ×दसाः (Dahae), शकाः +सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ×तिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः शकाः), ×स्कुद्राः (Skudrians), ×आकोफचियाः (people of Akaufaka), ×पुन्तायाः (Puntians), ×कर्काः (Karkians), ×कुषियाः (Ethiopians?)'। शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायव्यः—'यथा त्यत् (=यदा तत्=यदा) अहं क्षायव्यः अभवम्, अस्ति [कश्चित्] अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अन्तरे एतेषां देशानां), त्ये उपरि निपिष्टाः (=ते [=ये] उपरि निवेशिताः), अयोधत् (=अयुध्यत=विद्रोहं चकार)। पश्चात् अवत् मे (=मां प्रति) असुरमेधाः +उपस्थाम् अभरत् (=साहायकं व्यधात्)। वश्ना (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः ×अवं दस्युम् (=अमुं देशम्) अहम् अहनं (=विध्वस्तं कृतवान्), उत ×सीं ×गातौ आ न्यासादयम् (=अपि च निम्ने भित्तौ स्थापितवान्)। उत अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अपि च एतेषां देशानाम् अन्तरे) [कश्चित्] आसीत् ×यधात्यत् (=यत्र) पूर्व्वं देवाः[1] (=पारसिकैः उपास्यमानेभ्यः देवेभ्यः इतरे देवाः) +अयजि (=अयज्यन्त)। पश्चात् अवत् (=अमुष्य) वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् अवं देवधानं व्यखनम् (=अदः देवस्थानम् उत्खातवान्)। उत प्रत्यहयं (=अपि च घोषितवान् [अहं])—"देवाः मा +यज्येषन् (=न इज्येरन्)"। ×यधायां (=यत्र) पूर्व्वं देवाः अयजि (=अयज्ञत) ×अवध (=तत्र) अहम् असुरमेधसम् अयजे ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=पारसिकधर्मसम्मतानि सत्यवचनानि)। उत अन्यः च आसीत् त्यत् दुष्कृतम् अकारि (=अन्यत्रापि [देशः] आसीत् यस्मिन् पापम् अक्रियत)। अवत् (=अमुं देशम्) अहं ×नेभं (=शुद्धम्) अकृणवम् (=अकरवम्)। एतत् त्यत् (=यत्) अहम् अकृणवं, विश्वं (=सर्वं) वश्ना असुरमेधसः

1 The reference may to be to the people of north-western India and the adjoining regions which formed part of the dominions of Xerxes.

अकृणवम्। असुरमेधाः मे उपस्थां अभरत् यावत् कृतं (=कर्म) अकृणवं (=सम्पादितवान्)। त्वं कः स्यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे (=त्वं कश्चिद् यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे)—"×च्यातः असानि जीवः उत मृतः ऋतवान् असानि (=सुखितः स्यां जीवितः मृतः च क्षेमवान् स्याम्)", ×अवना हिता परीहि त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्ठापयत् (=अदः विधानम् अनुसर यत् असुरमेधाः विहितवान्)। असुरमेधसं यजेः ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि। मर्त्यः स्यः अवना हिता पर्येति त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्ठापयत् उत असुरमेधसं यजते ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=मानवः यः अमूनि विधानानि अनुसरति यानि असुरमेधाः विहितवान्, अपि च असुरमेधसं यजते सत्यभूतानि च पारसिकशास्त्रसम्मतानि वचनानि), असौ उत जीवः च्यातः भवति उत मृतः ऋतवान् भवति (=असौ जीवन् च सुखितः भवति मृतः च क्षेमवान् भवति)'। शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायथ्यः—'माम् असुरमेधाः पातु सचा ×गर्द्धात् (=पाप-वासनातः), उत मे विशम्, उत इमां दस्युं (=मम वंशं च इमं देशं च)। एतत् अहम् असुरमेधसं गदामि (=प्रार्थये)। एतत् मे असुरमेधाः ददातु'॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYAS

A— Rocks Edicts of Asoka (c. 273-32 B.C.)

No. 6—First Rock Edict: Girnār Version[1]

GIRNĀR, Junāgarh State, Kāṭhiāwāḍ

HULTZCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 1 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 इय[*] धंम-लिपो **देवानं पिं(प्रि)येन**

2 **पिं(प्रि)यदसिना राञा** लेख[ा]पि[ता] [।*] [इ]ध न किं-

3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा(त्वा) पं(प्र)जूहितव्वं(व्यं) [।*]

4 न च समाजो कतव्वो(व्यो) [।*] बहुकं हि दोसं

5 समाजम्हि पसति देवानं पिं(प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा [।*]

6 अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधु-मता देवानं

7 पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो [।*] पुरा महानसम्हि[3]

8 देवानं पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं ब-

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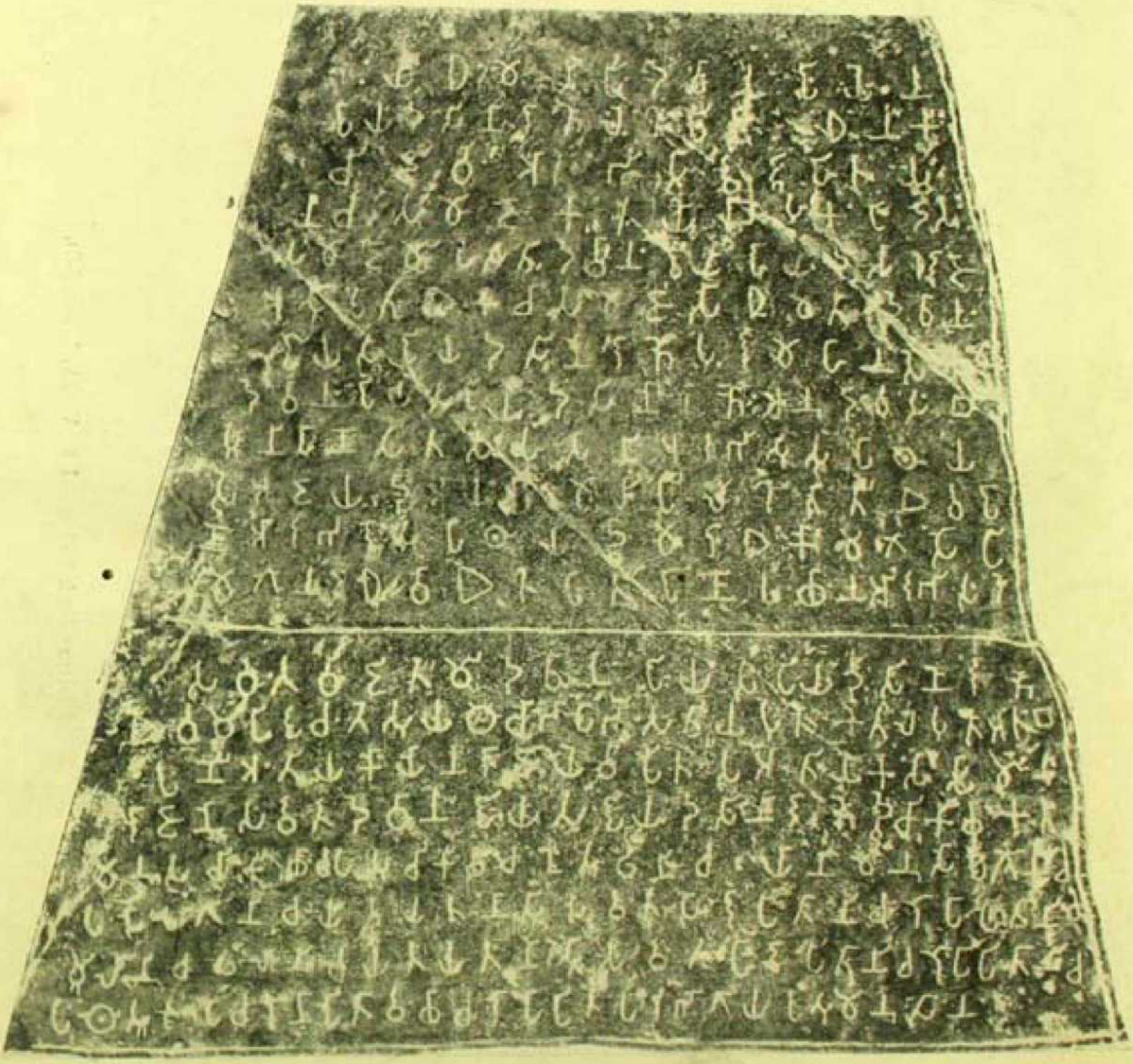
1 Aśoka's Edicts have been discovered at Girnār (Junāgarh State, Kāṭhiāwāḍ), Kalsī (Derādun Dist., U. P.) Dhauli (Puri Dist., Orissa), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam Dist., Orissa), Mansehrā Hazāra Dist., N. W. F. P.) Shāhbāzgarhī (Peshāwar Dist., N. W. F. P.) and Yerragudi (Karnul Dist., Madras Pres.) A fragment containing a few words of R. E. VIII has been discovered at Sopara (ancient Sūrpāraka) in the Ṭhāṇā Dist., Bombay Pres. Rock-Edicts III and IV refer to the king's 12th regal year, V to the 13th, VIII to the 10th and XIII to the 8th year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Aśoka began to issue rescripts on Dhaṃma in his 12th regnal year (counted from the date of his *Abhisheka* in c. 269 B. C.)

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

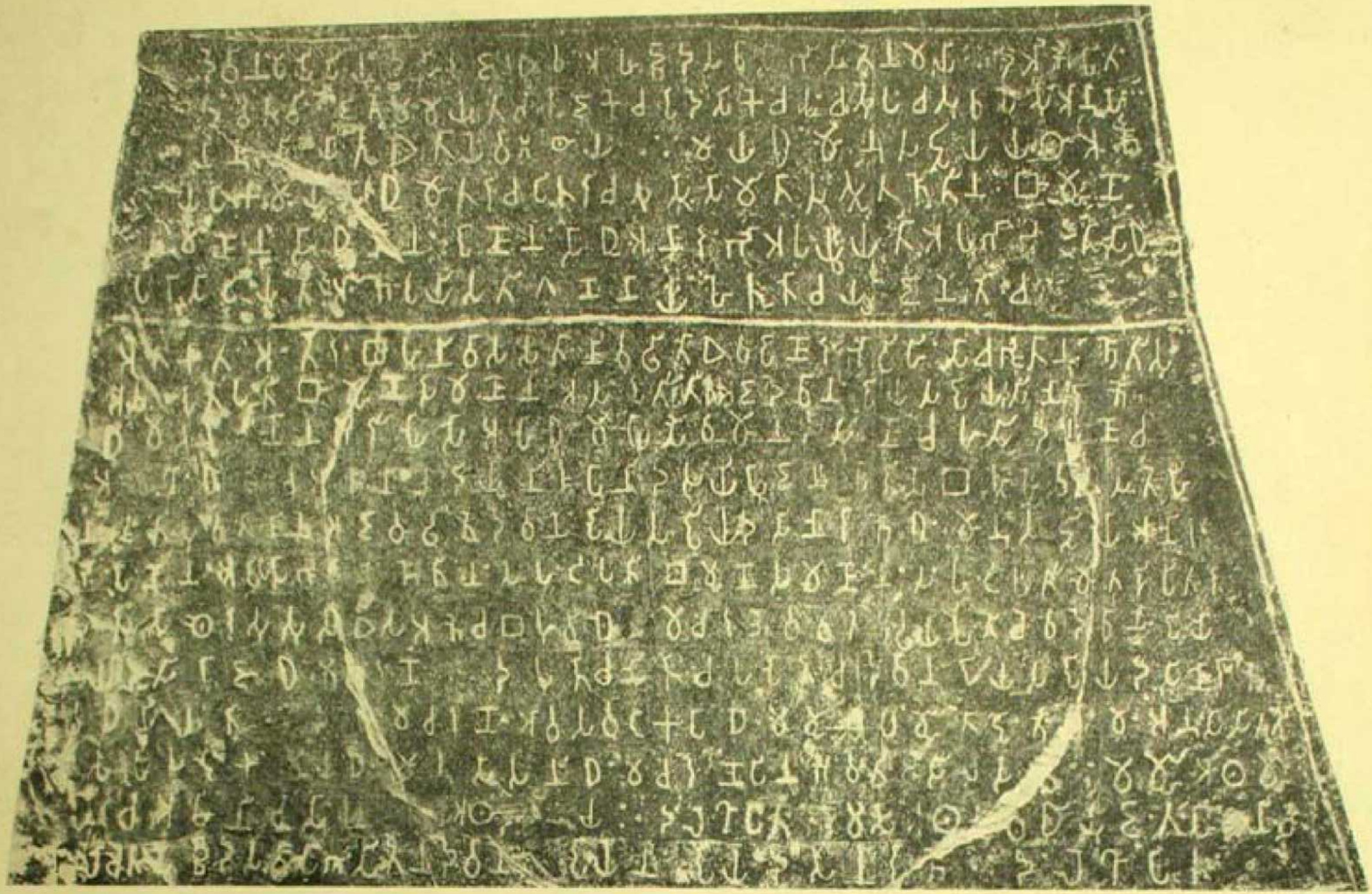
3 The original looks like मेहानसेम्हि

CENTRAL LIBRARY



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).

Girnar Rock Edicts I & II (Bk. I, Nos. 6-7).



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).

Girnar Rock Edicts III & IV (Bk. I, Nos. 8-9).

9 हूनि पा(प्रा)ण-सत-सहसा(स्रा)नि आरभिसु सूपाथाय [।*]

10 से अज यदा अयं धंम-लिपी लिखिता तीं एव पा(प्रा)-

11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो [।*] सो पि

12 मगो न धुवो [।*] एते पि तीं(स्त्री) पा(प्रा)णा पछा न आरभिसरे [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्मलिपिः (=धर्मानुवर्धकः लेखः) +देवानांप्रियेण (=देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा (=अशोकेन) लेखिता । इह (=पाटलिपुत्रनगर्यां राजधान्यां ; यद्वा, मम अस्मिन् राज्ये) न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः (=निहत्य उत्स्रष्टव्यः)[1] । न च समाजः[2] (=मेलकः, उत्सवः) कर्तव्यः । बहुकं (=बहु) हि दोषं पश्यति समाजे देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा । सन्ति अपि +एकत्याः (=एकविधाः=केचित्) समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः । पुरा महानसे (=रन्धनागारे) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण-शत-सहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपार्थाय (=व्यञ्जनार्थम्)।[3] तत् (=ततः) अद्य यदा इयं धर्म-लिपिः लिखिता त्रयः एव प्राणाः (=प्राणिनः) आलभ्यन्ते सूपार्थाय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः (=द्वौ पक्षिनौ एकः च पशुः[4] ; यद्वा, द्वौ शिखिनौ एकः च हरिणः) । सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः (=नियतः) । एते अपि त्रयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते ॥

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1 This injunction goes against the Vedic sanction of killing animals in sacrifices; cf. *Manu*, V, 22, 39 with Medhātithi's commentary.

2 Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 143, 3; 185, 29f; IV, 2, 7 ; 13, 15f.; etc.

3 Cf. the description of king Rantideva's *Mahānasa* where 2000 animals and 2000 kine were slain every day, in *Mbh.*, III. 207, 8-10; VII, 65, 16-18; XII, 29, 127f.

4 Cf. 'मगो वा आगच्छति' । सब्बचतुप्पदानं हि इध मगो ति नामं । 'मोरो वा कट्ठं पातेती ति' । मोरगहणेन च इध सब्बपक्खिगहणं अधिप्पेतं । Quoted from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Bhayabherava-sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* in Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 88.

No. 7—Second Rock Edict: Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 449; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind*, I. p. 2 f.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सर्वत विजितम्हि **देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पियदसिनो राञो**
2 एवमपि पं(प्र)चंतेसु यथा **चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो**[2] आ **तंब-**
3 **पंणी अंतिय[ो*]को योन-राजा** ये वा पि तस अंतिय[ो*]कस सामीप[ा][3]
4 राजानो सर्वर्त(त्र) देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो द्वे चिकीछ[ा*] कता
5 मनुस-चिकीछा च पसु-चिकीछा च [ा*] ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
6 पसो[प]गानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वर्त(त्र) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [ा*]
7 मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [ा*]
8 पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता वं(व्र)छा च रोपापित[ा] परिभोगाय पसु-मनुसानं [ा*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *Ib.* p. ixf.

2 Read केरलपुतो. Other versions of the edict have केललपुते (Kālsī), केरडपुवो (Shāhbāzgarhī), and केरलपुत्र (Mānsehrā). Evidently, the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas in plural and Keralaputra and Satyaputra in singular are used in contradistinction. The former group indicates peoples and the latter kings (i.e. their particular countries). Several localities are known with names ending in *puta*, *putta* or *putra*; e. g. Seriyāputa, Kesaputta, Pāṭaliputra (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 133). Similar names may also indicate tribes or sects, e.g., Vanaputra, Dāudputra, Rājaputra = Rajput (Tod, *An. Ant. Raj.*, Calcutta, 1834, I, pp. 232, 238, II, 360); cf. also such epithets as Jetaputta, Sibiputta, Bhojaputta, Videhaputta in literature. Here however *Keralaputra* (as also *Satyaputra*) signifies the king (i.e. his country); cf. references to the kingdom and capital of Kerobothra (=Keraputra) in the *Periplus* (§54) and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, §87. Cf. also Kosalaputra, surname of Kanakasena, in Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 242.

3 Bühler originally read सामीनं and corrected it into सामंता which is the reading of other versions of the edict. Hultzsch thinks that सामंता was originally engraved on the rock and was subsequently changed into सामीपं (or सामीपा). See R. E. XIII for the princes who were neighbours of Antiokhos.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सर्वत्र [+]विजिते (=राज्ये) [+]देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु यथा चोळाः (Tanjore-Trichinopoly region), पाण्ड्याः (Ramnad-Madura-Tinnevelly region), सत्यपुत्रः (North Malabar), केरलपुत्रः (South Malabar), आ-ताम्रपर्णि (=ताम्रपर्णी[=सिंहल]पर्यन्तम्), [अपि च] अन्तियोकः (Antiokhos II Theos of Syria, c. 261-46 B. C.) यवनराजः[1], ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामीपाः (=समीपस्थाः) राजानः, सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः [मते] द्वे चिकित्से कृते—मनुष्य-चिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च। औषधानि[2] च यानि मनुष्योपगानि (=नरहितानि) च पशूपगानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि (=वाहितानि) च रोपितानि च। मूलानि च फलानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च। पथिषु कूपाः[3] च खानिताः वृक्षाः[4] च रोपिताः, परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम्॥

No. 8—Third Rock-Edict: Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 450; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 4f.

- **Language:** Prakrit
  Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[5]

1 देवानंपि(प्रि)यो पियदसि र[।*]जा एवं आह [।*] द्वादस-वासाभिसितेन मया इदं आञपितं [।*]

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1 The word योन=यौन=यवन, meaning *Greek*, was borrowed from the Persians.

2 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 69, 59:

औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च।
चतुर्विधांश्च वैद्यान् वै संगृह्णीयाद्विशेषतः॥

3 Cf. *Vishṇusam.*, 91, 1: कूपकर्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्यार्द्धं विनश्यति। See also *Padma P.*, Sṛishṭi, ch. 57, etc., etc.

4 Cf. *Vishṇu*, 91, 4-8; *Padma, loc. cit.*, ch. 58; etc., etc.

5 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. ixf.

2 सर्वत विजिते मम **युता** च **राजूके** च **पा(प्रा)देसिके** च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु **अनुसं-**

3 **य[ा]न**[ं] [न]यातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्टि(स्टि)य यथा अञा

4 य पि कंमाय [।*] [सु]धु मातरि च पितरि च सुसू(सू)सा मिता[1]-संस्तुत-ञातीनं बाम्हण-

5 समणानं सा[धु] [द]नं पा(प्रा)णानं साधु अनारंभो अप-व्यु(व्य)यता अप-भांडता साधु [।*]

6 **परिसा** पि युते आञपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यं(व्यं)जनतो च [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः (=देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा (=अशोकः) एवम् आह—'द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B. C.) मया इदम् आज्ञप्तम्। सर्वत्र [+] विजिते मम युक्ताः (=राजकोष-नियुक्ताः पुरुषविशेषाः) च[2] रज्जुकाः (=रज्जुग्राहकामात्याः=करादिनिर्द्धारणार्थभूमिपरिमाणादिकार्य-नियुक्ताः राजपुरुषविशेषाः) च प्रादेशिकाः (=प्रदेशशासकाः) च पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय[3] निर्यान्तु (=परिदर्शनाय निष्क्रामन्तु), एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशस्तये (=धर्मोपदेशाय) यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे।—साधुः मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा (=वश्यता, सेवा), मित्र-संस्तुत(=परिचित)ज्ञातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः साधु दानं, प्राणानां साधुः अनालम्भः (=अहननम्), अल्पव्ययता अल्प-भाण्डता (=अल्पसञ्चयः) [च] साधू। परिषत् (=मन्त्रि-संसत्) अपि युक्तान् आज्ञपयिष्यति गणनायां (=अनुसंयातॄणां यात्रायाः दूरत्वानुसारेण व्ययविशेषाणां परिगणने ; यद्वा, राजाज्ञापालनविषये) हेतुतः (=उद्देश्यानुसारेण) च व्यञ्जनतः (=अक्षरार्थानुसारेण ; यद्वा, व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुसारेण) च' ॥

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1 Hultzsch reads **मित्र**, and notes that it looks like **मिता**.

2 If this **च**, not found in other versions, be ignored, **युक्त** (official) may be taken as qualifying both Rajjuka and Prādeśika; cf. S. N. Mitra, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 308 ff.

3 Cf. **पुण्यतीर्थानुसंयान** in *Mbh.*, I, 2, 123; *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 278 n.

No. 9—Fourth Rock-Edict: Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 451; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 5 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वास-सतानि वडितो एव पा(प्रा)णारंभो विहिसा च भूतानं
ञातीसु

2 अ[सं]प(प्र)तिपती ब्रा[ह्म]ण-स(श्र)मणानं असंप(प्र)तीपती[2] [।*] त[3] अज **देवानं-**
पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो[4] राञो

3 धंम-चरणेन [भे]री-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो[5] ।[*] विमान-दसंणा[6] च हस्ति-द[स]णा च

4 अगि-खंधा[नि] च [अ]ञानि च दिव्वा(व्या)न रूपानि दसयिसा(त्पा) जनं यारिसे
बहूहि वा[स]-सतेहि

5 न भूत-पु[वे] तारिसे अज वडिते **देवानंपि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो**
धंमानुसट्ठि(स्टि)या अनारं-

6 [भो] पा(प्रा)णानं अविहीसा[7] भू[ता]नं ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हण-समणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि

7 [सु]सु(श्रु)सा थैर-सुसुसा [।*] एस अञे च बहुविधे [ध]म-चरणे व[डि]ते[।*]
वढयिसति चेव **देवानंपि(प्रि)यो**

8 **[प्रि*]यदसि राजा** धंम-[च*]रणं इदं [।*] पुता(त्रा) च [पो]ता(त्रा) च प(प्र)पो-
ता(त्रा) च **देवानंपि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो**

9 [प्र*]वधयिसंति इदं [धं]म-चरणं आव सवट-कपा धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिट्ठं(स्टं)तो
[धं]मं अनुसासिसंति [।*]

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1 From the fascimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. ixf.

2 प was inserted subsequently.

3 त was inserted subsequently.

4 द was inserted subsequently.

5 Hultzsch completes the sentence not with धंम-घोसो but with दसयिसा जनं in the next line.

6 Bühler and Senart: दसणा ; Hultzsch: दर्सणा

7 ही was inserted subsequently.

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10 [ए]स हि सेट्ठे (स्टे) कंमे य धंमानुसासनं [।*] धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस [।*] [त] इमम्हि अथम्हि

11 [व*]धी च अहीनी च साधु [।*] ए[ता]य अथाय[1] इद[ं] लेखापितं इमस अथ[स] वधि युजंतु ह[ी]नि च

12 [नो] लोचेतव्वा(व्या) [।*] **द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना** राज[ा] इदं लेखापितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं बहूनि वर्ष-शतानि (=बहुवर्षशतात्मकं) वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः, विहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः (=असंमानः), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः । तत् (=ततः =तदनन्तरम्) अद्य [+]देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन (=धर्माचरणेन) भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः (=सर्वे भेरीघोषाः धर्मघोषकाः) । विमान-दर्शनात् च हस्ति-दर्शनात् च अग्नि-स्कन्धान् (=ज्योतिःपुञ्जान्)[2] च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं, यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं (=पूर्वं न [वर्द्धितं] भूतं), तादृशम् अद्य वर्द्धितं देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशस्त्या—अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अविहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि [च] शुश्रूषा, स्थविरशुश्रूषा । एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम् । वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा धर्म-चरणम् इदम् । पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः प्रवर्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्म-चरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् (=आप्रलयं), धर्मे शीले (=सदाचारे[3]) [च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति [च] । एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम् । धर्म-चरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य । अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः (=अनल्पता) च साधुः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम्—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युज्यतां, हीनिः (=अल्पता) च नः रोचयितव्या (=न्यूनतायां रुचिः न कर्तव्या) । द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B.C.) देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा इदं लेखितम् ॥

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1 Two *aksharas* have been erased between था and य

2 These may refer to artificial representations of celestial cars, elephants and light, which were shown to people for the increase of their attachment for heaven. Shāh. has जोतिकंधनि

3 Cf. also Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v *silam*.

No. 10—Fifth Rock-Edict: Mānsehrā Version

MĀNSEHRĀ, HAZĀRA Dist., N. W. F. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 74f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1[2] दे[वनं]प्रियेन[3] प्रियदशिदरज एव[ं] अह [।*] कलण[ं] दुकर[ं] [।*] ये अदिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति [।*] तं मय बहु [क]यणे [क]टे [।*] [त][4] म[अ] पुत्र [च]

2 नत[रे][5] च पर च [ते]न ये अपतिये मे [अ]व-कपं[6] तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट क[प]ति [।*] ये [चु] अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कपति [।*]

3 पपे हि नम सुपदरवे[7] [।*] [से] अतिक्रत[ं] अ[ं]तर[ं] न भुतपुव ध्रम[म]ह-मत्र नम [।*] से **त्रेडश-व[प]भिसितेन** मय **ध्रम-महमत्र** कट [।*] ते सत्र-प[प]डेप[8]

4 वपुट ध्रमधिथ[न]ये च ध्रम-वध्रिय हिद-सुखये च [ध्र]मयुतस **योन-कंबोज-गधरन**[9] **र[ठि]क-पितिनिकन** ये व पि अञे अपरत[10] [।*] भ[ट]मये-

5 षु ब्रमणभ्येषु अनथेषु बुध्रेषु हिद-सु[खये] ध्रमयुत-अपलिबोधये विय[पु]ट ते [।*] बधन-बध[स] पटिवि[धनये] अपलिबोधये मोक्ष[ये] [च] [इयं]

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1 From the fascimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. xii f.

2 This is line 19 of the whole record on the rock.

3 Read प्रिये

4 Other versions have त, से and सो

5 Girnār has पोता(=पौलाः)

6 Girnār has आव संवट-कपा (=यावत्संवर्तकल्पम्)

7 Bühler: सपदरे वः

8 Read ०डेषु

9 These three peoples lived in North-western India.

10 In a narrower sense *Aparānta* indicated Northern Koṅkan. Here however it seems to signify Western India where the Bhojas, Pitinikas, etc. lived. It is better to take Pitinika as a tribe than as an epithet of Rathika.

6 अनुबध [प्र]ज[व*][1] [ति] व कट्रभिकर ति व महलके[2] ति व वियप्रट ते [।*]हिद
बहिरेषु च नगरे[षु] सव्रेषु [ओ]रोधनेषु भतन[3] च स्प[सु]न[4] [च]

7 ये व पि अञे अतिके सव्रत्र वियपट [।*] [ए] इयं ध्रम-निशितो तो[5] व
ध्रमधिथने ति व दन-संयुते ति व सव्रत्र विजतसि[6] मञ ध्रम-युतसि वपुट [ते]

8 ध्रम-महमत्र [।*] एतये अथ्रये अयि ध्रम-दिपि[7] लिखित चिर-ठितिक होतु
तथ च मे प्रज अनुवटतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'कल्याणं [जनानां] दुष्करम् । यः आदिकरः (=आरम्भकः) कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति । तत् (=ततः) मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम् । तत् मम पुत्राः च, नप्तारः च, परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं (=आप्रलयं) तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते (=कल्याणं विधास्यन्ति), ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यः तु अत्र देशम् (=एकदेशं=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) अपि हास्यति (=परिहरिष्यति) सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं हि नाम सुप्रदार्यं (=सुप्रवेशं=सुकरम्) । तत् अतिकान्तं [बहुकालात्मकम्] अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामात्राः नाम । तत् त्रयोदश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः । ते सर्व-+पाषण्डेषु (=०धर्मसम्प्रदायेषु) व्यापृताः धर्माधिष्ठानाय (=०ष्ठापनाय) च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्म-युतस्य यवन-कम्बोज-गन्धाराणां, राष्ट्रिक-+पैतयणिकानां, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः [तेषाम्]। भृतार्येषु (=शूद्रेषु वैश्येषु च) ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु (=ब्राह्मणेषु राजन्येषु च)[8] अनाथेषु हितसुखाय +धर्मयुतापरिबोधाय (=धार्मिकस्य शृंखल-मोचनाय) व्यापृताः ते । बन्धनबद्धस्य +प्रतिविधानाय (=अर्थादिदानाय) अपरिबोधाय मोक्षाय च—एतत् अनुवर्दं (=एषः क्रमः)—प्रजावान् (=बहुसन्तानयुक्तः) इति

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1 Kālsī: पजाव ; Shāh.: प्रजव ; Sanskrit प्रजावत्

2 Girnār has थैरेसु (=स्थविरेषु)

3 Read भतुन (=भ्रातॄणां)

4 I.e. the *avarodha* wherein the sisters of Aśoka resided; cf. कन्यान्तःपुर

5 Read ति

6 Dhauli has सव पु[ठ]वियं

7 लिपि has become दिपि in Shāh. and Mān. owing to Persian influence.

8 I owe the interpretation to Prof. Raychaudhuri. भृत= Śūdra; अर्य= Vaiśya; इभ्य=a king; hence, the kingly class.

वा कृताभिकारः (=परप्रेरणया कृतदोषः) इति वा महल्लकः (=वृद्धः) इति वा व्यापृताः ते। इह (=पाटलिपुत्रे) बहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु (=अन्तःपुरेषु) भ्रातॄणां स्वसॄणां च ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः [तेषां च]—सर्वत्र व्यापृताः [ते]। ये—अयं धर्मनिश्रितः (=धर्माश्रितः) इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा, सर्वत्र विजिते मम धर्मयुते व्यापृताः—ते धर्ममहामात्राः। एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता—[एषा] चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे प्रजा [एनां] अनुवर्त्तताम्' ॥

No. 11—Sixth Rock-Edict: Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. pp. 11-12.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāmhī

TEXT[1]

1 [देवा][नंपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह [।*] अतिकातं अंतरं

2 न भुतपुं(पु)[व] [स][वे*] [काले*] अथ-कंमे व पटिवेदना वा [।*] त मया एवं कतं [।*]

3 [स]वे काले भुं[ज]मानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व

4 विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवर्त(त्र) पटिवेदका[2] ट्ठि(स्टि)ता अथे मे [ज]नस

5 पटिवेदेथ इति [।*] सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि [*।] य च किंचि मुख[तो]

6 आञपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सं(सा)वापकं वा य वा पुन महामा[तें(त्रे)]सु

7 आचायि[के][3] अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निझतो व [स]ंतो परिसायं

8 आनंतरं प[टि]वेदेत[व्वं(व्यं)] मे स[वं]र्त(त्र) सर्वे काले [।*] एवं मया आञपितं [।*] नास्ति हि मे तो[सो]

9 उट्ठा(स्टा)नम्हि अथ-संतीरणाय व [।*] कतञ्ञ(व्य)-मते हि मे स[वं]-लोक-हितं [।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid*, p. ixf.

2 ट्ठ was originally engraved and was afterwards made टि

3 Cf. आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् (Kauṭilya), *Ib*, p. 13.

10 तस च पुन एस मूले उट्ठा(स्टा)नं च अथ-संतीरणा च [।*] नास्ति हि कंमतरं

11 सर्व-लोक-हितम्मा(त्पा)[1] [।*] य च किंचि पराकमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंणं गच्छेयं [।*]

12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परत्रा च स्वगं आराधयंतु [।*] त एताय अथाय

13 अयं ध[ ]म-लिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिट्ठे(स्टे)य इति तथा च मे पुत्रा पोता च पं(प्र)पोर्ता(त्रा) च

14 अनुवतरां सव-लोक-हिताय [।*] दुकरं [तु] इदं अञतं(त्र) अगेन पराकमेन [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थ कर्म (=कार्यसम्पादनं) वा प्रतिवेदना (=विज्ञापनं) वा। तत् (=ततः) मया एवं कृतम्—सर्वस्मिन् काले—भुञ्जमानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे (=प्रासादान्तःस्थ-विश्रामागारे) व्रजे[2] (=पथि) वा विनीते (=विनीतके=याने) च, उद्यानेषु च—सर्वत्र प्रति-वेदकाः (=दूताः=विज्ञापकाः) स्थिताः (=उपस्थिताः [सन्तः]) अर्थं मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति। सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं (=कार्यं) करोमि। यत् च किञ्चित् मुखतः आज्ञपयामि स्वयं, दापकं (=दापनं) वा, श्रावकं (=श्रावणं) वा, यद्वा पुनः महामात्रेषु आत्ययिकं (=सत्वर-सम्पाद्यकर्म) आरोपितं भवति, तस्मै अर्थाय विवादः (=वितर्कः) निध्यातिः (=विविच्य निर्द्धारणं) वा सतो परिषदि, अनन्तरं (=अविलम्बेन) प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वस्मिन् काले। एवं मया आज्ञप्तम्। नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने (=उद्योगे) अर्थ-[+]सन्तीर्णायां (=अर्थ-सन्तरणे=कर्मसम्पादने) वा। कर्तव्य-मतं (=मतं कर्तव्यं) हि मे सर्व-लोक-हितम्। तस्य च पुनः एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानं[3] अर्थसन्तीर्णा च। नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-हितत्वात् (=०हितात्)। यत् च किञ्चित् पराक्रामामि अहं—किमिति?—भूतानाम् आनृण्यं गच्छेयम्। इह च एनान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम् आराधयन्तु (=प्राप्नुवन्तु [ते])। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—किमिति?—चिरं [+]तिष्ठेत (=तिष्ठेत्) इति, तथा च मे पुत्राः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च [एनाम्] अनुवर्तेरन् सर्व-लोक-हिताय। दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात्'॥

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1 Other versions have ०हितेन

2 Some take व्रज (=व्रज) in the sense of 'cowpen,' while others find in it वर्चस्, latrine(?)

3 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 56, 14-15; 58, 12-16; cf. also O. Beng. उठानि.

No. 12—Seventh Rock-Edict: Shāhbāzgaṛhī.[1]

Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Peshāwar Dist., N. W. F. P.

Senart, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 521; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 59.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 देवनंप्रियो प्रिय[द्र*]शि रज सवत्र इछति सव्र-
2 [प्र]पंड वसेयु [।*] सवे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इछंति [।*]
3 जनो चु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच रगो [।*] ते सव्रं व एकदेशं व
4 पि कयंति [।*] विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
5 शुधि किट्रञत द्रिढ-भतित निचे पदं[3] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्र[4] इच्छति सर्व-[+]पाषण्डाः (=विभिन्नधर्मसम्प्रदायाः) वसेयुः। सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं (=चित्तशुद्धिं) च इच्छन्ति। जनः तु उच्चावचच्छन्दः (=गृहतत्क्षुद्राभिलाषः) उच्चावचरागः (=अधिकानधिकधर्मानुरागः)। ते [कर्तव्यस्य] सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति। विपुलम् अपि तु दानं [यस्य अस्ति, परन्तु] यस्य नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता, दृढभक्तिता (=०धर्मासक्तिता) [च]—[तस्य दानं] नीचं (=तुलनया हीनं) वाढम् (=अत्यन्तम्, असन्देहम्)॥

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1 On the left of the east face, at the top of the rock.

2 From the facsimiles in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, and Z.D.M.G., XLIII. For references and story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. xif.

3 The Brāhmī versions read वाढं

4 In usual construction, सर्वत्र would follow इच्छति

No. 13—Eighth Rock-Edict: Girnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 14

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो विहार-यातां जयासु [।*] एत मगय्वा(व्या) अञानि च एता-
रिस[।*]नि

2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु [।*] सो **देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा दसवसभिसितो**
संतो अयाय **संबोधिं** [।*]

3 तेनेसा धंम-याता [।*] एतयं होति बाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं
दसणे [च]

4 हिरंण-पटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं[2] धंमानु[स]ट्टी(स्टी) च धम-
परिपुछा च

5 तदोपया [।*] एसा भुय-रति भवति **देवानंपियस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राञो** भागे
अंञे [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिकान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहार-यात्रां न्ययुः। अत्र +मृगव्या (=मृगव्यं, मृगया) अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभिरमकाणि (=सुखावह-व्यापाराः) अभूवन्। तत् (=ततः) +देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 260 B.C.) सन् +अयात (=अयात्) सम्बोधिं (=बुद्धस्य पुण्यं बोधिलाभक्षेत्रं)। तेन (=तीर्थगमनेन; यद्वा, तेन विधानेन) एषा धर्मयात्रा। एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां दर्शनं च हिरण्य-+प्रतिविधानं च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च, धर्म-परिपृच्छा (=°जिज्ञासा) च तदुपगा (=तदनुकूला)। एषा भूयोरतिः (=परमसुखं) भवति देवानां-प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नं अन्यत् (=अपरसुखानि हीनानि; Cf. Hindi भागना)॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see Ibid, p. ixf.

2 Read either दर्सनं or दसनं. Was दस्र(र्स)नं or दस्सनं intended?

No. 14—Ninth Rock-Edict: Mānsehrā Version.[1]

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 458 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I,

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 **[देवनप्रिये] प्रियद्रशि रज** एवं अह [।*] जने उचवुच[ं] [म]गल[ं] करोति [।*]

2 अवधसि अ[व]हसि वि[व]हसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्पि एतये अञये [च] [एदि]श[ये] [जने]

3 बहु मंग[लं] [क]रो[ति] [।*] अञ तु अवक[3]-जनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथ्रिय च मगलं करोति [।*] से क[टविये] [चे]व खो

4 मगले[।*] अप-फले चु [खो] [ए]दे [।*] इयं चु खा मह-फले ये ध्रम-मगले [।*] अञ इयं दस-भटकसि सम्य-पटिपति गुरुन अ[पचिति]

5 प्र[ण]न [स]यमे श्रमण-ब्रमणन [दने] एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रम-मगले नम [।*] से वतविये पि[तु]न पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि

6 मित्र-स[ं]स्तुतेन [अ]व पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम [क]षमि[4] ति [।*] ए हि [इ]तरे मग[ले]

7 श[श]यिके से [।*] [सि]य व तं अथं निवटेय [सि]य पन नो [।*] हिद[लो]-किके चेव से[5] [।*] इयं पुन ध्रम-मगले अकलिके [।*] [ह]चे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति [हि]द अ[थ] परत

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1 On the north face of the second rock. For references and story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. xii f.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 Bühler: बलिक (=बालिका)

4 Bühler: केषमिति

5 Bühler: इह च लोकि च वसे

8 अनत पुण[1] प्रसवति [।*] हचे पुन त[ ] अथ निव[ट्टि]ति हिद ततो उभयेसं [अर]धे होति [।*] हिद च से अथे परत्र च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन धम-[म*]गलेन [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं (=माङ्गलिकानुष्ठानं) करोति। आबाधे (=व्याध्यादिके) आवाहे (=पुत्रोद्वाहे) विवाहे (=कन्योद्वाहे) +प्रजोत्पदायां (=पुत्रोत्पादे) प्रवासे (=प्रवासयात्रायाम्)—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे [व्यापारे] जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति। अत्र तु अम्बिका-जनिकं (=मातापत्न्यः=स्त्रियः) बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति। तत् कर्तव्यं च एव खलु मङ्गलम्। अल्प-फलं तु खलु एतत्। इदं तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्म-मङ्गलम्। अत्र इदं[भवति]—दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरूणाम् अपचितिः (=पूजा), प्राणानां (=प्राणिनां[विषये]) संयमः, श्रमणब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम्—एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्म-मङ्गलं नाम। तत (=ततः) वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं अपि—"इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलम् यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निर्वृत्तिम्[2] (=अभीष्टसिद्धिपर्यन्तम्), 'निर्वृत्ते वा पुनः इदं करिष्यामि' इति"। यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं (=अनिश्चितफलं) तत्। स्यात् वा [जनः तेन मङ्गलेन] तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत [इति], स्यात् पुनः न। ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत्। इदं पुनः धर्म-मङ्गलम् अकालिकम् (=इह-पर-काल-निरपेक्षम्)। +हचेत् (=चेत्) अपि तम् अर्थं [=जनः धर्ममङ्गलेन] न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परत्र अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते। हचेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य [फलं] आराद्धं (=लब्धं) भवति। इह च सः अर्थः, परत्र च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-मङ्गलेन॥

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1 Bühler: अन[ ]तं पुञ्ञं

2 For the rest of the record, Girnār (followed by Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) suggests: अस्ति च अपि उक्तं 'साधु दानम्' इति। न तु एतादृशम् अस्ति दानं वा अनुग्रहः वा यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुग्रहः वा। तत् तु खलु मित्रेण वा, +सुहृदयेन (=सुहृदा) वा ज्ञातिकेन वा सहायेन वा अववदितव्यं तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=समुचितस्थले), 'इदं कृत्यम्, इदं साधु' इति। 'अनेन शक्यः स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लब्धुम्)' इति। किं च +अनेन (=अस्मात्) कर्तव्यतरं यथा स्वर्गाराद्धिः (=स्वर्गावाप्तिः)?

Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 126. *Svarga* (not *Nirvāṇa*) is the goal of Aśoka's Dhaṃma. A school of early Buddhists may have believed that the attainment of *Svarga* by lay worshippers ultimately led them to *Nirvāṇa*.

No. 15—Tenth Rock-Edict: Girnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 459; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 17f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhm

TEXT[1]

1 **देवानंपिं(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि** [2]**राजा** यसो व कीति व न महाथावह[ं] मञते अञत तदाप्त(त्प)नो[3] दिघाय च मे [ज]नो

2 धंम-सुसुं(स्रु)सा सुसुं(स्रु)सता[4] धंम-वुतं च अनुविधियतां [*] एतकाय **देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा** यसो व किति व इ[ह्व]ति [।*]

3 यं तु किचि परिकामते[5] **देवानं[प्रियो*] पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा** त सवं पार-तिं(लि)काय किंति सकले अपपरिसं(स्र)वे अस [।*] एस तु परिसवे य अपुंयं [।*]

4 दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अवर्त(त्र) अगेन पराकं(क्र)मेन सवं परिचजिप्ता(त्या) [।*] एत [तु] [खो] उसटेन दुकरं[6] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा [ऐहिकं] यशः वा [पारत्रिकीं] कीर्त्तिं वा न महार्थावहां मन्यते अन्यत्र 'तदात्वे (=वर्त्तमानकाले) [+]दीर्घायां (=आयत्यां) च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च [तेन] अनुविधीयताम्' [इति अस्मात्]। एतस्मै (=एतस्मै) देवानांप्रियः

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery see *Ibid.*, p. ix f.

2 देवा was originally engraved but was afterwards erased. An obliterated दे is visible between सि and रा and an obliterated वा between रा and जा. Hultzsch: ०पियो

3 Read तदात्पने. Other versions read तदत्वाये आयतीये च ; cf. तदात्वे च आयत्यां च quoted from Kauṭilya by Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8.

4 Senart and Bühler: ०सतां. Here शुश्रूषताम् means सेवताम्.

5 Read परा०

6 Jaugada gives दुकलतले

प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्त्तिं वा इच्छति । यत्किंचित् पराक्रामति देवानंप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्वं पारलिकाय । किमिति ? सकलः [लोकः] अल्प-परिस्रवः स्यात् । एषः तु परिस्रवः[1] यत् अपुण्यम् । दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् (=अल्पपरिस्रवत्वं) क्षुद्रकेण वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन (=महता) वा अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात् (=महोत्साहात्) सर्वं [धर्मशुश्रूषाधर्मवृत्त-व्यतिरिक्तं] परित्यज्य । एतत् तु खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर[तरम्] ॥

No. 16—Eleventh Rock-Edict : Kālsī Version

KĀLSĪ, Dehrā Dūn Dist., U. P.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 460., HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 40

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1[3] **देवानं[पि]ये पियदपि** [ल]**राजा** हेवं [आ*]हा [।*] नथि [हे]डिपे दाने अदिप ध[ं]म-दाने ।[4] धम-प[ि]वभगे । धंम-पंव[धे] । त[त] एपे दाप-भठ-कपि । पम्या-पटिपति माता-पितिपु । षुषुषा । मित-पंथुत-नातिक्यानं समना-[ब]भनाना [दा]ने

2 पानानं अनाल[ं]भे [5][।*] एपे वत[ि]वये पि[त]ना पि पुते[न] पि[6] भा[त]-ना पि [7]षवा[ि]मक्येन पि मित-[8]शंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेन[।] इय[ं]

1 Cf. Sanskrit आस्रव ; Pāli आसवो

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid*, p. xi

3 This is line 29 of the whole inscription on the rock.

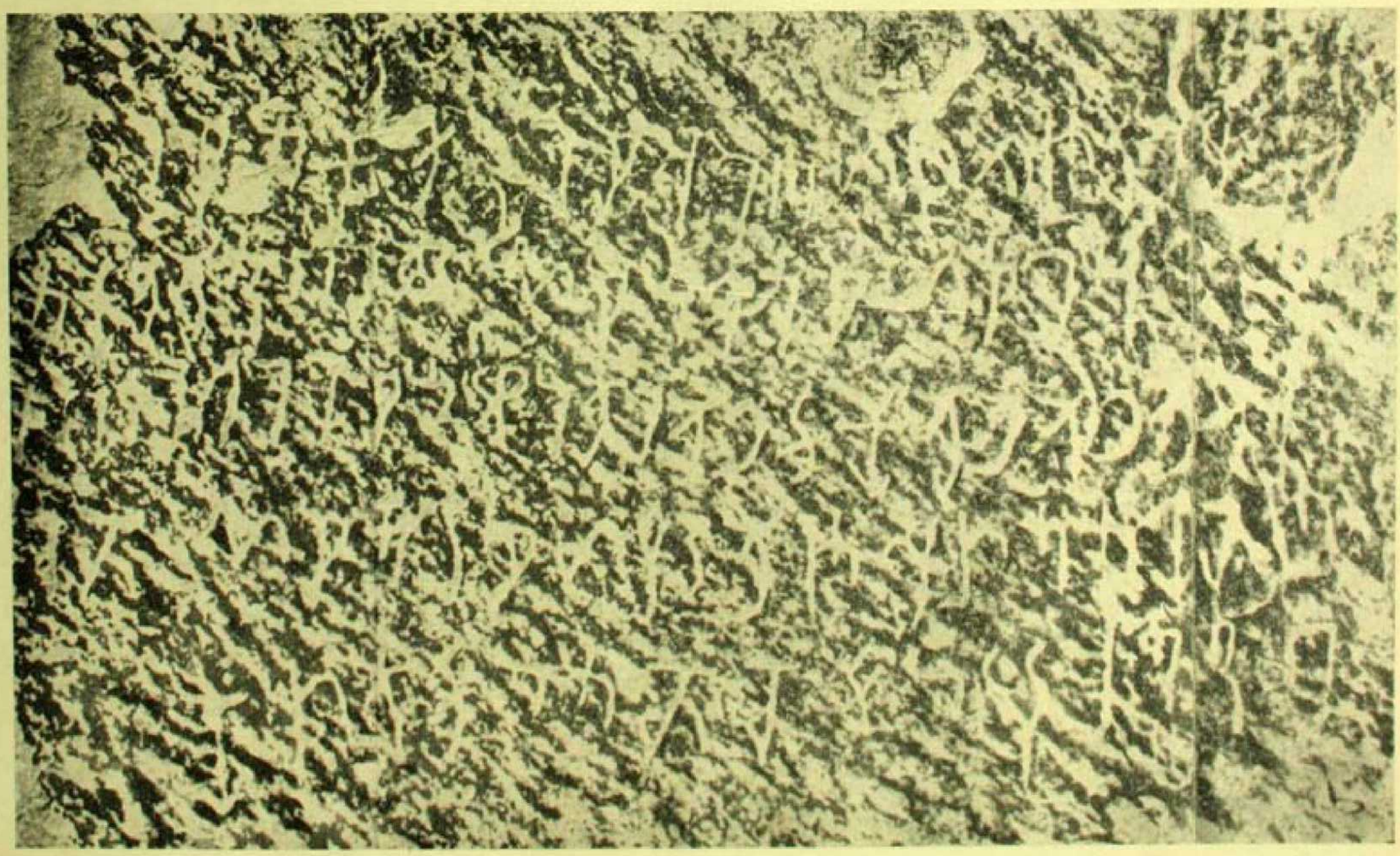
4 This Daṇḍa and others in the text are unnecessary. Other versions add धंमसंस्तव praise of, or acquaintance in, Dharma.

5 Girnar has: तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यपतिपती मातरि पितरि साधु सुस्रूसा मित-सस्तुत-ञातिकानं बाम्हण-स्रमणानं साधु दानं पाणानं अनारंभो साधु

6 As Hultzsch suggests, न is entered below the line.

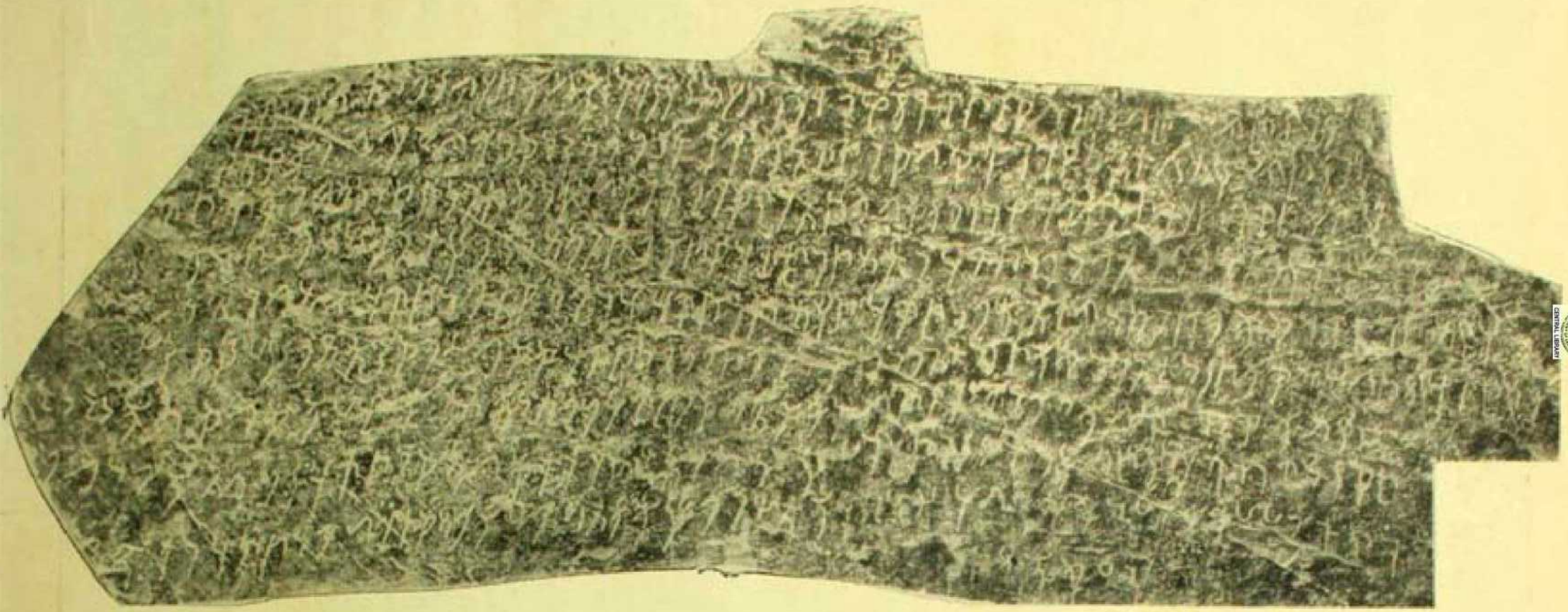
7 Read षुवामि॰

8 त of मित stands below the line. Read शंथुतेना.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).

Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict VII (Bk. I, No. 12).



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I).

Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict XII (Bk. I, No. 17).

साधु इयं कटविये [।*] [शे] तथा कल['त] हिदलोकिक्ये च कं[1] आलधे होति पलत च[।] अनत[2] पुना पसवति तेना धंम-दानेना [॥*]

TEXT SANKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'नास्ति इदृशं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं, धर्म-संविभागः (=धर्मस्य[अधर्मात्]विभजनं), धर्मसंबन्धः (=धर्मानुमोदितसंबधः) । तत्र एतत् [भवति]—दासभृतकेषु (=क्रीतदास-वैतनिकदासेषु) सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिक्येभ्यः श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानं, प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः [च इति] । एतत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिक्येन अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं—"इदं साधु, इदं कर्त्तव्यम्" [इति] । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति), ऐहलोकिक्यं च कं आराद्धं भवति, परत्र च [तस्य] अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-दानेन' ॥

No. 17—Twelfth Rock-Edict : Shāhbāzgaṛhī

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 511 f; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 447; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 64f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[3]

I **देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय** सत्र-प्रषंडनि[4] प्रव्रजित[नि][5] ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये [*] नो चु तथ [द]न व पुज व

1 कं, not found in other versions, is used in Vedic Sanskrit as an indeclinable expletive particle.

2 Read अनंतं पुंणं

3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict is engraved on a separate boulder. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid*, p. xi f.

4 प्रषंड (=पाषंड) is here used in the sense of 'followers of different doctrines,' 'different religious sects.'

5 This word is entered above the line.

2 **देवनंप्रियो** मञति यथ किति स[ल]-वढि[1] सिय सव्र-प्रपंडनं [*] सल-वढि तु बहुविध [*] तस तु इयो मुल यं वचोगुति[2][।*]

3 किति अत-प्रपंड-पुज व प[र]-पषंड-गर(ह*)न[3] व नो सिय [अ]पकरणसि[4] लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकर[णे] [।*] पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रपं-

4 [ड] तेन तेन अकरेन[5] [।*] ए[व]' करतं[6] अत-[प्र]पंडं वढेति पर-प्रपंडंस[7] पि च उपकरोति [।*] तद अञथ क[र]मि[नो][8] अत-प्र[पंड]

5 ञणति [पर]-प्रपडस च अपकरोति [*] यो हि कचि अत-प्रपडं पुजेति [पर]-[प्र]-पड[']' गरहति सव्रे अत-प्रपड-भतिय व किति

6 अत-प्रपंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंतं [9]सो च पुन तथ करतं] ब[डत]रं उपहंति अत-प्रपडं [।*] सो सयमो[10] वो सधु [।*] किति अञमञस धमो

7 श्रुणेयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति [।*] एवं हि **देवनंप्रियस** इछ किति सव्र-प्रपंड बहु-श्रुत च क[लण]गम च सियसु [*] ये च तत्र तत्र

8 प्रसन तेष[']' वतवो **देवनंप्रि[यो]** न [तथ] [द]न[']' [व] [पुज] व मञति य[थ] किति सल-वढि सियति सव्र-प्रपडनं [।*] बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*]

9 ब[प]ट [ध्र]म-म[ह]मत्र इ[स्त्रिधि]यक्ष-म[ह]मत्र [व्र]च भूमिक[11] अञे च निकये [।*] इमं च एतिस [फ]लं यं अत-पपड-वढि [भोति]

10 धमस च दि[पन] [॥*]

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1 Sanskrit सार०. Other versions have सार-वटी (Girnār) and शाला-वहि (Kālsī).

2 Others read वच०

3 गरण may be a mistake for गरहा.

4 Bühler: अप्रकरणसि

5 Ginār has प्रकरणेन and Kālsī अकालन

6 Bühler: कर[']तं

7 Read ०डस

8 Bühler: क[रत च]

9 Omit सो च पुन तथ करंतं, engraved for a second time through mistake.

10 Other versions have समवाय (=समवाद), 'restrianed speech'.

11 Bühler: वच० *Vrajabhūmi* (=*Vraja, Ghosha*) "is an outpost from city or village, and a cowpen developed into a ranche, and hence into a village." The Vrajabhūmikas worked possibly amongst the "great body of ranchmen, the cattle-raising population." Cf. Hopkins, *JAOS.*, *XIII*, pp. 77, 79, 83.

TEXT SANKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-+पाषण्डान् (=विभिन्न-धर्मसम्प्रदायान्)—प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थान् च—पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया। नो (=न) तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किमिति?—सार-वृद्धिः (=उन्नतिः) स्यात् सर्व-पाषण्डानाम्। सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा। तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः (=वाक्संयमः)। किमिति? आत्म-पाषण्ड-पूजा वा पर-पाषण्ड-गर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे (=अस्थाने=अकारणे), लघुकं (=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=सङ्गतस्थले)। पूजयितव्याः वा तु पर-पाषण्डाः तेन तेन आकारेण (=सर्वप्रकारैः)। एवं कुर्वन् आत्म-पाषण्डं वर्धयति, परपाषण्डम् अपि च उपकरोति। ततः अन्यथा कुर्वाणः आत्मपाषण्डं क्षिणोति परपाषण्डं च अपकरोति। यः हि कश्चित् आत्म-पाषण्डं पूजयति परपाषण्डं [वा] गर्हति—[एतत्] सर्वम् आत्म-पाषण्ड-भक्तया एव—किमिति?—'आत्मपाषण्डं दीपयामि' इति—सः च पुनः तथा कुर्वन् बाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्म-पाषण्डम्। तत् संयमः एव साधुः। किमिति? अन्योऽन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च [जनाः] इति। एवं हि देवानांप्रियस्य इच्छा। किमिति? सर्व-पाषण्डाः बहुश्रुताः (=नानाधर्मज्ञाः) च कल्याणागमाः (=उदारसिद्धान्ताः) च स्युः। ये च तत्र तत्र [पाषण्डे] प्रसन्नाः (=अनुरक्ताः) तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—'देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा—किमिति?—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपाषण्डानाम्'। बहुकाः (=बहवः) च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामात्राः, स्त्र्यध्यक्षमहामात्राः (=अन्तःपुराध्यक्षाः), व्रजभूमिकाः (=गोपपरिदर्शकाः; यद्वा, गवाध्यक्षाः)—अन्यः च निकायः (=गणः [राजपुरुषाणाम्])। इदं च एतस्य फलं यत आत्मपाषण्डवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना (=उद्भासना) [इति]॥

No. 18—Thirteenth Rock-Edict: Shāhbāzgaṛhī.

On the west face of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock.

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 246f; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 66 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 [अठ]-चष-अ[भिसि]त[स] [देवन]प्रि[अ]स प्रि[अ]द्रशिस र[ञो] क[लिग]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references see *Ib*, p. xii

विजित [ज]त [।*] दिअढ-म[ते] प्रण-शत-[सह]स्रे [ये] ततो अपवुढे शत-सहस्र-मते तत हते बहु-तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] [।*]

2 ततो [प]च अ[धु]न ल[धे]षु [**कलिगेषु**] [तिव्रे] [धम-शिलन][1] ध्र[म-क]मत धमनु-शस्ति च **देवनप्रियस** [।*] सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन[2] देवन[प्रिअ]स विजिनिति कलिग[नि] [।*]

3 अविजितं [हि] [वि]जिनमनो[3] या त[त] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं [वे]दनि[य]-म[तं] गुरु-मत[ं] च **देवनंप्रियस** [।*] इदं[4] पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं [**देवनं**]**प्रियस** ये[5] तत्र

4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रम[ण] व अ[ं]ञे व प्रषंड अ[ह]थ व येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटि-सुश्रुष मत-पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्र-संस्तुत-सहय-

5 ञतिकेषु दस-भटकनं सम्म-प्रतिप[ति] द्रिढ-भतित तेष तत्र भोति [अ]प-[अ]थो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं [।*] येष व पि सुविहितनं[6] [सि](ने*)हो अविप्रहिनो [ए] [ते]ष मित्र-संस्तुत सहय-ञतिक वसन

6 प्रपुणति [त]त्र तं पि तेष वो अपघ्रथो[7] भोति [।*] प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सत्र-मनुशनं[8] गुरुमतं च **देवनंप्रिय**[**स**] [।*] नस्ति[9] च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्मि न नम प्रसदो [।*] सो यमलो[10] [ज]नो तद **कलिगे** [ह]तो च मु[टो] च अप[वुढ] च ततो

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1 Bühler : ०पलनं (=०पालनं). Other versions have धंमवाय (=धर्मवाद)

2 Other versions suggest अनुशय

3 Bühler : ०मनि ये

4 Bühler : इमं

5 Bühler : तत्रहि

6 Bühler : संवि०

7 Read अप्रगथो which is Bühler's reading. Other versions have उपघात for अपघ्रथ

8 Bühler : सत्रं

9 Kālsī followed by Mānsehrā and Girnār has नथि चा षे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु बंधने चा षमने चा ; नथि चा कुवापि जनपदपि यता नथि मनुषान एकतलपि पि पाषडपि नो नाम पषादे ।

10 Other versions have यावतक (=यावन्तः)

7 शत-भगे व सहस्र-भगं व [अ]ज गुरु-मतं [वो] **देवनंप्रियस** [।*] यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितविय-मते व[1] **देवनं[प्रि]यस** यं शको क्षमनये [।*] य पि च अटवि **देवनंप्रियस** विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति[2] [।*] अनतपे पि च प्रभवे

8 **देवनंप्रियस** वुचति तेप किति अवलपेयु न च [ह]नेयसु [।*] इछति हि **[देव]नं-प्रियो** सव्र-भुतन अक्षति स[ं]यमं सम[च]रियं रभसिये[3] [।*] अयि[4] च मुख-मुत विजये **देवनंप्रिय[स]** यो ध्रम-विजयो [।*] सो च पुन लधो **देवनंप्रियस** इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु

9 [अ] षपु पि योजन-श[ते]षु यत्र **अंतियोको** नम **[यो]न**-रज परं च तेन अ(ं*)-तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि **तुरमये** नम **अंतिकिनि** नम **मक** नम **अलिकसुदरो** नम निच **चोड-पंड** अव **त[ं]वपं[णि]य** [।*] [ए]वमेव [हि]द रज-विषयस्मि[5] **योन-क[ं]बोयेषु नभक-नभितिन**[6]-

10 **भोज-पितिनिकेषु अंध्र-पलिदेषु**[7] सवत्र **देवनंप्रियस** ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति [।*] यत्र पि **देवनंप्रियस** दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु **देवनंप्रियस** ध्रम-वुटं विधनं[8] ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिशं[ति] च [।*] यो [स][9] लधे एतकेन भो[ति] सवत्र विजयो सव[त्र] पु[न]

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1 Bühler : वो

2 Read अनुनिझपेति which is Bühler's reading.

3 Other versions add **मादव** and omit **रभसिये**

4 Bühler : एव

5 Bühler : **विष-वज्रि** which is no doubt wrong.

6 Other versions suggest **नाभपंतिषु** for **नभितीतां**. The Nābhakas and Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified.

7 Bühler : पुलि[दे]षु. Girnār has **पारिदेसु** and Kālsi **पालदेषु**. The Pulindas of the Vindhyan region are always associated with the Andhras who probably inhabited the whole land from the Vindhya to the Kṛshṇā.

8 Bühler : विधेनं

9 Bühler : च

11 विजयो प्रिति-रसो सो [।*] लध [भोति] प्रिति ध्रम-विजयस्पि [।*] लहुक तु खो स प्रिति [।*] परलि[क]मेव महु-फल मेयति **देवन[ं]प्रियो** [।*] एतये च अठये अयि[1] ध्रम-दिपि निपि[स्त][2] [।*] किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेत[ि]व्य मञ्जिषु स्प[कस्पि][3] यो विज[ं]ये] [त्तं]ति च लहु-द[ं]डत च रोचेतु तं च यो[4] विज(यं*) मञ्ज[तु]

12 यो ध्रम-विजयो [।*] सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको [।*] सव चतिरति[5] भोतु य [ध्र]म-रति[6] [।*] स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 262 B.C.) +देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः[7] विजिताः। +द्वयर्द्धमात्रं (=सार्द्धकं ; यद्वा, यर्हमात्रं) प्राणशतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं (=[वन्दिरूपेण] अपनीतं ; यद्वा, अपवृद्धं=ह्रासं गतं), शतसहस्रमात्रं तत्र हतं, +बहुतावत्कं (=तादृशसंख्यकं बहु) वा मृतं। ततः पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्म-शीलनं, धर्मकामता (=०कामिता), धर्मानुशस्तिः च देवानांप्रियस्य। तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान्। अविजिते हि विजीयमाने यः तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् बाढं वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य। इदं अपि तु ततः गरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये

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1 Bühler : **अयो**

2 **दिपि** and **निपिस्त** of the Kharoshṭhī versions are due to Persian influence. The first occurs in Shāhbāzgarhi I, II. 1, 3; V, 13; XIII, 11; XIV, 13; Mānsehrā I, 1, 4; V, 26; VI, 31; XIII, 12; XIV, 13.

3 Girnār has **सरसके** (=**स्वरसके** [Hultzesh]; **शर-शक्ये** [Bühler]) and Kālsi **पयकषिनो** (=**स्वके** [Hultzsch who takes **नो** to be a mistake for **यो=एव**] ; **शल्याकर्षिणः** [Bühler])

4 Bühler : **तं ए[व]**

5 Bühler : **सत्र च निरति** (which may be right). Hultzsch : **सवचति०**

6 Bühler : **[स्व]म०**

7 At the time of Aśoka, Kaliṅga seems to have beeu extended from the Puri Dist. to the Ganjam Dist.

तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा +पाषण्डाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा अप्रकृति-शुश्रूषा (=उच्चपदस्थपुरुष०), माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरूणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-सहाय-ज्ञातिकेषु दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिता [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति +अपग्रथः (=उपघातः) वा वधः वा अभिरक्तानां (=प्रियजनानां) वा निष्क्रामणं (=निर्वासनम्)। येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां (=सुखस्थितानां) स्नेहः अविप्रहीनः (=अहीनः), यत् तेषां मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति, तत्र (=व्यसनप्राप्तिविषये) तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः भवति। प्रतिभागः (=भाग्यं) च एतत् सर्वमनुष्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य। नास्ति च एकतरे अपि पाषण्डे न नाम प्रसादः (=अनुरागः [जनस्य])। तत् यन्मात्रः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः (=शततमभागः) वा सहस्रभागः वा अद्य गुरुमतः एव देवानांप्रियस्य। यः अपि च अपकुर्यात्, क्षन्तव्यमतं वा [तस्य कर्म] देवानांप्रियस्य यत् शक्यं क्षमणाय। या अपि च अटवी (=अटवीवासिनः) देवानांप्रियस्य +विजिते भवति, ताम् अपि अनुनयति अनुनिध्याययति (=[कर्तव्यं] बोधयति)। अनुतापे अपि च प्रभावः देवानांप्रियस्य उच्यते तेभ्यः (=अवटीवासिभ्यः)। किमिति ? [गुरुतरराजापकारं कर्तुम्] अवलपेरन् (=संकुचेयुः), न च [तथा कृत्वा] हन्येरन्। इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं समाचर्यं (=अपक्षपातं [च]) राभस्ये (=अपराधे)। अयं च मुख्यमतः (=मुख्य-मतः) विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्म-विजयः। सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु च अन्तेषु (=प्रत्यन्तदेशेषु) आ षड्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्र अन्तियोकः नाम यवन-राजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोकात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुदरः नाम ; नीचाः (=अधस्तनाः =दक्षिणस्थाः) चोल-पाण्ड्याः यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान्[1]। एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवन-कम्बोजेषु नाभक-नाभ-[पं]तिषु भोज-पैत्र्यनिकेषु[2] अन्ध्र-पुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिं [जनः] अनु-वर्तते। यत्र अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दूताः न व्रजन्ति, ते (=तत्रत्याः) अपि श्रुत्वा देवानां-प्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं (यद्वा, धर्म-वृत्तं), विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च], धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति

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1 Cf. RE II. The Greek kings are (1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-46 B.C.); (2) Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-58 B.C.); (3) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-47 B.C.); (4) Antigonas Gonatas of Makedonia (277-39 B.C.); (5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 B.C.).

2 Cf. RE V, *ante*, p. 23. For Bhoja and Rāshṭrika, see also the Hāthigumphā inscription, *infra*.

च । यः सः (=यः कश्चित्) लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः (=०रसयुक्तः) सः । लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः [जयिना जितैः च] धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः । पारत्रिकम् [सुखम्] एव महाफलं मन्यते देवानांप्रियः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः निवेशिता । किमिति ?—पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः [च] मे स्युः [ये, ते] नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत ; स्वके एव विजये क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च [तेभ्यः] रोचताम् ; तं च एव विजयं मन्यतां यः धर्म-विजयः । सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च] । सर्वा च अतिरतिः (=परा प्रीतिः) भवतु या धर्मरतिः । सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च] ।।

No. 19—Fourteenth Rock-Edict: Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I ; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 465 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 25 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 अयं धंम-लिपी **देवानंपिं(प्रि)येन पिं(प्रि)यदसिना र[ा]ञा** [ले]खापिता [।*] अस्ति एव

2 संखि[ते]न अस्ति मझमेन अस्ति विस्ततन[2] [।*] न च सर्वं [स]र्वत घटितं [।*]

3 महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव [।*] अस्ति च एत कं

4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस[3] माधूरताय [।*]किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ [।*]

5 तव एकदा[4] असमा[त]ं लिखित[ं] अस देसं व सछाय[5]-[का]रणं व

6 [अ]लोचेसा(त्या) लिपिकरापरधेन व [।।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib*, p. ix f.

2 Read विस्ततेन

3 स was interested subsequently.

4 Other versions have किछि (Kālsi and Mānsehrā) and किचे (Shāhbāzgarhi).

5 Other versions have संखेये (Kālsi) and संखय (Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्म-लिपिः +देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता। अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन, अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन [लिखितम्]। न च सर्वं (=सर्व-विषयः) सर्वत्र घटितम् (=प्रयुक्तं)[1]। महल्लकं (=सुबृहत्) हि +विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयिष्यामि च एव। अस्ति च अत्र कं[2] पुनः पुनः उक्तं[3] तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य मधुरतायै[4]। किमिति ?—जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत (=कुर्वीत)। तत्र एकदा (=कदाचित्) असमाप्तं लिखितम् स्यात्, देशं (=प्रचारस्थानं) वा संक्षयकारणं (=संक्षेप०) वा आलोच्य, लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

B—SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS[5] OF AŚOKA

No. 20—First Separate Rock-Edict: Dhauli Version.

Dhauli, Purī Dist., Orissa

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 379ff; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 82ff; BÜHLER, *ASSI*,. I, p. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 92ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[6]

1 [देवान]ं[पि]य[स] [वच]नेन **तोसलियं**[7] म[हा]मात [नग]ल-
ि[व][यो]हालक[ा]

1 Cf. the absence of RE XI-XIII at Dhauli and Jaugada.

2 कं is an expletive indeclinable particle.

3 Other versions have लपित ; cf. injunctions like मातापितुषु सुस्सा, etc.

4 Other versions suggest माधुर्याय

5 The Separate Rock-Edicts are found at Dhauli and Jaugada in ancient Kaliṅga, conquered by Aśoka. They are found in these versions instead of RE XI, XII and XIII. Cf. RE XIV. SRE I was actually engraved after SRE II.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. xiii f.

7 Jaugada has समापायं in place of तोसलियं. Tosalī is modern Dhauli and Samāpā the modern Jaugada locality.

2 [व]तविय [।*] [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कं[मन] [प]टि-
[पादये]हं[1]

3 दुवालते च आलभेहं [।*] एस च मे मोख्य-मत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि
अं तु[फेसु]

4 अनुसथि [।*] तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं[2] आ[यत][3] पन[यं] [ग]छेम सु
मुनिसानं [।*] सवे

5 मुनिसे पजा ममा]।*] अथ[ा] पजाये इछामि हक[ं] [किंति] [स]वे[न] [हि]त-
सुखेन हिदलो[किक]-

6 पाललोकिके[न][4] [यूजेवू] [ति] तथा [सव*]-[मुनि]सेसु पि [इ]छामि [ह]क[ं] [।*]
नो च पापुनाथ आव-ग-

7 [मुके][5] [इयं अठे] [।*] [केछ] [व] एक-पुलि[से] [पापु*]नाति ए[तं] से पि देसं
नो सवं [।*] दे[खत] [हि] [तुफे] एतं

8 सुवि[हि]ता पि [।*] [नि]तियं[6] एक-पुलिसे [पि] [अथि] [ये] बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं
वा पापुनाति [।*] तत होति

9 अकस्मा तेन बधन[ं]तिक अंने च[7] [तत*][व*]हु जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति [।*] तत
इछितविये

10 तुफेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति [।*] इमे[हि] चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन

11 नि[ठ]लियेन[8] तूलना[य] अनावूतिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमथेन [।*] से इछितविये
किंतिं[9] एते

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1 Senart and Bühler : पटिवेद०

2 Read : ०सेसु

3 Senart and Bühler : आयता

4 Senart and Bühler : ०लोकिकाये

5 Senart and Bühler : आवा-गमके

6 Senart and Bühler : निति इयं. Some scholars take नितियं in the sense of नीतिः इयं [भवति]

7 Jaugada has अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (=अन्यः च वर्गः बहुकं वेदयति).

8 Senart and Bühler : निथूलिये 9 Read किंति

12 [जाता] [नो] हुवेवु म[म]ा ति [।*] एतस च सव[स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[तू]लना च [।*] निति[य]ं ए किलंते सिया

13 [न] ते उग[छ][1] संचलितवि[ये] तु वा [ट]तं [व][ये] एतविये वा [।*] हेवं-मेव ए द[खेय][2] [तु]फाक तेन वतविये

14 आनं ने[3] देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]**वानंपियस** अनुसथि [।*] से मह[ा-फ[ले] [ए]तस [संप]टिपाद

15 महा-अपाये असंपटिपति [।*] [वि]प[ ]टपादयमीने[4] हि एतं नथि स्वगस [आल]धि नो लाज[ा]लं [ध] [।*]

16 दु-आ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे] कुते म[ने][5]-अतिलेके [।*] स[ं]पटिपज[मी]-[ने] चु [एतं] स्वग[ं]

17 आलाध[यि]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ [।*] इयं च [लिपि] [ति]स-न[ख]तेन सो[त]विय[ा] [।*]

18 अं[त]ल[ा] [प] च [त][सेन] [ख]नसि ख[नसि] एकेन पि सोतविय [।*] हेवं च कलंतं तुफे

19 चघथ संप[टि]पाद[ ]यतवे [।*] [एता]ये अठाये इय[ं] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द एन

20 नगल-वि[योहा]लका स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [ ]त [एन*][ज*] [न]स[6] अकस्मा [प]लिबोधे व

21 अकस्मा पलिकि[लेसे] व नो सिया ति [।*] एताये च अठाये हक[ं] [महा*]मते[7] पंचसु पंचसु [व]से-

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1 Read उगछे

2 Senart and Bühler : दखिये

3 Hultzsch : आनंने(=अनुरय) for which however we have आननिय in l. 17

4 Lüders and Hultzsch take हि as a separate word; but Senart and Bühler read ›मीनेहि

5 Senart : मन- and Hultzsch : मनो-

6 This is Hultzsch's restoration in accordance with the Jaugada version. Senart and Bühler read नगल-जनस which is visible on Burgess's plate owing, according to Hultzsch, to retouching.

7 Hultzsch suggests महामातं ; Senart and Bühler read धंमते

22 सु [निखा]मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ[चंडे] सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु [तं*] [पि*] [त]था

23 कल[ं]ति अव मम अनुसथी ति [।*] **उजेनिते** पि चु **कुमाले** एताये व अठाये [नि]-खाम[ं]यिस][ति*] * * *

24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि [।*] हेमेव **तख[सि]लाते** पि [।*] [अ]दा अ * * *

25 ते महामता निखमिसंति **अनुसयानं** तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानिसंति

26 तं पि त[थ]ा कलंति अ[थ] लाजिने अनुसथी ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामात्राः नगर-व्यवहारकाः (=पौरव्यवहारिक महामात्राः) [एवं] वक्तव्याः—'यत् किंचित् [+]द्रक्ष्यामि (=पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः (=उपायैः) च आरभे (=उत्सहे)। एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्मिन् अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः। यूयं हि बहवु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयताः (=व्यापृताः), प्रणयं गच्छेम [यूयं अहं च] खित् मनुष्याणाम् [इति हेतोः]। सर्वः मनुष्यः प्रजा (=अपत्यं) मम। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—सर्वेण हित-सुखेन ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम्। नो (=न) च [यूयं] प्राप्नुथ (=जानीथ) यावद्-गमकः अयम् अर्थः (=अस्य अर्थस्य यावती गमकता)। [युष्माकं] कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति (=जानाति) एतम्; सः अपि देशं नो सर्वम्। पश्यत हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः (=राजानुग्रहात् सुखावस्थिताः) अपि[2]। नीत्याम् (=दण्डनीति-विषये) [कश्चित्] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति। तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकं (=बन्धनान्तः [प्राप्तः])[3]। अन्यः च [तत्र] बहुः [बन्धनबद्धः] जनः दवीयः (=चिरं) दुःखायते। ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—

1 Some scholars take it as सु-मनुष्यनां

2 Some would find here सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयं

3 Cf. समाचर्य in RE XIII and दण्डसमता in PE IV. Or, [विचारार्थिनां] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति। तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन [विधानेन] बन्धनान्तिकं (=कारायांमृत्युः)। अन्यः च बहुः जनः (स्वजनः) दवीयः (=गभीरं) दुःखायते। cf. II. 20-21).

किमिति ?—"मध्यं (=अपक्षपातं) प्रतिपादयेमहि" इति। एभिः तु जातैः (= वर्गैः) नो [मध्यं] संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्यया, आशुलोपेन (=क्रोधेन), नैष्ठुर्येण, त्वरणया (=क्षिप्रतया), अनावृत्त्या (=अनभ्यासेन), आलस्येन, क्रमथेन (=क्लान्त्या) [च]। तत् एष्टव्यं—किमिति ?—"एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम" इति। एतस्य च सर्वस्य [सम्प्रतिपादनस्य] मूलम् अनाशुलोपः (=अक्रोधः) अत्वरणा (=धीरता) [च]। नीत्यां यः क्लान्तः स्यात्, न सः उद्गच्छेत् ; [तत्] सञ्चलितव्यं तु, वर्त्तितव्यम् (= धैर्येण सर्त्तव्यं), एतव्यं (=अग्रे सर्त्तव्यं) वा। एवम् एव यः पश्येत्, युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यम्—"[राजशासनातिरिक्तं] अन्यत् न पश्यत। एवं च एवं च देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः।" तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः, महापापा असंप्रतिप्रत्तिः। विप्रतिपाद्यमाने (=अक्रियमाणे) [युष्माभिः] हि एतस्मिन्, न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः नो राजाराद्धिः (= राजानुग्रह-लाभः)। द्वयाहरः[1] (=द्विमनस्कतया सम्पादनं) हि अस्य कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः (=मनःशक्तेः [=उत्साहस्य] वृद्धिः)? [युष्माभिः] संप्रतिपद्यमाने तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ। इयं च लिपिः तिष्य-नक्षत्रेण [युष्माभिः] श्रोतव्या। अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं (=तिष्यातिरिक्ते) क्षणे क्षणे एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या। एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जागृत[2] (= उत्सहध्वं) [कर्म] संप्रतिपादयितुम्। एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगर-व्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं समयं [एतत्[3] अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः (= प्रयुञ्जुः) इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिबोधः (=बन्धनं) वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् इति। एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामात्रं पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु [अनुसंयानाय] निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः सक्षोणारम्भः (=मृदुप्रयत्नः) भविष्यति—"एतम् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा [तत् अपि] [नगर-व्यवहारकाः] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः?" इति [ज्ञातुम्]। उज्जयिनीतः अपि तु [राज-प्रतिनिधिः] कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति त्रीणि वर्षाणि (= त्रिषु त्रिषु वर्षेषु)। एवमेव तक्षशिलातः अपि। यदा...तः महामात्राः निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहित्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति, "तत् अपि [ते] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः?" इति ॥

1 I.e. द्वयाहःरः...कुतः मनोऽतिरेकाय ? According to some दुराहरः (=दुष्टसम्पादनं) ; but in that case we should have had दुलाहले

2 चधथ may be taken in the sense of Sankrit जागृत i.e. 'should be on the alert.' Grierson derives it from Chhattisgarhi *chagh*, 'to rise, ascend,' from Sanskrit *chargh*, 'to go.' Kern and Bühler connect *chagh* with Hindi *chāh-nā* (Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1932, p. 345). According to Hultzsch *chagh*=Sanskrit *Śak*, 'to be able.'

3 एतं in the Jaugada version should be noticed.

No. 21—Second Separate Rock-Edict: Jaugaḍa Version.

Jaugaḍa, Ganjam Dist., Orissa.

Kern, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 379ff; Senart, *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 82ff: Bühler, *ASSI*, I, p. 114ff; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 115ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 **देवानंपिये** हेवं आ[ह] [।*] **समापायं महामता** ल[।]जवचनिक वतविया [।*] अं किछि दख[।]मि हकं तं इ[छ]ामि हकं [कि]ति कं कमन

2 पटिपातयेहं दुवा[ल]ते च आलभेहं [।*] एस च मे मोखियमत[2] दुवाल एतस अ[थ]स अ[ं] [तुफे]सु अनुस[थि] [।*] सव-मुनि-

3 सा मे पजा [।*] अथ पजा[ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित-सु[खे]न यु[जे]यू [3][अ]थ पजाये इछामि कि[ति] [मे] सवेन हित-सु

4 [खे]न युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकि[केण] हेवंमेव मे इछ सव-मुन्सिसेसु [।*] सिया अंतानं [अ]विजिता-

5 नं कि-छांदे[4] सु लाजा अफेस् ति]।*] एताका[5] [वा] मे इछ [अ]तेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनु[विगि]न हे[यू[6]]

6 ममियाये [अ]खसेयु च मे सुखं[मेव च लहे[यू] ममते [नो] (दु*)ख[ ] [।*] हेवं च पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने लाजा

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ib*, p. xiv.

2 Senart: **मते** and Bühler: **मतं**

3 The passage **अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू** has been rep ated by mistake.

4 Senart and Bühler: **छंदे**

5 Read **एतका**

6 Senart and Bühler: **हेयु**

7 ए सकिये[1] खमितवे ममं[2] निमितं च धंम[ं][3] चले[यू] ति हिदलोग[ं] च पललोग
च आलाधये[यू] [।*] एताये

8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन[ने] [एत]केन [ह]कं तुफेनि अ[नु]सासितु
छंद[ं] [च] वेदि-

9 [तु] आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल [।*] स हेवं [क]टु क[ं]मे [च]लितविये
अस्वास[नि]या च ते एन ते पापुने-

10 यु अ[थ]ा पित [हे]वं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप[ति] [हे]वं
अ[फे]नि अनुक[ंप]ति अथा पजा हे-

11 वं [मये] ला[जि]ने [।*] तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित[4] [छ]ंदं [च] [वेदि]त[5]
[आ][6] [म]म धिति पटिंना चा अचल [सक]ल-

12 देसा-आ[युति]के[7] होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ि]स [।*] [अ]लं [हि] तुफे
अस्वास[ना]ये हि[त]-सुखाये [च] [ते]स[ं] हिद-

13 लोगि]क]-प[ा]ल[लो]कि[काये] [।*] हेवं च कलंतं स्वग[ं] [च] [आ]लाधयिस[थ]
मम च आन[ने]यं एसथ [।*] ए-

14 ताये च अ[थ]ाये इ[यं] लिपी लि[खित] [हि]द ए[न] [म]ह[ा]माता सास्वतं समं[8]
युजेयू अस्वासनाये च

15 धंम-चल[ना]ये च अंता[न]ं [।*] इयं च लिपी अ[नु]च[ा]तुं[म]सं [सोत]विया
तिसेन [।*] अंतला पि च सोतविया [।*]

16 खने संतं एके[न] पि [सोतवि]या [।*] हेव[ं] च [क]लं[त]ं चथथ संपटिपातयित-
[वे] [॥*]

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1 Senart: छकिये and Bühler: चकिये

2 Read मम as in the Dhauli version.

3 The अनुस्वार of मं is engraved above the line.

4 Read ०सासितु

5 Read ०वेदितु. Senart: वेदात

6 आ is not noticed by Senart and Bühler.

7 Read देसायु०

8 Read समयं

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह—'समापायां महामात्राः राज-वाचनिकं[1] (=०वचनं) वक्तव्याः ।—"यत्किंचित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ? कं[2] कर्मणा प्रतिपादये, द्वारतः च आरभे। एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु अनुशास्तिः। सर्व-मनुष्याः मे प्रजा (= अपत्यं)। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किमिति ?—मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्व-मनुष्येषु। स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजितानाम् [इयं जिज्ञासा] "किं-छन्दः स्यित् राजा अस्मासु ?" इति। एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अंतेषु प्राप्णुयुः—"राजा एवम् इच्छति—अनुद्विग्नाः भवेयुः मया, आश्वस्युः च मया, सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो (= न) दुःखम्" ; एवं च प्राप्णुयुः—"क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्" ; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः इति ; इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति]। एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान् अनुशास्मि ; अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्य, छन्दम् च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः (=दृढ़ता) प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]। तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम् ; आश्वासनीयाः च ते, येन ते प्राप्णुयुः "यथा पिता एवं नः राजा" इति ; "यथा आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम् अस्मान् अनुकम्पते" ; "यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः" [इति]। युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]—सकलदेशाऽऽवृतिकः[3] (=सर्वदेशव्यापिवृत्तिमान्) भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे। अलं (=समर्थाः) हि यूयम् आश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय। एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ। एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयं [एतत् अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च अन्तानाम्। इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण। अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या। क्षणो सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या। एवं च कुर्वन्तः [यूयं] जागृत संप्रतिपादयितुम् ॥

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1 Bhandarkar takes Rājavachanika as a class of Executive officials like Nagaravyavahārika (*op. cit.*, p. 368).

2 कं is an indeclinable expletive particle

2a Cf. वर्त्तेत पितृवन्नृषु (Manu, VII, 80); स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (Yājñavalkya, I, 334).

3 I take आयुति or आवुति to be Sanskrit आ+वृति meaning 'request'. The passage would then mean 'one whose request reaches every individual of the whole country.' An emperor's 'request' is of course his 'order'; cf. आवुति in PE IV. For other interpretations, see Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS[1] OF AŚOKA

No. 22—Minor Rock-Inscription : Rūpnāth Version

RŪPNĀTH Rock, Jubbulpore Dist., C. P.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VI. p. 149ff.; VII, p. 141ff; XXII, p. 299ff; SENART and GRIERSON, *Ib*, XX, p. 154 ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 166f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानंपिये**[3] हेव[ं] आहा [।०][4] साति[र]केकानि[5] अढति[या]नि व(सानि०) य सुमि पाकास [**सके**][6] [।०] नो चु वाढि पकते[7] [।०] सातिलेके चु ढ्वढ्ढरे[8] य सुमि हक[ं] **सघ** उ[पे]ते

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1 Minor Rock Edicts have been discovered at Sahasrām (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), Rūpnāth (Jubbulpore Dist., C.P.), Bairāṭ (Jaipur State, Rājputānā), Maski (Raichūr Dist., Hydarābād), Yerraguḍi (Karṇūl Dist., Madras Pres.) and Siddapura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore).

2 From the fascimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. xxiii f.

3 Maski : देवानंपियस असोकस.....

4 Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara have सुवंणगिरीते अयपुतस महामातानं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं वतविया । at the beginning of the record.

5 Read सातिरेककानि or सातिरेकानि.

6 Bühler : पाका (=हका=हकं) सावके ; cf. बुध-शके in Maski. Other versions read उपासके. Hultzch : प्रकास.

7 Brahmagiri and Siddapura add : हुसं एकं सवढ्ढरं

8 Read संवढ्ढरे. Cf. the Brahmagiri and Siddapura versions.

2 वाढि च[1] पकते [।*] या[2] [इ]माय कालाय **जंबुदिपसि** अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि [मिसा] कटा[3] [।*] पकमसि[4] हि [ए]स फले [।*] नो च एसा महतता प[ा]पोतवे खुदकेन[5]

3 पि प[क]म[मि]नेना[6] सकिये[7] पिपुले[8] पा[9] खगे आरोधेवे[10] [।*] एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे [खु]दका च उडाला च पकमतु[11] ति अता पि च जानंतु इय[12] पक[रा][13] [व]

4 किति चिर-ठितिके[14] सिया [।*] इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत[15] [।*] इय च अठे पवति[सु] लेखापेत वालत [।*] हध[16] च अथि

5 साला-ठ[भे][17] सिला-ठ[ं]भसि लाखापेतवय[18] त[19] [।*] एतिना च वयजनेना

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1 Bühler : चु 2 Bühler : यि

3 Sahasram has अंमिसं-देवा संत मुनिसा मिसं-देवा कटा. For मिसा कटा, Maski and Yerragudi have मिसिभुता (=मिश्रीभूताः)

4 Other versions have पकमस.

5 Senart and Bühler add हि क after this word.

6 Bühler : पकममिनेन

7 Brahmagiri reads सक्ये आलाधेतवे ; Maski has सके अधिगतवे and adds न हेवं दखितविये उडालके व इम अधिगछेया ति

8 Read विपुले 9 Read पि

10 Read आराधेत(त*)वे ; Bühler : आरोधवे.

11 Senart and Bühler : पकमंतु 12 Senart and Bühler : इयं

13 Read पकमे

14 Siddapura has चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति and Sahasrām चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु

15 Read वढिसिति or वढिसति

16 Bühler and Senart propose हिध. But हध may be a mistake for हचे

17 Read सिला० 18 Read लिखापितविये 19 Read ति

यावतक तुपक[1] **अहाले** सवर[2] विवसेतवा[य][3] ति [।*] [व्यु]ठेना सावने कटे [।*][4] २०० [+*] ५० [+*] ६ स-

6 त विवासा त[5] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह।—'सातिरेकाणि [+]अर्द्धलोणि (=सार्द्धे) वर्षाणि यत् अस्मि प्रकाशं शाक्यः (=बौद्धोपासकः)। नो तु [अहं] बाढं (=तीव्रं) प्रक्रान्तः (=धर्मोद्यमी) [अभूवम् एकं संवत्सरम्]। सातिरेकं तु संवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अहं सङ्घम् उपेतः (=बौद्ध-संघं गतः[6]), बाढं च प्रक्रान्तः। ये अस्मिं कालाय (=इयन्तं कालं) जम्बुद्वीपे[7] अमिश्राः देवाः अभूवन्, ते इदानीं मिश्राः (=सम्बन्धवन्तः) कृताः [मनुष्यैः]।[8] प्रक्रमे (=पराक्रमे=उद्योगे) हि एतत् फलम्। नो च एतत् [केवलं] महात्मत्वात् प्राप्तुं, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लब्धुम्)। एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतं—क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः (=महात्मानः, महाधनाः) च प्रक्रमन्ताम् इति; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानन्तु; अयं प्रक्रमः एव—किमिति?—चिरस्थितिकः स्यात्। अयं हि अर्थः (=श्रावण-विषयः) वृद्धिं (=वृद्धया) वर्द्धिष्यते, विपुलं च वर्द्धिष्यते, [+]अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वयर्द्धं (=सार्द्धकं) वर्द्धिष्यते। इमं च अर्थं पर्वतेषु लेखय वारतः (=सुयोगक्रमेण)। इह (=राज्ये यत्रकुत्रचित्) च अस्ति [चेत्] शिला-स्तम्भः, शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्यः इति। एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन (=शासनभावानुसारेण) यावत्

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1 Read तुफाकं ; cf. Sārnāth Pillar, l. 9

2 Read सवत ; cf. *loc. cit.*, l. 10.

3 Read विवसेतविये. Senart : ०विय and Bühler: ०वायु

4 Brahmagiri has इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन २०० ५० ६ and Sahasram दुवे सपंना लाति-सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ 5 Read ति

6 Aśoka seems to have temporarily put on the monk's robe without proper initiation, like king Milinda (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 123 f.) That he became a monk for life is not supported by tradition.

7 According to Buddhist conception, Jambudvīpa is the southern quarter of the earth comprising India.

8 Gods associate themselves with pious people both on the earth and in heaven. Aśoka seems to claim that he made all men pious by preaching his Dharma, and thereby facilitated their association with gods. Or, possibly he granted the despised castes entry into the temples of deities.

युष्माकम् आहारं (=शासनाधीन-प्रदेशांश=आहारावधि-पर्यन्तं) सर्वत्र विवासयितव्यः [युष्माभिः पुरुषः] इति। व्युषितेन (=प्रवासिना [मया]) श्रावणं कृतम्। २५६[1] शतानि (=षट्-पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वयं) [स्वस्य] विवासः' इति।

No. 23—Minor Rock-Edict: Yerragudi Version

YERRAGUDI, Karnūl Dist., Madras Pres.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 817ff.; B. M. BARUA, *Ibid*, IX, p. 116f; XIII, p. 132ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानंपिये** हेवं 1a हआ[3] [।*] 1b [स]धिकानि.....

2 [4]ते[कप] रछवसं कंए 2a [5]खो तु नो [।*] केसपाउ कंह [यं]

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1 The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear in the Saharsam version which suggests द्वे षट्पञ्चाशत् रात्रिशते व्युष्टानि इति २५६=द्वे रात्रिशते षट्पञ्चाशत् [च]—२५६—[रात्रयः] व्युष्टानि इति। I do not think that the passage can be so explained as to refer to the passing away of 256 years of an era connected with some event of Buddha's life, as suggested by Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 370 ff.

2 From the fascimile in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII and IX; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1922-29, pl. LXII. The engraver engraves the first line, as he should, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the left half of the second line a continuation of the first half of line 1. Sometimes he puts letters of one line into another. The characteristic of writing from right to left is an old trait of Brāhmī.

3 Read from rigt to left : आह

4 Read from right to left (as एकं संवछर पकते) after l. 2a.

5 Read from right to left यं हकं उपासके। न तु खो

3 हुस साति[रे]कं [तु खो] सवछरे यं मया संघे उपयि-

4 [1][अ] [न]लेका च नामिइ [।*] तेकप मे च डबा ते

5 -मिसा मुनि-

5a सा देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता [।*] पकमस हि (एस फले। *)

6 [2]खु येकिस व नेत्पहम [न]

7 -दकेन पि प[क]- 7a धेतवे [।*] ए

8 [म]मीनेन सकिये विपुले खगे आरा[3] ताय च अठाय इयं

9 [स]वने साविते अथा खुदक-महधना इमं पराकमेवू अं-

10 [4]च कातिठिरचि वुनेजा मे च ता-

11 [इ]यं पकमे होतु विपुले पि च वडसिता अपरधिया दियडियं [।*]

12 [5]सा नेवसा च यं[इ]

13 -[वापि]ते व्यूथेन २००[+*]५०[+*]६ [।*] 13a हेवं देवानं[6] **देवानंपि-**

13b **-ये** आह यथा **देवान-** 14 [।*] [7][यवितक थात हाआ] **येपि**

15 **[राजू]के** आनपितविये

16 [8]नआ दपनजा नीदा ते

17 -पयिसति रठिकानि च [।*][9] मातापितूसु सु(सु*)-

18 सितविये हेमेव गरूसु सुसूसितविये पानेसु दयितविये 18a सच वतविय

19 सुसुम धंमगुना पवतितविया [।*] हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ देवानंपियस वचनेन [।*] हे-

20 [10]पनआ वमे

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1 Read from right to left: -ते बाढ च मे पकते। इमिना च कालेन अ-

2 Read from right to left: न महत्पनेव सकिये खु-

3 Read here line 7a.

4 Read from right to left: -ता च मे जानेवु चिरठितिका च

5 Read from right to left: इयं च सावने सा-

6 Omit देवानं 7 Read from right to left -पिये आहा तथा कतविय

8 Read from right to left: ते दानी जानपदं आन-

9 Cf. Brahmagiri (ll. 9-12) and Jatinga-R. and Siddapura. They end with the passages चपडेन लिखितं in Brāhmī and लिपिकरेण in Kharoshṭhī.

10 Read from right to left: -मेव आनप-

21 यथ हथियारोहानि कारनकानि यू[ग्य]चरियानि बंभनानि च तुफे [।*] हेवं निवेसया-

22 थ अंतेवासीनि या[रि]सा पोराना पकिति [।*] इयं सुसुसितविये अपचायना य वा सव मे

22a आचरि-

23 -यस यथाचारिन आचरियस[।*] नातिकानि यथारह नातिकेसु पवतितविये[।*] हेसा [पि]

24 अंतेवासीसु यथारह पवतितविये यारिसा पोराना पकिति [।*] यथारह यथा इयं

25 आरोके सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ

25a च अंतेवास[ ]नि [।*] हेवं दे- 26 [।।*] [1]तियपनआ **येपिनंवा**

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रिय एवम् आह ।—'साधिकानि [अर्द्धत्रयोदश वर्षाणि=सार्द्धे द्वे वर्षे] यत् अहम् उपासकः [अस्मि]; नो तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम् । सातिरेकं तु खलु संवत्सरं यत् मया सङ्घः उपेतः, वाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम् । अनेन च कालेन अमिश्राः [ये] मनुष्याः देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः [देवैः] । प्रक्रमस्य हि [इदं फलम्] । न महात्मना एव शक्यः, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः स्वर्गः आराधयितुम् । एतस्मै एव अर्थाय इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं, यथा क्षुद्रक-महाधनाः इदं पराक्रमेयुः ; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) च मे जानीयुः ; चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रमः भवतु ; विपुलम् अपि च वर्द्धिष्यते, [+]अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वयर्द्धं (=सार्द्धैकं) [वर्द्धिष्यते] । इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युषितेन २५६ (=षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-द्विशतद्वितय-व्युषितेन मया)' । एवं देवानांप्रियः आह—'यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यम् । रज्जुकाः आज्ञपयितव्याः—ते इदानीं जानपदम् आज्ञापयिष्यन्ति राष्ट्रिकान् (=जनपदशासकविशेषान्) च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; एवम् एव गुरूषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; प्राणेषु दयितव्यं, सत्यं वक्तव्यं, शुष्म-धर्म-गुणाः (=उज्ज्वल०) प्रवर्त्तयितव्याः । एवं यूयम् (=महामात्राः ?) आज्ञापयत देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन । एवम् एव आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान्, कारणकान् (=कायस्थान् ; यद्वा, प्राड्विवाकान्), युग्यचर्यान् (=रथारोहान्), ब्राह्मणान् (=अध्यापकान्) च यूयम्—"एवं निवेशयत (=अध्यापयत) अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः (=पुरातनः सदाचारः=सनातनः धर्मः) । इदं शुश्रूषितव्यम्—अपचायना (=पूजा) या वा [मे] सर्वा मे आचार्यस्य, यथाचारिणः आचार्यस्य । [एषा] ज्ञातिकैः यथार्हं ज्ञातिकेषु प्रवर्त्तयितव्या । एषा (=अपचायना) अपि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तयितव्या यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः । यथार्हं यथा इयम् अरोका (=दृढा) स्यात्, एवं यूयम् आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिनः । एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति" ॥'

1 Read from right to left : -वानं पिये आनपयति

D—PILLAR EDICTS[1] OF AŚOKA

No. 24—First Pillar-Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version.

North face of the Pillar.

Originally Toprā, Ambālā Dist., Panjāb; now Fīrūz Shāh's Koṭlā, Delhī.

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 245 ff; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 119.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brahmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज** हेवं आहा [।*] **सडुवीसति-**

2 **वस-अभिसितेन** मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता [।*]

3 हिदत-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंम-कामताया

4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सु[सू]याया अगेन भयेना

5 अगेन उसाहेना [।*] एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया

6 धंमापेखा धंम-कामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा [।*]

7 **पुलिसा** पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती

8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं[3] समादपयितवे [।*] हेमेवा **अंत-**

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1 Aśoka's Pillars were found at Toprā (near the Sivālik), Mīraṭh (U.P.), Allahābād (U.P.), Rādhiah (Lauriā-Ararāj), Māthiah (Lauriyā-Navandgaṛh or Nandangaṛh) and at Rāmapurvā. The last three are in the Champāraṇ Dist., Bihār. The pillars at Toprā and Mīraṭh were brought to Delhī by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) according to the Shams-i-Sirāj. The Allāhābad Pillar was originally at Kosām (ancient Kauśāmbī). Pillar-Edicts I, IV, V and VI refer to the king's 26th regnal year; but VI also to the 12th and VII to the 27th years.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ib.*, p. xv ff.

3 We may also separate च from पलं (=परम्).

9 **महामाता** पि [।*] एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने

10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । ऐहल्य-पारलं (=ऐहिकपारलिकं मङ्गलं) दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं (=दुर्लभम्) अन्यत्र अग्रायाः (=तीव्रायाः) धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुश्रूषायाः (=गुरुजनवश्यतायाः), अग्रात् भयात (=पापभयात्), अग्रात् उत्साहात् । एषा तु खलु मम अनुशस्त्या धर्मापेक्षा धर्मकामता च [+]श्वःश्वः(=अहरहः) वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव । पुरुषाः (=राजपुरुषाः) अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः (=उत्कृष्टाः) च [+]गेवकाः (=निकृष्टाः) च मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति [धर्मं], संप्रतिपादयन्ति च [ऐहल्यपारलं] ; [ते] अलं (=समर्थाः) चपलं [जनं] समादापयितुं (=धर्माय उत्साहयितुम्) । एवम् एव अन्त-महामात्राः (=प्रत्यन्तसम्बन्धि०) अपि । एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पालना [प्रजानां], धर्मेण विधानं (=दण्डाभिहारदानं), धर्मेन सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः (=रक्षणम्),इति' ॥

No. 25—Second Pillar-Edict: Delhi-Topra Version.

North face of the Pillar.

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII ; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 245 ff ; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 120 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1[2] ... ...**देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज**

2[3] हेवं आहा [।*] धंमे साधु [।*] कियं चु धंमे ति[।*] अपासिनवे[4] बहु-कयाने

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ib*, p. xv ff.

2 This is continuation of line 10 of the whole inscription on the Pillar (north face).

3 This is line 11 of the whole inscription.

4 A horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower part of वे

3 दया दाने सचे सोचये [।*][5] चखु-दाने पि मे[6] बहुविधे दिने [।*] दुपद-

4 चतुपदेसु पखि-वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-

5 दाखिनाये [।*] अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि [।*] एताये मे

6 अठाये इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-

7 थितिका च होतू ती ति[7] [।*] ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कंछती[8] ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'धर्मः साधुः । कियान् तु धर्मः इति ? अल्पासिनवं (=अल्पं पापं), बहु-कल्याणं [जनानां], दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकम् (=शुचिता) । चक्षुर्दानम्[9] अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु [च] विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् (=प्राणदानपर्यन्तम्) । अन्यानि अपि च मया बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—एवम् (=लेखानुसारेण) अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां [जनाः], चिर-स्थितिका च [लिपिः] भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते सः सुकृतं करिष्यति' इति ॥

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5 Cf. प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः etc. repeated over and over again ; cf. also PE VII line 18. Many of these are prescribed for the Buddhist laity in works like the *Sigālovāda-sutta* in the *Dīghanikāya*. Brahmanical writers consider these to be duties common to all the Varṇas. Cf. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya*, I, 122 ; also क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया ॥ आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ *Vishṇu*, 2, 7-8.

6 There is a vertical stroke at the bottom of मे.

7 Better omit ती

8 Read कछति

9 Aśoka seems to have pardoned culprits whose eyes had been ordered to be blinded by the court.

No. 26—Third Pillar-Edict : Delhī-Topra Version.

North face of the Pillar.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 121f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1[2] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज** हेवं अहा [।*] कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
2 कयाने कटे ति [।*] नो मिन[3] पापं [दे]खति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
3 नामा ति [।*] दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा [।*] हेवं चु खो एस देखिये [।*] इमानि
4 आसिनव-गामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
5 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं [।*] एस वाड देखिये इयं मे
6 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—"[जनः] कल्याणम् एव पश्यति—"इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्" इति । नो मनाक् (=किञ्चिदपि) पापं पश्यति—"इदं मया पापं कृतम्" इति ; "इदं वा आसिनवं[4] नाम" इति । दुष्प्रत्यवेक्ष्यं (=दुर्लक्ष्यं) तु खलु एतत् (=पापम्)। एवं तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत्—"इमानि आसिनवगामोनि[5] नाम—यथा

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib*, p. xvii.

2 This is line 17 of the whole inscription on the north face of the Pillar.

3 The Mirath version appears to read मिना

4 आसिनव means परिसव of RE X (*supra*, pp. 31-32). It is the same as the Jain term अण्हय which is derived from आ+स्रु, and indicates a variety of sin.

5 Cf. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ गीता । १६।२१

चाण्ड्यं (=कोपनता), नैष्ठ्यर्यं, क्रोधः, मानः (=दम्भः), ईर्षा[1] ; [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं मा (यद्वा, मां) परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि (=न [आत्मानं] धर्मभ्रष्टं करिष्यामि)।" एतत् वाक्यं पश्येत्—"इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारलिकाय" ॥'

No. 27—Fourth Pillar-Edict : Delhi-Topra Version

West face of the Pillar.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XXII.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 122f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानंपिये पियदसि ल[ा]ज** हेवं आहा [।*] **सडुवीसति-वस-**
2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता [।*] **लजूका** मे
3 बहूसु पान-सत-सहसेसु जनसि आयता [।*] तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
4 दंडे वा अत-पतिये मे कटे [।*] किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता
5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हित-सुखं उपदहेवू
6 अनुगहिनेवु चा [।*] सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन[3] च
7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं [।*] किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
8 आलाधयेवू ति [।*] **लजूका** पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं [।*] **पुलिसा**नि पि मे
9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति [।*] ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं **लजूका**
10 चघंति आलाधयितवे [*] अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे

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1 Cf. पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोहः ईर्षासूयार्थदूषणम् । मनु ।७।४८ ।

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references, see *Ib.*, p. xvff.

3 Michelson takes **धंम-युत** to be a class of officials.

12 हेवं ममा **लजूका** कटा जानपदस हित-सुखाये [।*] येन एते अभीता

13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे **लजूकानं**

14 अ[ि]भहाले व दंडे वा अत-पतिये कटे [।*] इछितविये [हि] एसा [।*] किति

15 वियोहाल-समता च सिय दंड-समता चा [।*] अव इते पि च मे आवुति [।*]

16 बंधन-वधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं[1] पत-वधानं तिनि दिवसा[नि] मे

17 योते दिने [।*] नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति[2] जीविताये तानं

18 नासंतं[3] वा निझपयिता[4] दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति [।*]

19 इछा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि[5] पालतं आलाधयेवू ति [।*] जनस च

20 वढति विविधे धंम-चलने संयमे दान-सविभागे ति [॥*]

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1 Senart and Bühler: तीलीत

2 Senart explains the passage: 'My officers will warn (निझपयिसंति) them that they have neither more nor less (नातिकावकानि) to live (जीविताये तानं). Warned thus (निझपयिता) as to the limit of their existence (नासंतं) they may give (दाहंति) alms (दानं) in view of their future life (पालतं), or may give themselves up to fasting (उपवासं वा कछंति).' Bühler explains: 'Their relations (नातिका) will make some of them (कानि) meditate deeply (निझपयिसंति) and in order to save the life of those men (जीविताये तानं) or in order to make (the condemned) who is to be executed (नासंतं) meditate deeply (निझपयिता), they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts.'

3 नासंत(=नाशान्त) has been taken by some scholars in the sense of Death, (one) whose nature or disposition (अन्त) is destruction (नाश)

4 Some versions have निझपयितवे

5 The expression has been explained as 'during the time of their imprisonment' (Senart); 'even during their imprisonment' (Bühler); 'even in a limited time' (Lüders); 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed (their being no निझति)' (Thomas); and 'even when the time (of respite) has expired' (Hultzsch). Bahndarkar takes काल in the sense of जीवनकाल. Cf. कार="act of worship," in the *Divyāvadāna* (*JBORS*, IV, pp. 410-11).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह ।—'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने (=जनेषु) आयताः (=आयुक्ताः) । तेषां यः अभिहारः (=उपहारः) वा दण्डः वा [सः =अभिहारदण्डौ] आत्मपतिकः (=अभिहारदण्डदानविषये रज्जुकाः स्वाधीनाः) मया कृतः—किमिति ?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः [च] [सन्तः] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः, जनस्य जानपदस्य हितसुखम् उपदध्युः (=विदध्युः), [जनान्] अनुगृह्णीयुः च । [रज्जुकाः] सुखन-दुःखनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन [जनेन] च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदम्—किमिति ?—[ते] इहत्यं च पारत्रिकं [मङ्गलं] च आराधयेयुः (=लभेरन्) इति । रज्जुकाः अपि रंघन्ते (=सोत्सुकाः भवन्ति) परिचरितुं माम् ; पुरुषान् (=राजपुरुषान् ; महामात्रान् ?) अपि मे छन्दज्ञान [रज्जुकाः] परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते (=पुरुषाः) अपि च कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुं (=तोषयितुम्)[1] । यथा हि प्रजां (=अपत्यं) व्यक्तायै (=प्राज्ञायै) धात्र्यै निःसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति [जनः] "व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्त्ति मे प्रजां सुखं प्रतिहर्तुम् (=रक्षितुं)," एवं मम रज्जुकाः [मया] कृताः जानपदस्य हितसुखाय । येन एते अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः (=हृष्टाः) कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यं हि एतत्—किमिति ?—व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च । यावत् इतः अपि च मे आवृतिः (=आदेशः)—बन्धन-बद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीर्णदण्डानां (=प्राप्तदण्डानां) प्राप्त-वधानां त्रयः दिवसाः मया [वधरोधरूपं] यौत[कं] दत्तम् । [तेषां] ज्ञातिकाः वा कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] निध्याययिष्यन्ति (=हेतुप्रदर्शनेन प्रबोधयिष्यन्ति) जीविताय वा तेषां ; नश्यन्तं (=वध्यं) वा निध्याययितुं (=लोकान्तरे तस्य सुखं भवेत् इति प्रतिबोधनेन प्रसादयितुं) दानं दास्यन्ति पारत्रिकम्, उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति । इच्छा हि मे एवं—निरुद्धे अपि काले (=यौतकरूपे समये ; यद्वा, निरुद्धे अपि कारे [=पूजाकार्ये]) पारत्रिकम् आराधयेयुः इति । [एवं] जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दानसंविभागः[2] [च]' इति ॥

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1 Or, पुरुषाः अपि मे छन्दज्ञाः [मां] (or छन्दाज्ञे) परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते अपि च कां[श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम् । According to Hultzsch चघति=शक्नोति

2 ऐहिकार्थदानात् पारत्रिकार्थदानस्य विभजनम् ; cf. धर्मसंविभाग in RE XI (*supra*, pp. 32-33).

No. 28—Fifth Pillar-Edict : Rāmpurvā Version

South face of the Pillar

RĀMPURVĀ, Champāran Dist., Bihār.
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins Ind.*, I, p. 153f.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज** हेवं आह [।*] **सडुवीसति-[व]साभिसितेन** मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि [।*] सेयथ

2 सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबा-कपिलिक दुळि अनठिक-मछे वेदवेयके

3 गंगा-पुपुटके संकुज-मछे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेत-कपोते

4 गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति [।*] अजका नानि एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके [।*] वधि-कुकुटे नो कटविये [।०] तुसे सजीवे नो झापयितविये [।०]

6 दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो झापयितविये [।०] जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये [।*] तीसु चातुंमा[सी]सु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं

7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि विकेतविये [।*] एतानि येव

8 दिवसानि नाग-**वनसि** केवट-**भोगसि** यानि अंनानि पि जीव-निकायानि नो हंतवियानि [।*] अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ib*, xviii f.

9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये [।*]
अजके एळके सूकले

10 ए वापि अंने नोलखियति नो नीलखितविये [।*] तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासि-पखाये अखस गोनस

11 लखने नो कटविये [।*] याव-**सडुवीसति-वसाभिसितेन** मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.) मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा—शुकः, शारिका, अरुणः चक्रवाकः, हंसः, नन्दीमुखः (=शारिकाविशेषः), गेलाटः, जतूकः, अम्बापिपीलिका, दुडिः (=कमठविशेषः), अनस्थिक-मत्स्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, सङ्कुच-मत्स्यः, कमट-शल्यकौ, पर्न-शशः, सूमरः (=मृगविशेषः), पगडकः[1], ओकपिण्डः (=मार्जार-मूषिकादयः), परस्वान् (=Pāli पलासादो=गण्डकः), श्वेत-कपोतः, ग्रामकपोतः, सर्वे [च] चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च खाद्यन्ते । अजका एया (=या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या, पोतकाः च के[चित्=ये] [+]आषाण्मासिकाः । वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः (=निर्लिङ्गीकृत०) नो कर्त्तव्यः । तुषः सजीवः न दाहयितव्यः । दावः (=अरण्यम्) अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः नो पोषितव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु (=कार्तिकफाल्गुनाषाढपूर्णिमासु), [+]तिष्यायां (=पौषे) पूर्णमास्यां, त्रिषु दिवसेषु —चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि[च], [+]ध्रुवायाः (=ध्रुवत्वेन) च अनूपवसथं (=उपवासदिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः, नो अपि विक्रेतव्यः । एतान् एव दिवसान् नागवने (=हस्ति-क्षेत्रे), कैवर्त-भोगे (=जालिकग्रामे), ये अन्ये अपि जीव-निकायाः, [ते] नो हन्तव्याः । अष्टमी-पक्षे (=अष्टमीषु), चतुर्दश्यां, पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे (=पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लक्षयितव्यः (=निर्मुष्कीकर्तव्यः)। अजकः, एडकः (=मेषः), शूकरः, ये वा अपि अन्ये निर्लक्ष्यन्ते, [ते] न निर्लक्षयितव्याः । तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासीपक्षे [च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] [दग्धशलाकया] लक्षणं नो कर्तव्यम् ॥ [+]यावत्-षड्विंशति-वर्षाभि-षिक्तेन[2] मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायां (=अवान्तरे) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धनमोक्षाः [बन्दिनां] कृताः' ॥

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1 This shows (as suggested by other evidences also) that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd century B.C.

2 Aśoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation.

No. 29—Sixth Pillar-Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South face of the Pillar

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1[2] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज** हेवं आह [।*] **दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन** मे धंम-
लिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये [।*] से तं अपहट
2 तं तं धंम-वढि पापोव [।*] हेवं लोकस हित-सुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु
हेवं पल्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंम कानि
3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि [।*] हेमेव सव-[नि]कायेसु पटिवेखामि ।[*]
सव-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय [।*] ए चु इयं
4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्य-मुते [।*] **सडुवीस[ति]-वसाभिसितेन** मे इयं
धंम-लिपि लिखापित [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B. C.) मया धर्मलिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हित-सुखाय ; तत् (=ततः) तां अप्रहर्ता (=अनाशयिता= पालयिता) तां तां धर्म-वृद्धिं प्राप्णुयात् । "एवं लोकस्य हितसुखम्" इति प्रत्यवेक्षे— यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु, एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकृष्टेषु (=विप्रकृष्टेषु=दूरस्थेषु)—कथं कां[क्षित जनान्] सुखम् आवहामि इति, तथा च विदधामि । एवम् एव सर्व-निकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे । +सर्व-पाषण्डाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं (=स्वयं गत्वा जनानां परिदर्शनं) तत् मे मुख्य-मतम् । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता ॥'

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib.*, p. xviiif.

2 This is line 12 of the inscription on the south face of the Pillar.

No. 30—Seventh Pillar-Edict: Delhī-Toprā[1]

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 245ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 130ff.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

East face of the Pillar

1[3] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं आहा [।*] ये अतिकंतं
2 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
3 धंम-वढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया
4 वढिथा [।*] एतं **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं आहा [।*] एस मे
5 हुथा [।*] अतिकंतं च अंतंल[4] हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
6 अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
7 धंम-वढिया वढिथा [।*] से किनसु जने अनु[प]टिपजेया[5] [।*]
8 किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति [।*] [ि]कनसु कानि
9 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंम-वढिया ति [।*] एतं **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं
10 आहा [।*] एस मे हुथा [।*] धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
11 अनुस[ा]सामि [।*] एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

Round the Pillar

12 धंम-वढिया च वाढं वढिस[ति] [।*] एतामे मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य[था*] [**पुलि***][**स**][।][6] पि वहुने जनसि

1 This edict is not found on the other Pillars.
2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.
3 This is line 11 of the inscription on the east face of the Pillar.
4 Read अंतलं
5 प of °पजेया is engraved above the line.
6 The restoration is due to Hultzsch.

आयता ए ते[1] पलियोवदिसंति पि पवियलिसंति पि [।*] **लजूका** पि बहुकेसु पान-सत-सहसेसु आयता [।*]ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ

13 जनं धंम-यु[त]' [।*] [देव]**नंपिये पियदसि** हेवं आहा [।*] एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि **धंम-महामाता** कटा धं[म]-[सावने*] कटे [।*] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं आहा [।*] मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसु-मुनिसानं अंबा-वडिक्या लोपापिता [।*] अढ[कोसि]क्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि

14 खानापापितानि निंसि[ढ]या[2] च कालापिता [।*] आपानानि मे ब[हु]कानि तत तत क[ा]लापितानि पटीभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं [।*] [ल][हुके*] [चु*] एस पटीभोगे नाम [।*] विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके [।*] इमं चु धंमानुपटीपतो अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे

15 एस कटे [।*] **देवानंपिये पियदसि** हेवं आहा [।*] **धंम-महामाता** पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव-[पासं*]-डेसु पि च वियापटासे [।*] संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव **वाभनेसु आ[ज]ीविकेसु** पि मे कटे

16 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति **निगंठेसु** पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु पि मे [क]टे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिटं पटीविसिटं तेसु तेसु [ते][ते*] [महा*]**माता** [।*] **धंम-महामाता** चु मे एतेसु चेव विया[प]टा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु [।*] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं आहा [।*]

17 एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दान-विसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव **देविनं** च[।*] सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आ[का]लेन तानि तानि तुठायतन[ा]नि पटी...[3] हिद चेव दिसासु च [।*] **दालकानां** पि च मे कटे अंनानं च **देवि-कुमालानं** इमे दान-विसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

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1 Senart and Bühler read एते as one word.

2 Bühler : निसिढिया (=निषिदिया from नि+सद्), "rest-houses."

3 Bühler restored पटीपादयंति, "they point out." Hultzsch suggests पटीवेदयंति, "they are reporting".

18 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये [।*] एस हि धंमापदाने धंम-पटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साध[वे][1] च लोकस हेवं वडिसति ति [।*] **देवानांपिये** [**पियदसि***] **लाजा** हेवं आहा [।*] यानि हि [क]निचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति [।*] तेन वडिता च

19 वडिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयो-महालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभन-समनेसु कपन-वलाकेसु आव दास-भटकेसु संपटीपतिया [।*] **देवानं-पि[ये***] [**पि***][**य**]**दसि** लाजा हेवं आहा [।*] मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंम-वडि वडिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंम-नियमेन च निझतिया च [।*]

20 तत चु लहु से धंम-नियमे निझतिया व भुये [।*] धंम नियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि [।*] अंनानि पि चु बहु[कानि*] धंम-नियमानि यानि मे कटानि [।*] निझतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंम-वडि वडिता अविहिंसाये भूतानं

21 अनालंभाये पानानं [।*] से एताये अ[थ]ाये इयं कटे पुता-पपोतिके चंदम-सुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति [।*] हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हि[द]त-[पाल]ते आलधे होति[।*]**सतविसति** वसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिबि लिखापापिता ति[।*] एतं **देवानंपिये** आहा [।*] इयं

22 धंम-लिबि अत अथि सिला-थंभानि वा सिला-फलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिल-ठितिके सिया [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'ये अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं (=भूतकाले) राजानः अभूवन् [ते] एवम् ऐषिषुः—कथं जनः धर्मवृद्धया वर्द्धेत ? नो तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धया अवर्द्धिष्ट' । एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तं च अन्तरम् एवम् ऐषिषुः राजानः कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धया वर्द्धेत इति ; नो च जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धया अवर्द्धिष्ट । तत् केनस्वित् जनः [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्येत ; केनस्वित् जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धया वर्द्धेत इति । केनस्वित् कां-[श्चित् जनान्] अभ्युन्नामयेयं धर्मवृद्धया इति' । एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम्

1 Cf. PE II, lines 2-3, *supra*, pp. 56-57 ; also *Manu*, VI, 92.

आह ।—'एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावयामि धर्मानुशस्तीः [च] अनुशास्मि । एतत् जनः श्रुत्वा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्धया च वार्ढं वर्द्धिष्यते । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशस्तयः विविधाः आज्ञप्ताः, यथा पुरुषाः अपि—बहौ जने आयताः (=व्याप्ृताः) ये ते—[धर्मं] पर्यवदेक्ष्यन्ति (=उपदेक्ष्यन्ति) अपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि । रज्जुकाः अपि बहुकेषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु आयताः । ते अपि मया आज्ञप्ताः —'एवं च एवं च पर्यवदिशत जनं धर्मयुतम्' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवम् आह—'एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाणे धर्मस्तम्भाः कृताः, धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः, धर्मश्रावणं कृतम्' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधाः (=वटाः) रोपिताः छायोपगाः (=छायाया उपकारकाः) भविष्यन्ति पशु-मनुष्याणाम् [इति] ; आम्रवाटिकाः [च] रोपिताः । आष्टकौशिकानि (=अष्टक्रोशान्तराणि) अपि मया उदपानानि (=कूपाः) खानितानि, +निःश्रिष्टकाः (=सोपानानि) च कारिताः । आपानानि (=जलदानगृहाणि) मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् । लघुकः तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम । विविधया हि सुखनया पूर्वैः अपि राजभिः मया च सुखितः लोकः । इमां तु धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिम् (=धर्माचरणम्) अनुप्रतिपद्यंताम् [जनाः] इति एतदर्थाय मया एतत् कृतम्' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'धर्ममहामात्राः अपि मे ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्रहिकेषु व्याप्ृताः प्रव्रजितानां च एव गृहस्थानां च, +सर्व-पाषण्डेषु अपि च व्याप्ृताः । सङ्घार्थे (=बौद्धभिक्षुसङ्घार्थे)अपि मया कृतं —इमे व्याप्ृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; एवम् एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु[2] [च] अपि मया कृतम्— इमे व्याप्ृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; निर्ग्रन्थेषु (=जैनेषु)[3] अपि मया कृतम् इमे व्याप्ृताः भविष्यन्ति ; नानापाषण्डेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्याप्ृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं (=विशिष्टेषु विशिष्टेषु सम्प्रदायेषु) तेषु तेषु [विषयेषु] ते ते महामात्राः [व्याप्ृताः] । धर्ममहामात्राः तु मे एतेषु च एव व्याप्ृताः, सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पाषण्डेषु' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—'एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः मुख्याः [राजपुरुषाः] दानविसर्गे(=अर्थिभ्यः दानप्रापणे) व्याप्ृताः मम च एव देवीनां च ; सर्वस्मिन् च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण

1 One *yojana* (=8 *krośas*=9 miles) was considered a day's march of an army in ancient India.

2 I. e., the followers of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla, a staunch fatalist and a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha.

3 I. e., followers of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta i. e. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.

तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि (=तुष्टिपात्राणि=प्रार्थिनः) [अस्मभ्यं] प्रतिवेदयन्ति इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च। दारकाणां (=स्वपुत्राणाम्) अपि च मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवीकुमाराणाम् इमे [महामात्राः] दानविसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति धर्मापदानार्थाय (=धर्मकार्याय) धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च]। एतत् हि धर्मापदानं धर्मप्रतिपत्तिः च—या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं, मार्दवं (=मृदुत्वं), साधवं (=साधुत्वं) च – लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते' इति। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'यानि हि कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते [लोकेन]। तेन [लोकाः] वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयोमहल्लकानाम् (=वयोवृद्धानां) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या (=सम्प्रतिपत्त्या), ब्राह्मणश्रमणेषु कृपण-वराकेषु (=दीनानाथेषु) यावत् दासभृतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह —'मनुष्याणां तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव आकाराभ्यां—धर्मनियमेन च, निध्याप्या (=धर्मसंबोधनेन) च। तत्र तु लघुः सः धर्मनियमः, निध्याप्या एव भूयः [वर्द्धिता धर्मवृद्धिः]। धर्मनियमः तु खलु एषः, यत् मया इदं कृतं—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि। अन्ये अपि च बहुकाः धर्मनियमाः ये मया कृताः। निध्याप्या एव तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्मवृद्धिः वर्द्धिता अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणानां [च]। तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्मलिपिः] कृता पौलप्रापौलिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी (=चिरस्थायिनी) भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् [इमां धर्मलिपिं जनाः] इति। एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने [धर्मे] ऐहत्यपारत्रं [मङ्गलम्] आराद्धं (=लब्धं) भवति। सप्तविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता' इति। एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह—'इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिलास्तम्भाः वा शिलाफलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिरस्थितिका स्यात्' ॥

E—MINOR PILLAR-EDICTS OF AŚOKA

No. 31—Rummindeī Pillar-Inscription.[1]

RUMMINDEĪ TEMPLE near PARARIYĀ, Nepalese Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 1 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 164

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानपियेन पियदसिन** लाजिन **वीसति-वसाभिसितेन**
2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद **बुधे** जाते **सक्य-मुनी** ति[।*]
3 सिला-विगड-भीचा[3] कालापित सिला-थभे च उसपापिते [।*]
4 हिद **भगवं**[4] जाते ति लुंमिनि-गामे उबलिके कटे
5 अठ-भागिये च [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 250 B.C.) आत्मना(=स्वयम्) आगत्य महीयितम् (=पूजा विहिता), इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति ; शिलाविकृत-भित्तिकाः (=प्रस्तर-खचिताः इष्टक-प्राकाराः)[5] कारिताः, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ।

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1 A spurious copy of this record has been discovered near Bhubaneswar in the Purī Dist., Orissa (*Pravāsī*, 1335 B.S.). *Rummin-deī* is the same as *Lumbinī-devī*. The birth-place of Buddha was the holiest Buddhist *Tirtha*. Yuan Chwang refers to a pillar with a horse capital set up by Aśoka at the Lumbinī garden.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I ; for other references, see *ib*, pp. 164-65, notes.

3 Charpentier and Hultzsch make it सिला विगडभी चा (a stone bearing a horse?)

4 A *bhagavā*, is one possessing *issarīya, dhamma, yasa, sirī, kāma* and *payatana*.

5 भित्तिका may possibly be भिचा through the intermediate form भित्तिया=*भित्स्या According to some, विगड=विकट.

इह भगवान् (=बुद्धः) जातः इति लुम्बिनीग्रामः उद्बलिकः (=तीर्थकररहितः) कृतः, अष्ट-भागिकः (=शस्याष्टमांशरूपकरदः)[1] च ।

No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar-Inscription

Western bank of the NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR TANK, near NIGLIVA, Nepalese Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 165

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **देवानंपियेन पियदसिन** लाजिन **चोदस-वसा[भिसितेन]**

2 **बुधस कोनाकमनस** थुबे दुतियं वढिते [।*]

3 [**वीसति-व***]**साभिसितेन**[3] च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 [सिला-थभ*] [च*] [उस-*]पापिते[4] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 256 B. C.) बुद्धस्य कनकमुनेः[5] स्तूपः द्वितीयं (=द्विगुणं)[6] वर्द्धितः । विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c 250 B. C.) च आत्मना आगत्य महीयितं, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ॥

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1 The normal rate was ⅛ of the produce (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58). For other interpretations, see Hultzsch, p. 165, n. 3. According to some scholars, *bali* here means extra cess over and above the king's grain-share of *bhāga*.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 Restoration due to Bühler.

4 Restoration due to Bühler.

5 Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i. e. one who attained knowledge necessary to Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His stūpa was a Buddhist Tīrtha and was visited by Yuan Chwang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B. C.

6 According to some, दुतियं=द्वितीयं वारम् which would imply that the *stūpa* had been once enlarged previously. But Aśoka's silence regarding the first enlargement then becomes inexplicable.

No. 33—Queen's Pillar-Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 308f; BÜHLER, *Ib.*, XIX, p. 122 f; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 158f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 **देवानंपियपा** वचनेना सवत **महमता**
2 वतविया [।*] ए हेता दुतियाये **देवीये** दाने
3 अंबा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-[गहे] [व] [ए] [वा] [पि] [अ]ने
4 कोछि गनीयति ताये देविये पे [।*]नानि [हे]वं [ग*][न][तविये*][2]
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति **तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये** [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामात्राः वक्तव्याः।—'यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः (=राज्ञयाः) दानम्—आम्रवाटिका वा आरामः वा दानगृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित् [दानं] गण्यते (=गणितं भवति), तस्याः देव्याः तत्। एतानि एवं गणयितव्यानि — "द्वितीयायाः देव्याः" इति "तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः"[3] ॥'

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

2 Hultzsch restores विनति (=विज्ञप्ति)

3 Cf. the name Tivara in later inscriptions ; see also *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 128 ff. According to some, Kāruvākī belonged to the Vedic gotra of the Kārus; others think Kāluvākī=Chāruvāk.

No. 34—Kauśāmbī Pillar-Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 301 f; BÜHLER, *Ib.*, XIX, p. 122 ff; BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, p. 120 ff, 141; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 159.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [देवानं*][पि]ये आनपयति [।*]कोसंबियं[2] महाम[ा]त

2 .....[स]म[गे] [कटे] [।*] स[ं]घसि नो[3] लहिये

3 .....[संघं] [भा]खति[4] भि[खु] व[ा] भि[खु]नि वा [से] [पि][5] चा

4 [ओ*]दात[ा]नि दुसानि [स]नंधापयितु अ[नावा]स[सि][6] [आ]व[ा]सयि[ये][7] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः आज्ञपयति। कौशाम्ब्यां महामात्रः [एवं वक्तव्यः]'...[सङ्घः]समग्रः (=भेदविहीनः) कृतः। सङ्घे नो लभ्यः [दुश्चरितः भिक्षुः]। [यः] सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति भिक्षुः वा [+]भिक्षुणी (=स्त्रीभिक्षुः) वा सः अपि च अवदातानि दूष्यानि (=[पीतवासधारिणः भिक्षोः अयोग्यानि] श्वेतवस्त्राणि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) आवास्यः (=दूरीकर्त्तव्यः)'[8] ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. Edicts Nos. 34-36 were probably issued after the Third Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputra held under Aśoka's patronage.

2 Bühler and Boyer : ०बिय. Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam), the ancient capital of Vatsa, was on the Jumna in the Allāhābād Dist.

3 Bühler and Boyer : न 4 Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

5 Boyer : [प]चा. He and Bühler add ओ at the end of the line.

6 Bühler : आन[पे]स and Boyer : आनावससि

7 Boyer : अवा०.

8 According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka gave white robes to the heretical monks whom he expelled. *Saṅghabhedo* is the fifth of the six *abhiṭhānas* or deadly sins; see Childers, s. v.

No. 35—Sāñchī Pillar Inscription

SĀÑCHĪ, Bhopāl State, Central India

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 160f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 .....

2 .....[य]। मे[त][2]...[।*] [सं*][घे] [स*]मगे कटे

3 [भि*]खून[ं] च भि[खुनी]नं चा ति [पु]त-प-

4 [पो*]तिके चं[द]म-[सू]रि[यि]के [।*] ये संघं

5 भ[।]खति[3] भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-

6 नि दुस[।नि] सनं[धापयि]तु अना[वा]-

7 ससि वा[सा]पेतवि[ये] [।*] इछा हि मे कि-

8 ति संघे समगे[4] चिल-थतीके सिया ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

.....[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन सङ्घः केन अपि न] शक्यः भेत्तुम्। सङ्घः समग्रः कृतः भिक्षूणां च [स्त्री]भिक्षूणां च इति पौल-प्रापौलिकं चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकं [च]। यः सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री-]भिक्षुः वा [सः] अवदातानि दूष्यानि (=वसनानि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) वासयितव्यः। इच्छा हि मे—किमिति ?—सङ्घः समग्रः चिरस्थितिकः [च] स्यात् इति ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra (cf. Sāñchī ins. of Chandragupta II, *infra*).

2 Possibly **मेतवे** ; cf. Sārnāth, l. 3.

3 Bühler and Boyer : **भोखति.**

4 Bühler and Boyer : **संघस मगे.**

No. 36—Sārnāth Pillar-Edict

SĀRNĀTH, Benares Dist., U.P.

BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, p. 119 ff ; SENART, *C. R.*, 1907, p. 25 ff; VENIS, *J. P. A. S. B.*, III, p. 1 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 161f.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 **देवा[नंपिये***]... ... ...
2 ए ल... ... ...
3 **पाट**[2] ... ... ये[3] केन पि **संघे** मेतवे [।*] ए चुं खो
4 [भिखू] [वा] [भिखु]नि वा **संघं** भ[ाखति][4] [से] ओदातानि दुस[ानि] [स]-नंधापयिया आनावाससि
5 आवासयिये [।*] हेवं इयं सासने **भिखु-संघसि** च **भिखुनि-संघसि** च विंन-पयितविये [।*]
6 हेवं **देवानंपिये** आहा [।*] हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसलनसि निखिता [।*]
7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ [।*] ते पि च उपासका अनु-पोसथं यावु

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

2 As has been suggested पाट may be the first two *aksharas* of the name पाटलिपुत

3 Boyer restores न सकिये

4 This reading is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart : भिखति and Boyer : भोखति

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे [।*] अनु-पोसथं च धुवाये इकिके **महामाते** पोसथाये

9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च [।*] आवते च तुफाकं आहाले

10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन [।*] हेमेव सवेसु **कोट-विषवेसु** एतेन

11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा [॥*][1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]देवानांप्रियः ... ...

पाटलिपुत्र.....[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सङ्घः भेत्तुम्। यः तु खलु भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]भिक्षुः वा सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति, सः अवदातानि दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावासे आवास्यः। एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षुसङ्घे च [स्त्री]भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [भिक्षवः] विज्ञपयितव्यम्'। एवं देवानांप्रिय आह।—'ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे (=आवासे; यद्वा, पथि) निक्षिप्ता; एकां च लिपिं ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके निक्षिपत। ते अपि च उपासकाः अनूपवसथं (=उपवासदिनेषु) [शासनान्तिकं] यायुः [+]एतत् एव शासनम् (=एतस्मिन् एव शासने) [आत्मनः] विश्वासयितुम्। अनूपवसथं च [+]ध्रुवायाः (=ध्रुवत्वेन) एकैकः (=प्रत्येकं) महामात्रः उपवसथाय याति[2] एतत् एव शासनं [आत्मानं] विश्वासयितुम् आज्ञातुं (=ज्ञातुं, बोद्धुं) च। यावत्कं [स्थानं व्याप्य] च युष्माकम् आहारः (=प्रदेशः,) सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं [राजपुरुषम्] एतेन व्यञ्जनेन (=अनुशासनानुसारेण)। एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट्ट-विषयेषु (=दुर्गरक्षित-प्रदेशांशेषु) एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत॥

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1 The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātras possibly of Pāṭaliputra. It was made available to monks and nuns (*bhikkhu-bhikkhunī*), to lay worshippers (*upāsaka-upāsikā*) and to officers and the people of the districts (*āhāra*) and sub-divisions (*vishaya*). According to some, *saṃsalana* is some locality, office, or assembly hall.

2 I. e., goes for the *uposatha*-day service which is held on the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eighth days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments, as the Sunday is to the Catholics, and lay worshippers on that occasion make vows to keep the ten *Sīlas*. On the two *uposatha* days of the 14th and 15th, all monks assemble in the monastery and the *Pātimokkha* is read out section by section. See Childers, s. v. *Uposatho*.

F—STONE-SLAB[1] EDICT OF ÁSOKA

No. 37—Bairāṭ Inscription

Originally BAIRĀṬ, near Bhābrū, Jaipur State, Rājputānā; now R. A. S. B., Calcutta.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 165ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 172f.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 **पि(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं** अभिवादे[तू]नं आहा अप[ा]बाधतं च फासुविहालतं चा [।*]

2 विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा **बुधसि धंमसि संघसी** ति गालवे चं पं(प्र)सादे च [।*] ए केचि भंते

3 भगवता **बुधे[न]** भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा [।*] ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं **सधंमे**

4 चिल-[ठि]तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं ब[ा]तवे [।*] इमानि भंते [धं]म-पलियायानि **विनय-समुकसे**

5 **अलिय-वसाणि अनागत-भयानि मुनि-गाथा मोनेय-सूते उपतिस-पं(प्र)सिने** ए चा **लाघुलो-**

6 **वादे** मुसा-वादं अधिगिच्य भगवता **बुधेन** भासिते एतानि भंते धंम-पलियायानि इछामि

7 किंति बहुके भिखु[प]ाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सु[ने]यु चा उपधालयेयू चा [।*]

8 हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा [।*] एतेनि भंते इमं लिखा[प]यामि अभिपेतं मे जानंतू ति [॥*]

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1 Cf. *silā-phalaka* (stone-slab) in PE VII, l. 22.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib*, p. xxv; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 3. This edict and the reference to Aśoka's visit to Buddhist holy places prove that he was certainly a Buddhist.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (=मगधदेशीयः) सङ्घम् (=बौद्धभिक्षुसङ्घम्) अभिवाद्य आह— अपाबाधतां (=स्वास्थ्यं) च सुखविहारतां च। 'विदितं एव, [हे] भवन्तः[1], यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्घे इति गौरवं (=श्रद्धा) च प्रसादः (=अनुरागः) च। यत् किञ्चित्, [हे] भवन्तः, भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितम् एव। यत् तु खलु, [हे] भवन्तः, अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं सद्धर्मः (=बौद्धधर्मः) चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अर्हामि अहं तत् वक्तुम्। इमे, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्मपर्यायाः (=धर्मग्रन्थाः)—विनयसमुत्कर्षः, आर्यवंशाः, अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च राहुल-वादः मृषावादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः[2]— एतान्, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्मपर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति?—बहुकः भिक्षुपादः [स्त्री]भिक्षवः च अभीक्ष्णं (=पुनः पुनः) शृण्वन्तु च उपधारयेयुः च। एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च। एतेन, [हे] भवन्तः, इमां [धर्मलिपिं] लेखयामि, अभिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति' ॥

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

Nos. 38, 39 & 40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions

BARĀBAR HILL, Gayā Dist., Bihār

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 168ff ; BÜHLER, *Ib*, XX, p. 361f ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 181f.

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

I

1 लाजिना ापयदसिना दुवाडस वसा[भिसितेना]

2 [इयं] [निगोह]-कुभा दि[ना] [आजीविकेहि] [॥*]

II

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-

1 See *infra*, p. 80, note 1.

2 The first work is differently identfied with the *Dhammachakkapavattanasutta*, *Pātimokkha*, *Tuvaṭṭhakasutta* (*Suttanipāta*), *Sappurisasutta* (*Maj. Nik.*) *Sigālovādasuttanta* (*Dīgha-Nik.*) and *Atthavasavagga* (*Aṅg. Nik.*). The last of these seems to be actually intended by Aśoka; see *J. D. L., XX. Aliyavasāni*=*Ariyavaṃsa* (*Ang. Nik., II*); *Anāgatabhayāni* (*ib., III*); *Munigāthā*=*Munisutta* (*Sut. Nip.*) ; *Moneyasute*=*Nālakasutta* (*ib.*) ; *Upatisapasine*=*Rathavinītasutta* (*Maj. Nik.*); *Lāghulovāda*=*Rāhulovādasutta* (*ib.*)

3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *Ib*, p. xxviii.

2 **डस-वसाभिसितेना** इयं

3 कुभा **खलतिक-पवतसि**[1]

4 दिना [आजीवि]केहि [॥*]

III

1 **लाजा पियदसी एकुनवी-**

2 **सति**-वसा[भि]सिते [।*] ज[लघो]-

3 [सागम]थात [मे] इ[यं] [कुभा]

4 सुपि[ये]ख[लतिकपवतसि*] [दि]

5 ना [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c.258 B. C.) इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः। II—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः। III—राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 251 B. C.)। जल-घोषागमार्थतः (?=वर्षार्थाय) मया (=राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना) इयं गुहां सुप्रिये खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता ॥

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

Nos. 41, 42 & 43—Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of Daśaratha (c. 220 B.C.)

NĀGĀRJUNI HILL, Gayā Dist., Bihār.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 364; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 954-56.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

I

1 वहियक[ा] कुभा **दपलथेन** देवानंपियेना

1 The Khalatikaparvata (Barābar Hill, or possibly the whole group of hills) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* under Pāṇini, I.2. 52. Barābar has been called Pravaragiri in an inscription of Maukhari Anantavarman.

2 From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1. Pl. I. For other references, see Lüders.

2 आनंतलियं अभिषितेना [आजीविकेहि]

3 भदंतेहि[1] वाष-निषिदियाये निषिठे

4 आ-चंदम-यूलियं [॥*]

II

1 गोपिका कुभा **दषलथेना** देवा[न]'पि-

2 येना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना आजी-

3 विके[हि] [भदं]तेहि वाष-निसिदियाये

4 निसिठा आ-चंदम-यूलियं [॥*]

III

1 वडथिका कुभा **दषलथेना** देवानं-

2 पियेना आनंतलियं अ[भि]षितेना [आ]-

3 [जी]विकेहि भदंतेहि वा[ष-निषि]दियाये

4 निषिठा आ-चंदम-यूलियं [॥*][2]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—वहियका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेण (=अभिषेकवर्षे) आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः (=महनीयेभ्यः) वर्षा-निषद्यायै (=वर्षा-वासाय) निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्य्यम् । II—गोपिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्य्यम् । III—वडथिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्य्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्र]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निसृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्य्यम् ॥

1 Both **भन्त** and **भदन्त** appear to be derived from **भवत्**. For the *āgama* of द, cf. Pāli सदत्थ=Sanskrit **स्वार्थ**. Some scholars think **भदन्त=भद्रान्त** (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 4f).

2 In some cases, the word **आजीविकेहि** has been chiselled away in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī inscriptions. This may have been done at the time of Maukharī Anantavarman who gave one Barābar cave to Krishna and two Nāgarjunī caves to Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya King.

TAXILA (=Takshaśilā), Rāwalpiṇḍi Dist., Panjāb

E. HERZFELD, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX. p. 251.

Language } Aramaic of about the first half of the 3rd
Script } Century B. C.

TEXT[1]

1 ... ... ut ... ...
2 l [d]kmyrty 'l...
3 kynvta[2] 'l...
4 a[r]k[n] zv *sh*kynvta[2]...
5 v labvhy[3] hu*h*[4]...
6 hvpty*kh*ty znh[5]...
7 zk bhvv[d]n[r]rh[6]...
8 hvb*sh*tv [k]rzy hut...
9 mran **Pryḍr**...[7]

---

1 From the eye-copy in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, with the help of Herzfeld's transcript. The second half of all the lines is lost. The Indian Kharoshṭhī script was derived mainly from Aramaic.

2 They may be the same word, meaning "dwellings" and possibly we have to restore a *sh* at the end of l. 2

3 The first two words mean "and to his father"

4 According to Herzfeld, the word with *hu* may be one belonging to the moral sphere of ideas, like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds." Cf. the Buddhist idea of *ayiro aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, such as *sammā diṭṭhi*, etc.

5 The word means "this"

6 If this be an Indian word, it may be the same as बहुव्रीहि

7 I. e., *mārāna Priyadar[shi*]*. "our lord Priyadarśī". Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya. It is however known that Chandragupta was also called प्रियदर्शन ; the record (palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 3rd cent B. C.) may therefore belong to Chandragupta Maurya. But if reference is to be found to the Buddhistic *ayiro aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater.

10 h..... *lkvth*[1]...

11 vap bnvhy[2]...

12 lmran **Prydr***sh*[3]...

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 45—Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription.

MAHĀSTHĀN, Bogrā Dist., Bengal.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85; B. M. BARUA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, p. 57 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B. C.

TEXT[4]

1 नेन [।*] स[*]वगिय[ा]नं [तल दन स-] ।[5] सप दिन । [सु]-

---

1 Herzfeld is inclined to supply *vm* in the lacuna and to read *vmlkvth*, "and his Queens" or less probably "his kingdoms".

2 The line means, "and also his sons".

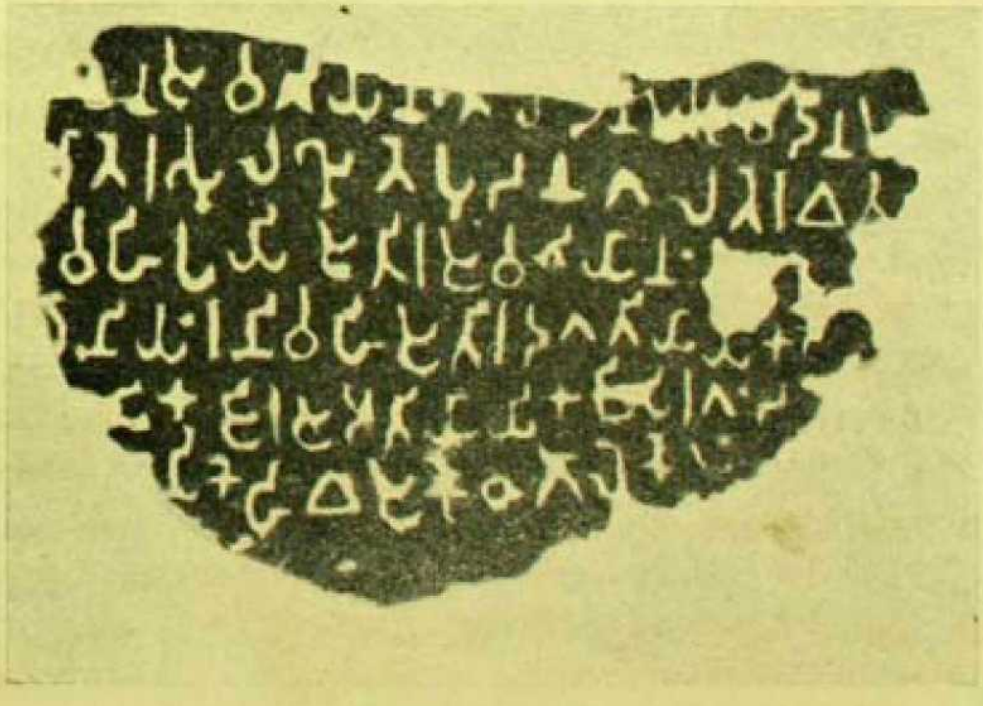
3 I. e., *li-mārāna Priyadarsh*[*i**], "to our lord Priyadarśi".

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Some of the स्s here look like ष.

5 The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary. Cf. Kālsī R E XIII, अटवषा । भिषित । षा, etc.

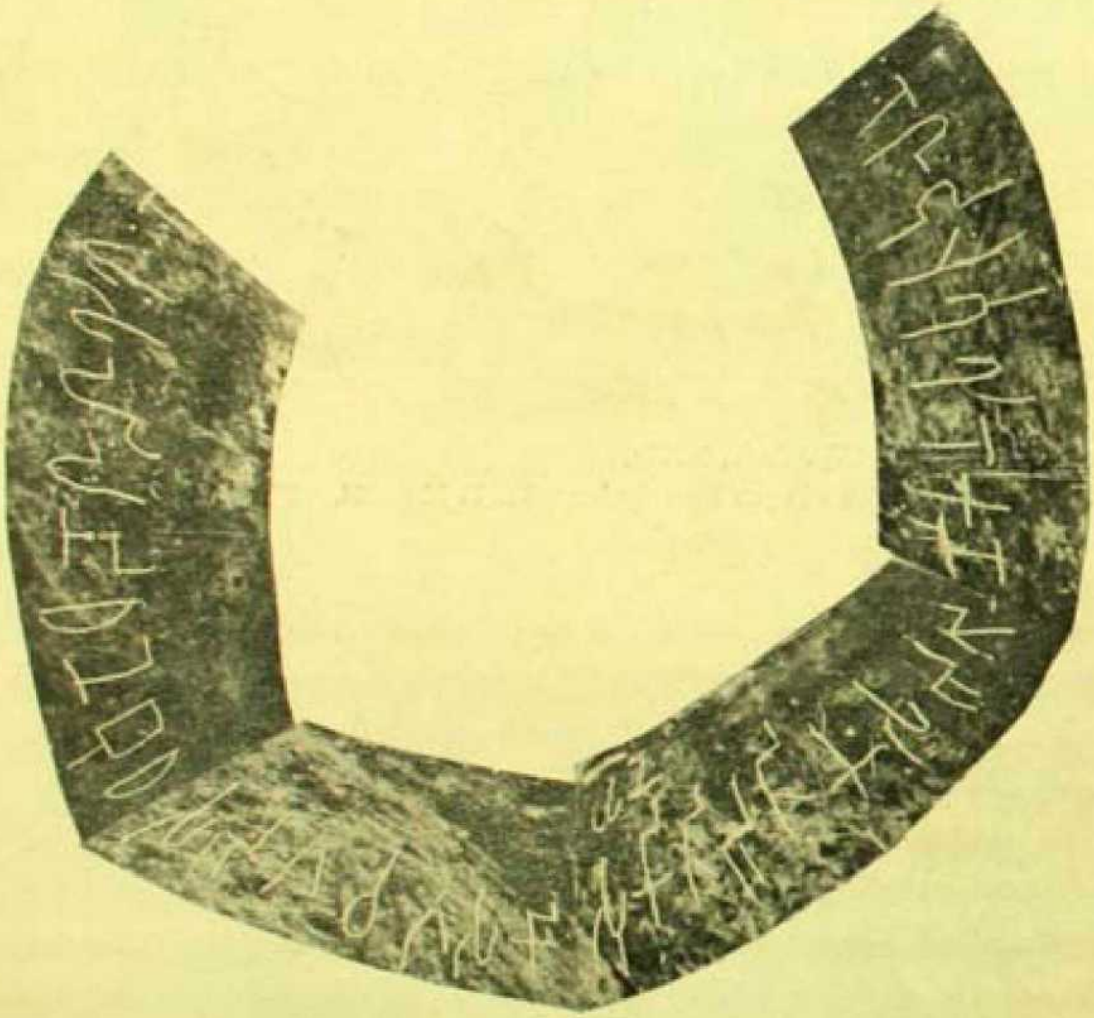
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

1. Mahāsthān Plaque Inscription (Bk. I, No. 45). Photo print.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

2. Mahāsthān Plaque Inscription (Bk. I, No. 45). Rubbing.



From *Journ. Dep. Let.*, IV.

Piprahwa Vase Inscription (Bk. I, No. 46).

2 [म]ाते[1] । सुलखिते **पुडनगलते**[2] । ए[त]

3 [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगियानं [च] [दि*]ने * *

4 [धा] नियं । निवहिसति । दग-तिया[यि*]यके* *

5 ***[यि]कसि । सुअ-तियायिक[सि][3] पि । गंड[केहि*]

6 *** [यि]केहि[4] एस कोठागाले कोसं***

7 ****

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[...महामात्राणां वच]नेन । षड्वर्गीयाणां (यद्वा, संवर्गीयानां)[5] तिलः दत्तः, सर्षपं [च] दत्तम् । सुमावः (=तदाख्यः पुरुषः) सुलक्ष्मीतः (=ऋद्धिमतः) पुण्ड्र-नगरतः एतत् निवाह-यिष्यति ; षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः च दत्तं...धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । [उ]दकाल्ययिकाय (=तन्निवारणाय), देवाल्ययिकाय (यद्वा, अग्न्याल्ययिकाय), शुकाल्ययिकाय अपि, गण्डकैः (=मुद्राभिः) धान्यैः [च] एषः कोष्ठागारः कोषः [च परिपूरणीयौ] ।

---

1 Bhandarkar: गलदनस् । दुमदिन-[महा]माते ; Barua: तलदनस । दुम् दिन समाते. Barua translates: By this (अनेन) [token], should there be any oil or tree given to the Shadvargikas, (the person concerned) shall cause that to be conveyed from Sumā, Sulakshmi and Puṇḍranagara.

2 Puṇḍranagara, "city of the Puṇḍras", was probably the older name of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with Mahāsthān, the find-spot of the record.

3 Bhandarkar: द[']गातियायिके [देवा]तियायिकसि सु-अतियायिकसि ; Barua: दगातियायिके [अगि]तियायिकसि. The last part of the first word may have been ०केसि. The word आल्ययिक means "emergency."

4 Bhandarkar: [धानि]यिकेहि ; Barua: [काकनि]यिकेहि. The Pāli literature speaks of धन-कोष्ठागार (treasury), धान्य-कोष्ठागार (granary) and वस्तु-कोष्ठागार (general stores).

5 Bhandarkar: संवङ्गीयानां, "of the Samvaṅgiya people"; Barua: षड्वर्गिकानां, "of persons of the Shadvargika sect of the Buddhists". Samvarga however might have been the name of a locality.

No. 46—Piprāhwā Buddhist Vase Inscription

PIPRĀHWĀ[1], Basti Dist., U.P.

BÜHLER, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 387ff; FÜHRER, *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, p. 3; PÈPPE, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 576 f; SMITH-DAVIDS-HOEY, *ibid*, p. 586ff; BLOCH, *ibid*, 1899, p. 42 f; DAVIDS, *ibid*, 1901, p. 398; PISCHEL, *Z. W. M. G.*, LVI, p. 157 f; *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 526; LÈVI, *Jour. des Savants*, 1905, p. 540ff; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 679ff; *ibid*, 1906, p. 149ff; THOMAS, *ibid*, p. 452f; SENART, *Jour. As.*, X, vii, p. 132ff; BARTH, *Jour. des Savants*, 1906, p. 541ff; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 105ff; BARTH, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, p. 117ff; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 931.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

Metre: Irregular

TEXT[2]

1 सुकिति-भतिनं[3] स-भगिनिकनं स-पुत-दलनं[4] [।*]

इयं सलिल-निधने[5] **बुधस** भगवते सकि[यानं][6] [॥*][7]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सुकीर्ति भक्तयोः सभगिनीकयोः सपुत्र-दारयोः ।

इदं शरीर-निधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानां ॥

---

1 Within half a mile of the Nepāl border, in the north-eastern extremity of the Basti Dist.

2 From the facsimile in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.

3 According to scholars, Sanskrit सुकीर्ति-भ्रातृणां (according to some सुकृति°). It is generally translated "of the brothers of Sukirti"; but some scholars think that सुकृति indicates Lord Buddha himself. It may be suggested that सुकिति-भतिनं indicates "of Sukirti and Bhakti."

4 I.e., "with sons and wives".

5 I.e., "receptacle of corporeal remains or relics (of Buddha)".

6 The inscription is incised around the vase; यानं has been engraved above the line owing to want of space. The word is generally taken to be the same as Sanskrit शाक्यानां. Fleet however took it to be the same as Sanskrit स्वकीयानां, "of the relatives."

7 Absence of signs for lengthened vowels in the record led some scholars to

No. 47—Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscription

Sohgaurā, Gorakhpur Dist., U.P.

Smith and Hoernle, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1894, p. 85ff; Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 261; Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 510ff; Barua, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XI, p. 32ff; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, 54ff; K. P. Jayaswal, *Ep. Ind.* XXII, p. 2; Lüders, *List*, No. 937.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brahmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

TEXT[1]

1 सवतियान महमगन[2] ससने मनवसिति-क-

2 ड [।*] सि[ि]ल माते उ(व?)सगमे व एते दवे कोठगलनि [।]

3 ति[य]वेनि माथुल-चचु-मोदाम-भलकन व-[3]

4 ल कयियति अतियायिकय [।*] नो गहिग(त?)वय [॥*]

---

believe that it is much anterior to Aśoka. The argument is by no means conclusive. Lengthened vowels are usually neglected in early records. It is moreover too small a record for any clear indication on the point. Thomas recognised in the record a very irregular Āryā stanza, while Fleet wanted to scan the line as उपगीति or उद्गीति.

1 From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907. (plate facing p. 510). This record is supposed by scholars to be pre-Aśokan or even pre-Maurya. The *aksharas* व (l. 1, let. 2), व ण उ (l. 2, let. 6), ड (l. 2, let. 1), medial ि in ति (l. 1, let. 18), यि (l. 4, let. 3), etc., may suggest that it is later than Aśoka. Above the lines are two three-storeyed (?) structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mount symbols.

2 ति looks like सि. Read महमतन. Fleet translates: 'Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles!'

3 Bühler: छल (=छारं, collection); Jayaswal: छलि-कयियति (छरी॰= to be distributed). Bühler translates: 'These two storehouses with three partitions (तिघवनि), (situated) even in famous Vaṃśagrāma (Bansgaon, 6 miles west of Sohgaurā), require the storage of loads (भारक) of Madhu[ka], parched grain (लाज)-cummin-seed and Āmba for times of urgent need.' Fleet: 'At the junction called Manavasi, these two storehouses are prepared for the sheltering (वाराय) of loads of commodities of Tiyavani=Tryaveṇī, Mathurā and Chañchu'. Barua:

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामात्राणां शासनं मानवाशीति-कटात्। श्रीमान् ऊपाग्रामः (यद्वा, वंशग्रामः) (=तदाख्यग्रामद्वयस्थितौ) एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठागारौ [यौ महामात्रैः] त्रिवेणी-माथुर-चञ्चु-मयुदाम भक्तकानां [ग्रामानां] वरं (=शस्यादि-वितरणं) कार्येते आत्ययिकाय (=दुर्भिक्षादि-निवारणाय)। नो ग्रहीतव्यं (=अवरोद्धव्यं ; यद्वा, ग्राह्यं गवे=पशुभ्यः ग्रहणीयम्) ॥

No. 48—Inscription[1] on the Silver coins of Sophutes[2] (=Saubhūti)

(*circa* 330-300 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 7; RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, p. 3f.

First side[3]

Head of the king or a warrior to right, in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.

Second side

Cock standing to right; Caduceus in left upper field; inscription in Greek characters in right:—

[ΣΩ]φγτογ (=So*ph*utou=of Sophutes).

'These two storehouses of fodder and wheat (तिन-यवनि for तियवनि) and loads of ladles, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes are used in times of urgent need.' Jayaswal: 'only to the tenants (सीरि-माल), only on the advent of drought (उष्मागमे), storehouses of Triveṇi", etc.

1 Though the characters are not actually "inscribed" on coins, many numismatists refer to the coin-legends as "inscription" which would then mean any writing; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 1ff.

2 At the time of Alexander's invasion Sophutes ruled a district on the banks of the Akesines (=Asikni=Chenāb). "These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophutes presumably submitted to him. The portrait of Sophutes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophutes."—Smith, *loc. cit.* See, however, *C. H. I.*, pp. 338,414,463,623. Strabo calls him a *nomarkh* possibly because he had offered allegiance to Alexander.

3 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate I, No. 1.

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BOOK II

Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya Period down to the Gupta Age

CHAPTER I

Northern India

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED RECORDS.

(i) Central and Western India

No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śuṅgas.

Barhut[1], Nāgaudh State, Central India.

Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 128f; No. 1, Plates XII and LIII; R. L. Mitra *Proc. A.S. B.*, 1880, p. 58ff; Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 138f. and Plate; Z. *D. M. G.*, XL, p. 60, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 227, No. 1; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 1f; Lüders, *List*, No. 687.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT[2]

1 सुगनं[3] रजे रञो गागी-पुतस विसदेवस

2 पौतेण गोति-पुतस[4] आगरजुस[5] पूतेण

3 वाछि-पुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां

4 सिला-कंमंतो च उपंण [॥*]

1 The name is also written Bharhut, Bhārhut and Bharaut.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 139, and *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. V, No. 20. Lower part of the *akshara* व is here of the triangular shape.

3 Cunningham and Mitra took it to stand for श्रुघ्न-राज्ये, "in the kingdom of Srughna".

4 Cunningham equated it with Sanskrit कौत्सीपुत्रस्य.

5 Cunningham a nd Mitra equated it with Sanskrit अग्रराजस्य.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः गार्गी-पुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य[1] पौत्रेण गौप्ती-पुत्रस्य अक्षारथ्युतः पुत्रेण वात्सीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणं, शिलाकर्मान्तः (=प्रस्तर-निर्मित-प्राकारादिः) च उत्पन्नः ॥

No. 2—Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra.—Regnal Year 14.

BESNAGAR[2], Gwalior State, Central India.

VOGEL, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 126; RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 157; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIII, p. 104; RAYCHAUDHURI, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 99ff; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 669.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd-1st century B.C.

TEXT[3]

Part I

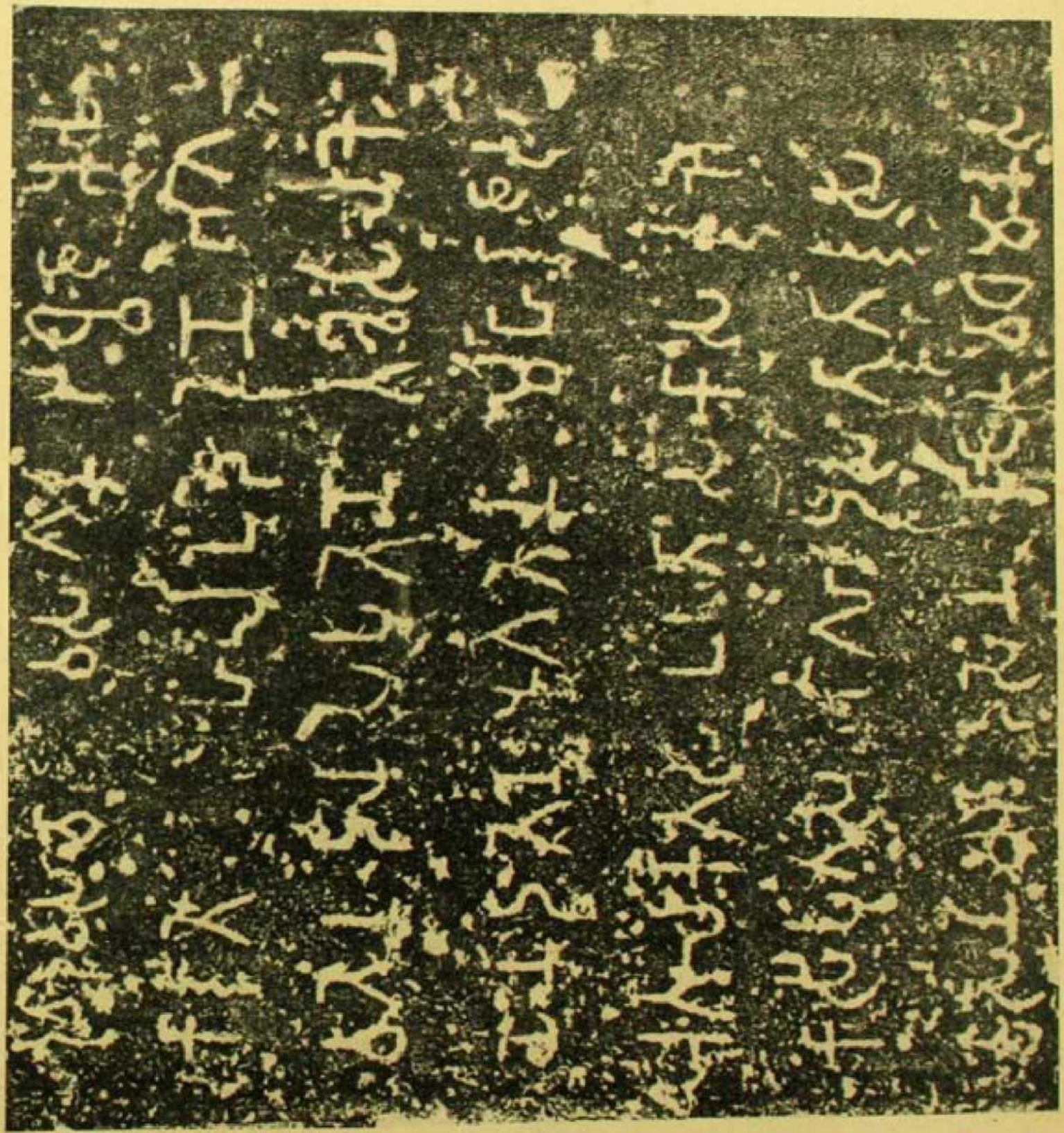
1 [दे]वदेवस **वा[सुदे*]वस** गरुडध्वजे अ[ं]
2 कारिते इ[अ] **हेलिओदोरेण भाग-**
3 **वतेन** दियस पुत्रेण **तखसिलाकेन**
4 **योन**-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस[4]
5 **अंतलिकितस** उप[*]ता सकासं रञो

1 King Viśvadeva appears to have been the feudatory of a Later Śuṅga king of Vidiśā.

2 Ancient Vidiśā, capital of Ākara or Daśārṇa (East Mālwā).

3 From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. II, and *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1908-09. For several papers on this record, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909 and 1910.

4 Note the difference between the epithets of the Indian king and the Greek king. Titles like **महाराज, राजातिराज** and **महाराजाधिराज** were popularised by the foreigners. Many coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas have been found in the Panjāb. Bhāgabhadra may be identified with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.



6 [को]सीपु[त्र]स[1] [भ]**गभद्रस** त्रातारस[2]

7 **वसेन च[तु]दसेन**[3] राजेन वधमानस[4] [॥*]

Part II

1 त्रिनि अमुत-पदानि [इअ*] [सु]-अनुठितानि

2 नेयंति [स्वगं] दम चाग अप्रमाद[5] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गरुड-ध्वजः (=शिखरस्थ-गरुडमूर्तिसनाथः शिलामयः ध्वज-स्तम्भः) अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण (Heliodoros) भागवतेन (=वैष्णवधर्मान्तर्गत-भागवतमार्गानुसारिणा) दियस्य (Dion) पुत्रेण तक्षशिलाकेन (=तक्षशिला-निवासिना) यवन-दूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य अन्तलिकितस्य (Antialkidas) उपान्तात् (=समीपात्) सकाशं राज्ञः कौत्सी-पुत्रस्य भागभद्रस्य त्रातुः वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन [च] वर्द्धमानस्य । II—त्रीणि अमृत-पदानि इह सनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं—दमः त्यागः अप्रमादः [च] ॥

No. 3—Ghosuṇḍī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatāta.

Ghosuṇḍī, near Nagarī, Chitorgadh Dist., Rājputānā

Kavirāja Shyāmal Dās, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LVI, pt. i, p. 77 ff ; K. P. Jayaswal, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27; Lüders, *List*, No. 6.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT[6]

1 [कारितो अयं राज्ञा भागव*][ते]न[7] गाजायनेन पाराशरी-पुत्रेण **स-**

1 Some scholars read **कासीपुत्रस.**

2 This word which is a translation of the Greek word *Soteros* and found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings shows that a Greek (possibly Heliodoros himself) was responsible for the draft of the record.

3 Read ०दसेन.

4 D. R. Bhandarkar reads in this line : वासिना मक[दे]से नगरजे नवध[']मा[नुसा]-[सनाय*]

5 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII. V, 43, 22: दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।

6 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, with the help of the facsimile and text of the Hāthibāḍā inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 203 f.

7 **व** is clear before **ते** in the Hāthibāḍā record.

2 [वैतातेन अश्वमेध-या*]जिना[1] भगव(द्*)भ्यां[2] संकर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां

3 [अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा*]भ्यां[3] पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायण-वाटका[4] [॥*]

Nos. 4, 5 & 6—Baḍvā Stone Pillar (Yūpa) Inscriptions of the Maukharis.—Kṛita Year 295 (=238A.D.)

Baḍvā, Kotāh State, Rājputānā.

A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[5]

No. 1.

1 सिद्धं [*।] कितेहि[6] २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[।*]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य[7] पञ्चे[8] दि०

1 The Hāthibāḍā inscription supplies सर्वतातेन अश्वमेधयाजिना after पाराशरी-पुत्रेण. Sarvatāta has been supposed to be a Kāṇva king. He however seems to have been a local ruler.

2 cf. ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः ।

ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीङ्गना ॥ विष्णुपुराण ।६।५।७३

3 The Hāthibāḍā inscription supplies अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां after वासुदेवाभ्यां.

4 Read ०वाटिका. *I. e.*, a stone-enclosure for the place of worship (or, an enclosure for the Śālagrāma) called the Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā. The enclosure is supposed to be the structure now known as Hāthibāḍā at Nagarī.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

6 Read कृतैः. The passage means कृतेषु २९५ वर्षेषु अतीतेषु, "when 295 years of the Kṛita era had passed away." It has been supposed that the era was invented (कृत)by astronomers or founded by king Kṛita. It was an era of Skytho-Parthian origin, brought by the Mālavas from their original home in the Jhang Dist., Panjāb, to Rājputānā before the time of Śaka Usavadāta (c. 118-23 A.D.). It was then known as the era used by the Mālava tribe. With the growth of the tradition of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (capital of the country later called Mālava), who is no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 375-414 A.D.) conqueror of Mālava from the Śakas, the era was gradually connected with Vikrama and was eventually known as the Vikrama Saṃvat beginning from 57 B.C. It should be noted that the use of an era was popularised in India by the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas.

7 Read : फाल्गुन 8 Read पञ्चमे. दि is the abbreviated form of दिवसे

श्रि-महासेनापतेः[1] **मोखरेः**[2] **बल**-पुत्रस्य बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः [*।] **त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य** दक्षिणयं[3] गवां सहस्रं[१०००][4] [*।]

No. 2.

1 सिद्धं [*।] कितेहि[5] २०० (+*)६०(+*) ५ फ[ा]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे[6] दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः **मोखरेः**[2] **बल**-पुत्रस्य सोमदेवस्य यूपः [*।] **त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य** दक्षिणयं[3] गव[ां] सह[स्रं] [१०००][4] [*।]

No. 3.

1 कितेहि[5] २००(+*)६०(+*)५ फ[*।]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे[6] [ा]दि० श्रीमहा-सेनापते[ः*] [**मो**]**खरे**-

2 **बल**-पुत्रस्य[2] बलसिंहस्य[7] यूपः[8] [*।] **त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य** दक्षिणयं[3] गवां सहस्रं[4] [१०००] [।*]

---

1 Read श्री० The title *Mahāsenāpati* was sometimes used by feudatory rulers. Bala may have been subordinate to the Śaka king of Ujjain.

2 Read **मौखरेः बलस्य पुत्रस्य.** It is improbable that Bala's three sons were Mahāsenāpati at the same time.

3 Read दक्षिणा. विराव-सम्मित=विराव is a sacrifice.

4 Altekar : सहप्रं(स्रं). There is a symbol after **सहस्रं** in all the three inscriptions—triangle at the head of a vertical line. It may indicate the number 1000.

5 Read **कृतैः**

6 Read **फाल्गुन-शुक्लस्य पञ्चमे**

7 Read **०सिंहस्य**

8 Altekar : यूप(प)ः

(ii) MADHYADESA AND EASTERN INDIA

No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription

PARKHAM, now Mathurā Museum.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. I.*, A. R., XX, p. 41, plate VI; VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*; STEN KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 147; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, 550f; *ibid*, VI, 173ff; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29-32; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV, Calcutta University, 1321, p. 47ff; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, 1919; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 150.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd-1st century B.C.[1]

TEXT[2]

(Right side) [म*][नि]भद पुगरिका[3] * * * रञो[4] [।*]

(Between the legs) अठ * * * * पि [।*][5]

(Left side) कुनिकतेवासिना गोमितकेन कतो [॥*][6]

---

1 Jayaswal and his followers believed that the image is a portrait statue of the Saiśunāga king Kuṇika Ajātaśatru. After the publication of Chanda's learned article in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, Jayaswal's theory may be passed over in silence. That the Parkham and Patna images represent Yakshas has been conclusively proved by Gangoly.

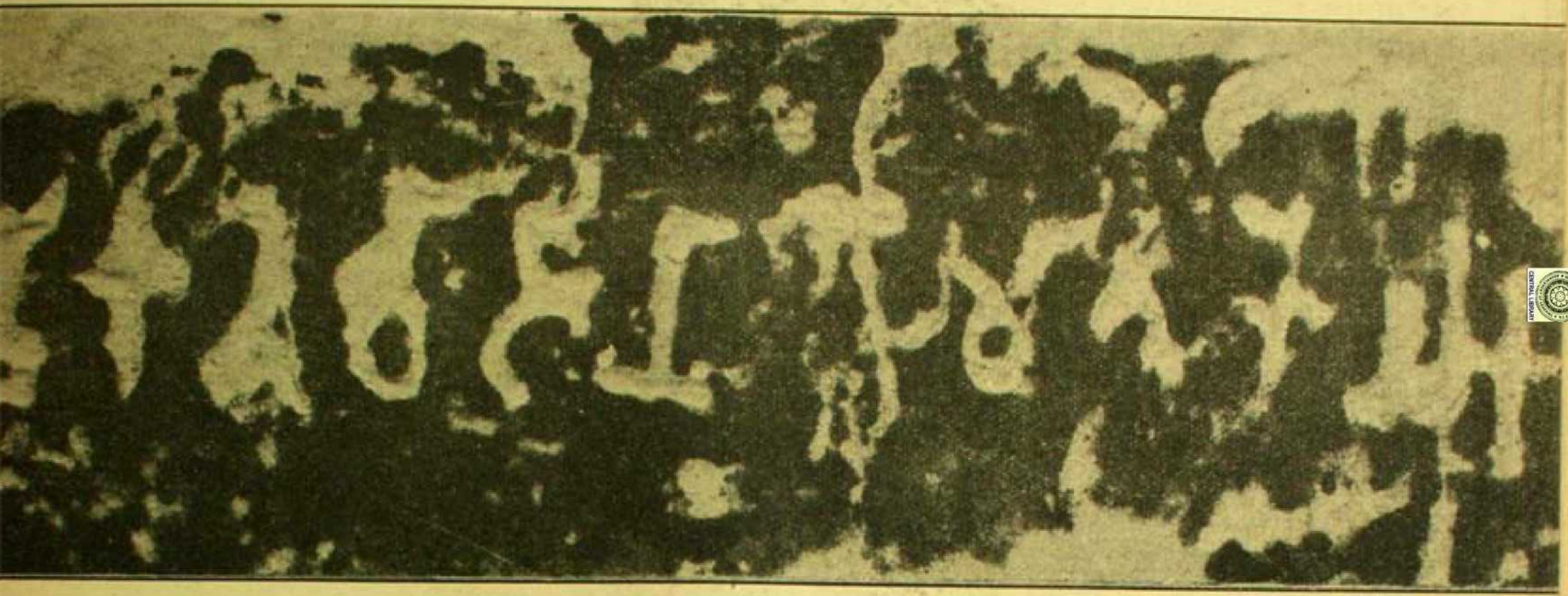
2 From facsimiles in *J.B.O.R.S.* and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

3 Vogel and Chanda read पुगरिना ; but in that case the last *akshara* is only half the size of the other *aksharas*. The reading intended may be पुगरिकाये or पुगरिकासु or पुगरिकानं, पुगरिका may be Sanskrit पुष्करिका ; but the name of Parkham may suggest an original like पुष्करकाम.

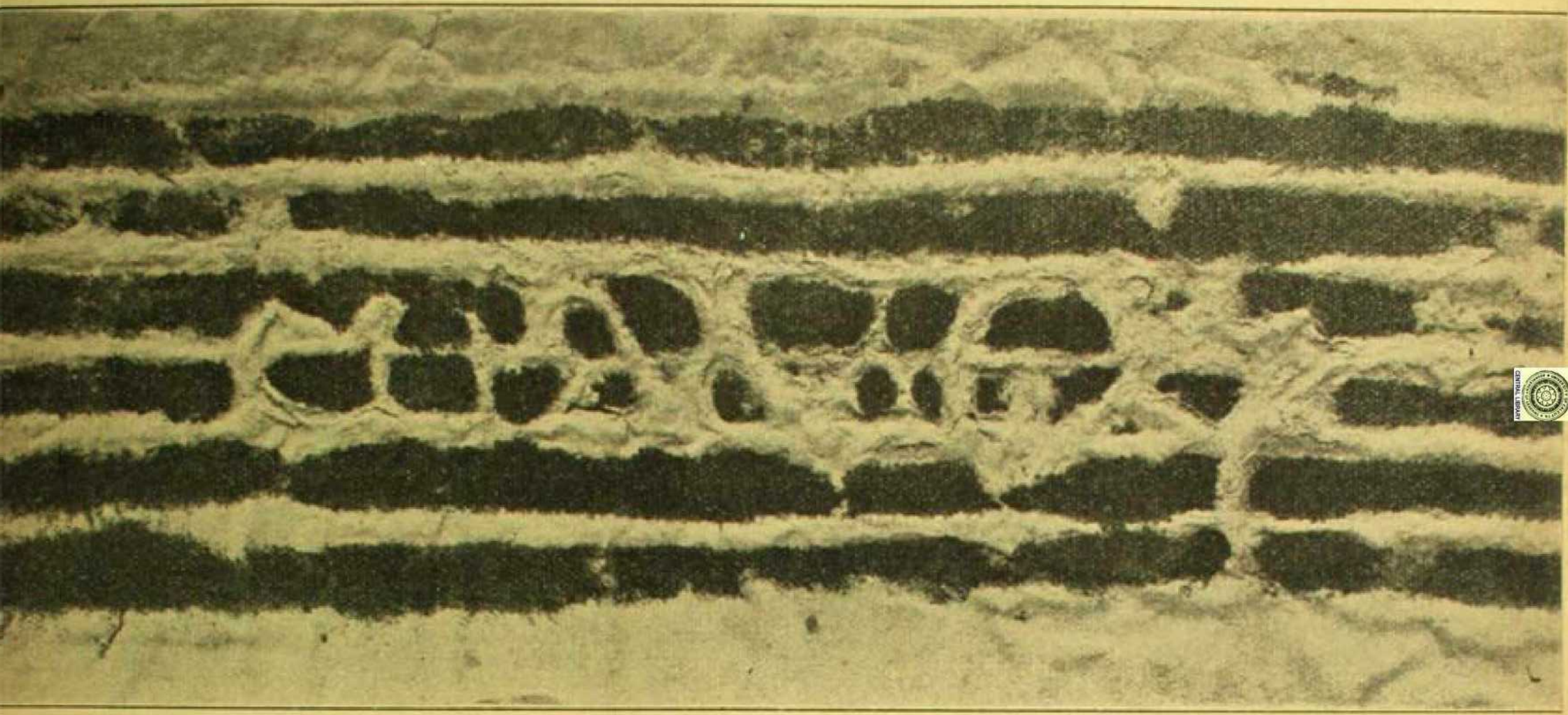
4 The *akshara* before र has been suggested by some to be ग. It may possibly also be read as ख. The reading intended may be नागरञ or यखरञ

5 The *akshara* after अठ may be पि. The reading intended seems to be अठ-पियेन थपितो

6 Different readings:—Vogel: ...[नि] भदपुगरिना[क]... ; ग अठ...पि ; ... कुनि[क]तेवासिना [गोमितकेन] कता. Sten Konow: ओम् भदपुगरिका ग रञ ; अठ...हे... Jayaswal: निभद प्रशेनि अजा*शत्रु राजो सिरि ; ४ थू (=१०) दो (=१०) ४ हि (=८) ; कुणिक शेवासिनागो माग[धा]नं राजा.



Parkham Image Inscription (Bk. II, No. 7). Left Side.



IV.

Pāṭnā Image Inscription II (Bk. II, No. 8).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

मणिभद्रः पुगरिकायां (यद्वा, पुगरिकासु, पुगरिकाणां) यक्ष-राजः (यद्वा, नाग-राजः)। अर्थप्रियेण (?) स्थापितः। कुनिकान्तेवासिना गोमिलकेण कृतः॥

No. 8—Pāṭnā Image Inscriptions

PĀṬNĀ, Bihār.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, XV, p. 2 f; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V. p. 88 ff; 214 f; 516 ff; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid*, p. 210 ff; SMITH and BARNETT, *ibid*, p. 512 ff.; H. P. SASTRI, *ibid*, p. 552 ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, March, 1919; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *ibid* ; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, Oct., 1919; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 957-58

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

I[1]

[यखे][2] अचछनीवीके[3] (=यक्षः अल्पक्षयनीविकः?)

II

यखे[4] [स]वटनंदे[5] (=यक्षः संवृतनन्दः ; यद्वा, संवर्तनन्दः ? यद्वा, ०आनन्दः ?)

---

1 From the photographs, facsimiles and eye-copies in *J. B. O. R. S.*, V. and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. The triangular form of व in वी, the curved horizontal arms of क in के and न in नं, the developed slanting form of च—all go to show the unsoundness of the theory of Jayaswal and his followers that the statues are of two Saiśunāga emperors and that the *aksharas* are pre-Mauryan. These are evidently much later images of Yakshas. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 67) assigns them stylistically to the 2nd century B. C. Cunningham assigned them to the 1st century A.D., apparently on palaeographic grounds. I am inclined to rely more on palaeographic than on stylistic grounds.

2 Only the upper part of these two *aksharas* are clear, the ground line of य, as also the lower part of ख, being obscured by the horizontal lines.

It must be noted that Cunningham the earliest decipherer of the inscription read यखे. Later writers have read भगे, भग or गते and have tried to explain away the difficulties of such readings.

3 Cunningham : अचुसनोगीक ; Jayaswal : अचो छोनीधीशे ; Barnett : अचेछनी-वीके ; Chanda : अचछनीवीक ; Majumdar : लेच्छै[वि*] ४०(+*) ४. In my opinion Jayaswal and Majumdar are beside the mark.

4 Jayaswal : सप or सव

5 Jayaswal : ०खते (or ०खेते) वट(or वेट)-नंदी ; Chanda : यख स(?)वेटनंदि ; Majumdar : यखे सं वजिनां ७०

No. 9—Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhana[deva]

AYODHYĀ, Fyzābād Dist., U. P.

J. D. RATNAKARA, *Nāgarī-prachāriṇī-Patrikā*, V, pt. 1. pp. 99-104; G. H. OJHA, *ibid*, p. 201 ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J.B.O.R.S.*, X. pp. 202-08; *ibid*, XIII, pp. 247-49; N. K. BHATTASALI, *Mod. Rev.*, February, 1925, p. 202; A. BANERJI-SASTRI, *ibid*, January, 1925, p. 59; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, VII, pts. I and II, pp. 160-63; D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः सेनापतेः[2] पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन[3] कौशिकी-पुत्रेण धन...[4]

2 धर्मराज्ञा[5] पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं[6] कारितं [॥*]

1 From the facsimile in *J. R. O. R. S.*, XIII. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except ल, the constant use of *serif* and the angular forms of म, ज, प, फ, स, ल and ष show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much earlier than the first century A. D.

2 Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice is referred to in the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also styles him as *Senāpati*. The title appears to have been popular even after Pushyamitra's accession to the throne.

3 I.e., sixth in descent from Pushyamitra either from the side of the father or from that of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require पुष्यमित्रात्; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit. The interpretation "Sixth brother of Pushyamitra" is out of the question.

4 We may have धनदेवेन, धनदेन, धनकेन, धननन्दिना, धनभूतिना, धनमित्रेण, धनदत्तेन or धनदासेन. But the father's name फल्गुदेव makes the possibility of धनदेवेन a little better. He was apparently a local ruler of the Ayodhyā region.

5 Read धर्मराजेन. धर्मराज्ञा can only be supported if *anityatva* of *samāsānta-vidhi* is accepted.

6 A building (for the accommodation of an image of the deceased); or, a structure or pillar(ध्वजस्तम्भ) on the cremation ground in memory of Phalgudeva.

Courtesy : B. O. R. S. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, X).

Ayodhya Inscription of Dhanadeva (Bk. II, No. 9).

No. 10—Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions of the time of Ūdāka.—Regnal Year 10.

PABHOSĀ, near Kosām, Allāhābād Dist., U. P.

HOERNLE, *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1887, p. 104; A. FÜHRER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 242f; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 904-05.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C.[1]

No. I

(on the rock outside the cave)

TEXT[2]

1 राज्ञो गोपाली-पुत्रस

2 **बहसतिमित्रस**[3]

3 मातुलेन गोपालिया-

4 वैह[ो]दरी-पुत्रेन [आसा][4]

---

1 Führer assigns the records to the 2nd or 1st century B. C. and Bühler to circa 150 B.C. The characters have however some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mathurā. They exhibit angular forms of *aksharas* and also the *serif*; cf. त्र in ll. 1-2, न in l. 2, etc., in No. I. Note also the developed sign for medial *i*, and the curved base of न and developed medial *u* in No. 2.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

3 He appears to be the king whose coins have been discovered at Rāmnagar (ancient Ahichchhatra, capital of Pañchāla), Bareilly Dist., U. P. and Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī, capital of Vatsa), Allahābād Dist., U. P. See Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 146, 155, 185. This king may possibly be identified with Brihaspatimitra, king of the Magadhas, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st cent. B. C.). For two names of Mitra kings on the Bodhgayā rail pillars and on coins found at Kumrahar (Gayā Dist)., see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 327.

4 These redundant letters of the name have been afterwards erased.

5 **आसाढसेनेन** लेनं

6 कारितं **ऊदाक[स]**[1] **दस-**

7 **म-सवछरे** * * पि * **त**[2] **अरहं-**

8 [त*]। ... ... [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः गोपाली-पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्रस्य मातुलेन गोपालिका-वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन लयनं (=गुहावासः) कारितम् ऊदाकस्य दशम-संवत्सरे.....अर्हतां [सुपरिग्रहे = ०ग्रहाय] ॥

No. II

(inside the cave)

TEXT[3]

1 **अधिछत्राया** राज्ञो शौनकायन-पुत्रस्य[4] **वंगपालस्य**

2 पुत्रस्य राज्ञ[ो] तेवणी-पुत्रस्य **भागवतस्य**[5] पुत्रेण

3 वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण **अ[ा*]षाढसेनेन** कारितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अधिच्छत्रायाः (=अहिच्छत्रायाः[6]) राज्ञः शौनकायनी-पुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः त्रैवर्णी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [लयनम्] ॥

---

1 Führer: **उदा०. स** is partially preserved. Udāka was apparently a king of the Kosam region. He has been identified with the Suṅga king who succeeded Vasumitra. This record however cannot be placed so early as the 2nd century B.C.

2 Führer : **कश्शपीयानं** ; but the last letter is certainly **त**, not **न** ; **या** is different in shape from **या** in l. 3; **श्श** is doubtful and resembles **व** or the upper part of **त**. The reading may be : **१० वपिफ(छ?)त०**

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

4 Read **शौनकायनी**. Faint traces of a medial *i* are visible. The metronymics may have something to do with the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society. But they are certainly directly connected with Indian polygyny. A metronymic distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers.

5 Read **भाग०**.

6 The more popular **अहिच्छत्र** is a Prakritized form of **अधिच्छत्र**.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS[1]

No. 11—Inscription on some coins of Demetrios (c. 190—160 B.C.)[2]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 1[3]

First side.[4]

Bust of King to right, diademed, wearing elephant's scalp.

Second side.

Young Herakles[5] standing, facing, crowing himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin with the left ; monogram ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(right) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (=*basilēōs*)

(left) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (=*Demetriou*).[6]

---

1 The Bactrian Greeks(=Yavanas) were a factor in Indian politics from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to that of the 2nd century A. D. ; but they had gradually to give way to the Skytho-Parthians from about the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. Sometimes several Indo-Greek kings of more than one royal house ruled contemporaneously from their capitals at places like Kāpiśī, (capital of Kāpiśa=Kafiristan), Pushkarāvatī (Charsadda), Takshaśilā, and Śākala (Sialkoṭ). Duplication of kings and their relation or contemporaneity are sometimes suggested on the basis of similarity or dissimilarity of coin types. But they may be due to local or other reasons. See *supra* p. 86, n. 1 ; *infra*, p. 109, n. 3.

2 About the middle of the 3rd cent. B. C., Diodotus I, governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleukidan emperor of Syria. Diodotus was succeeded by Diodotus II whose successor was Euthydemos. Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiokhos II (the Seleudidan emperor who had given him a daughter when the independence of Bactria was recognised), conquered portions of Northern and Western India including probably Kābul, the Panjāb and Sind about 190 B. C. The scalp of the Indian elephant refers to canquests in India.

3 For the coins noticed in these pages, consult also other Catalogues, such as the British Museum Cat. of Gardner and the Punjab Museum Cat. of Whitehead and also works like those of Cunningham.

4 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate I, No. 9.

5 Herakles (=Roman : Hercules) is the Greek god of strength.

6 *Basilēos Demetriou*=[coin] of king Demetrios.

No. 12—Inscription on some oblong Copper Coins of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 1

First side[2]

Leopard,[3] standing to right, in incuse square; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] (=*basilēōs*)

(below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (=*Pantalēontos*)

Second side

Female figure[4] to left, dancing, clad in lose robe and trousers,[5] with long ear-rings; flower in right hand[6]; no monogram; inscription in Brahmī characters:—

(right) रजने

(left) पतलवस

(=राज्ञः पन्तलेवस्य।)

---

1 Pantaleon was king of the North-Western part of India about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. The oblong shape and Brāhmī script are peculiarly Indian. He was probably related to Agathokles. (c. 155-135 B. C.), Antimakhos (c. 150-135 B. C.) and Apollodotus I (140-120 B. C.) all possibly belonging to the house of Demetrios. The provenance and script of Pantaleon's coins show that he ruled over a wide area for a short time. The suggestion that Pantaleon and Agathokles were kings of Western Paropanisadae and Arakhosia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 546) is rendered doubtful by their use of Brāhmī.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate II, No. 1. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of king Pantaleon."

3 Maneless lion, according to Smith.

4 Māyā, mother of Buddha in the nativity scene, according to Foucher (J. R. A. S., 1890); but dancing girl according to others.

5 The dress is discribed as "oriental costume" by Whitehead.

6 Possibly the lotus flower held in the hand is the play-thing called *līlā-kamala*.

No. 13—Inscription on some Coins of Eukratides

(c. 175-155 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29

First side[2]

Bust of King to right, diademed and with helmet in the shape of high crowned *Kausia* (flat cap), adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border; inscription in Greek characters:—
(above in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs mēgalou*)

(below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (=*Eukratidou*).

Second side

The Dioskuroi[3] standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; monogram E and Y combined; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) रजस महतकस

(below) एउकतिद[स]

(=राज्ञः महतः एवुकतिदस्य।)

---

1 Eukratides became lord first of Bactria and then of North-Western India. He was contemporary with the early kings of Euthydemos's line and wrested many parts of the Kabul Valley and N. W. India from the latter.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate II, No. 9. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of the great king Eukratides."

3 The Greek twin Gods Kastor and Pollux like the Indian Aśvinīkumāras. They were typically represented as horsemen and were patrons of games and equestrian exercises, Kastor being a horse-tamer and Pollux a boxer.

Nos. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander

(c. 115-90 B.C.)—Regnal years * and 5

SHINKOT, Bajaur Tribal Territory[1]

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 7

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshṭhī[2]

TEXT[3]

Group I

A

(*on the rim of the lid*)

... ...मिनेद्रस[4] महरजस कटिअस दिवस ४(+*) ४(+*) ४(+*)१ (+*)१[5]

प्र[ण]-[स]मे[द]...

---

1 The place is about 20 miles west of the Panjkora-Swat confluence beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province.

2 In Gr. I the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes; but in Gr. II the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. The first has ण with a rounded head, the second has an acute angle. The letter न in Gr. I has a long sweep in its top curve as in the Aśoka edicts; in Gr. II however the curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance as in the inscription of the Kushan period. The letter स of the first Group is generally of the closed type as in Aśokan edicts and Greco-Bactrian coin-legends; while in Gr. II the letter shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop as in the records of the Śaka period. These characteristics have led Majumdar to think that there is a gap of more than 50 years between the two Groups. He places Gr. I in the 2nd and Gr. II in the first century A.D. But the observations are inaccurate; cf., e.g., स in B, ण in C, न in D, l. 3, etc. Apparently Viryakamitra died soon after the *pratishṭhā* of the casket which was neglected, but the worship was established by his successor after a few years. The seemingly meaningless subscript र is a later sign; it indicates a modification in the pronunciation of the superscript consonant. See *infra*, p. 104, note 1.

3 From plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

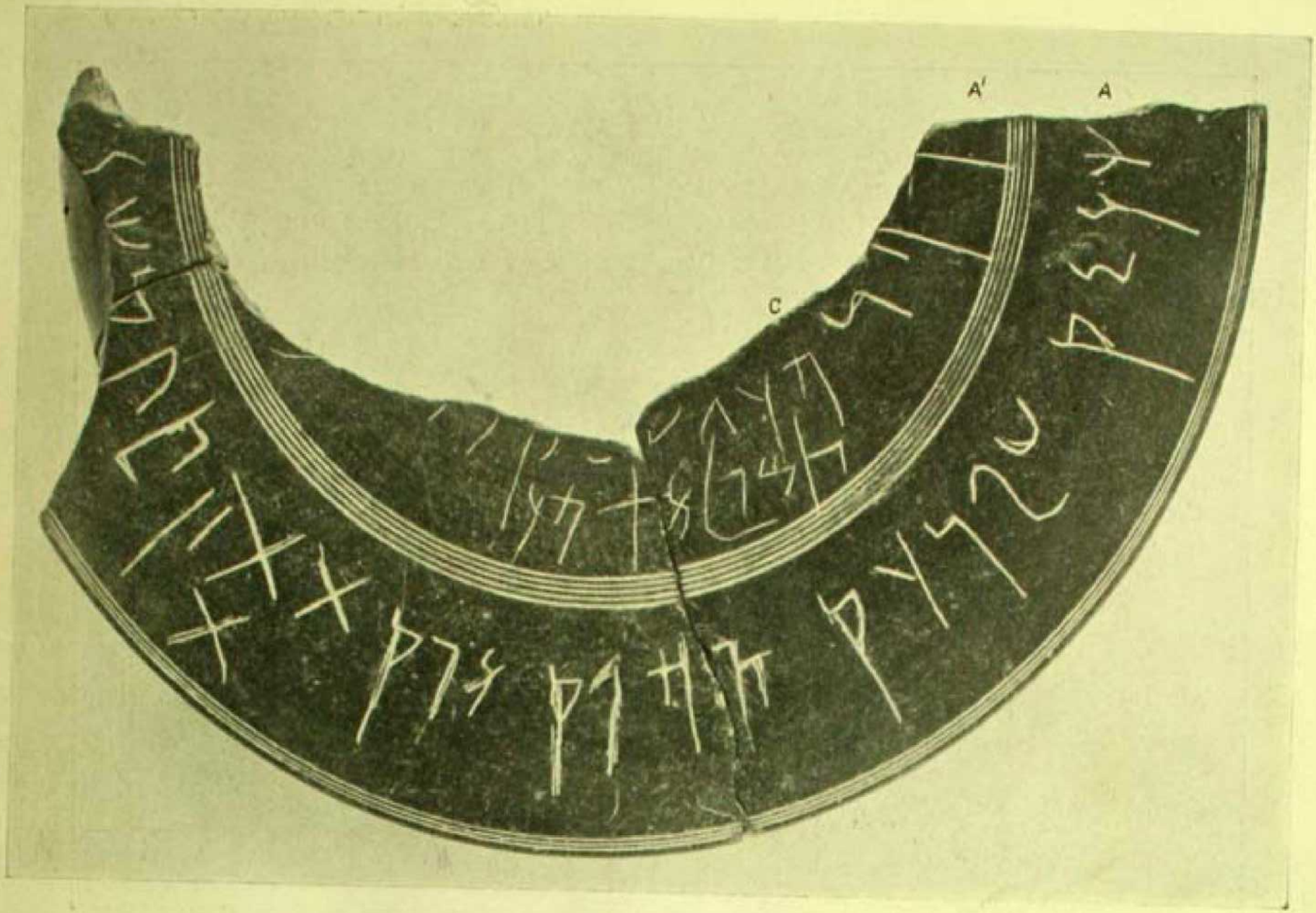
4 The date portion at the beginning is lost. Note the perfect Indianisation of the name.

5 The third figure is inscribed below the line. It is to be noted that the number 14 is here not expressed as in Brāhmī with 10 and 4. The month names were popularised in Indian epigraphy by foreigners.

9—45 O.P.

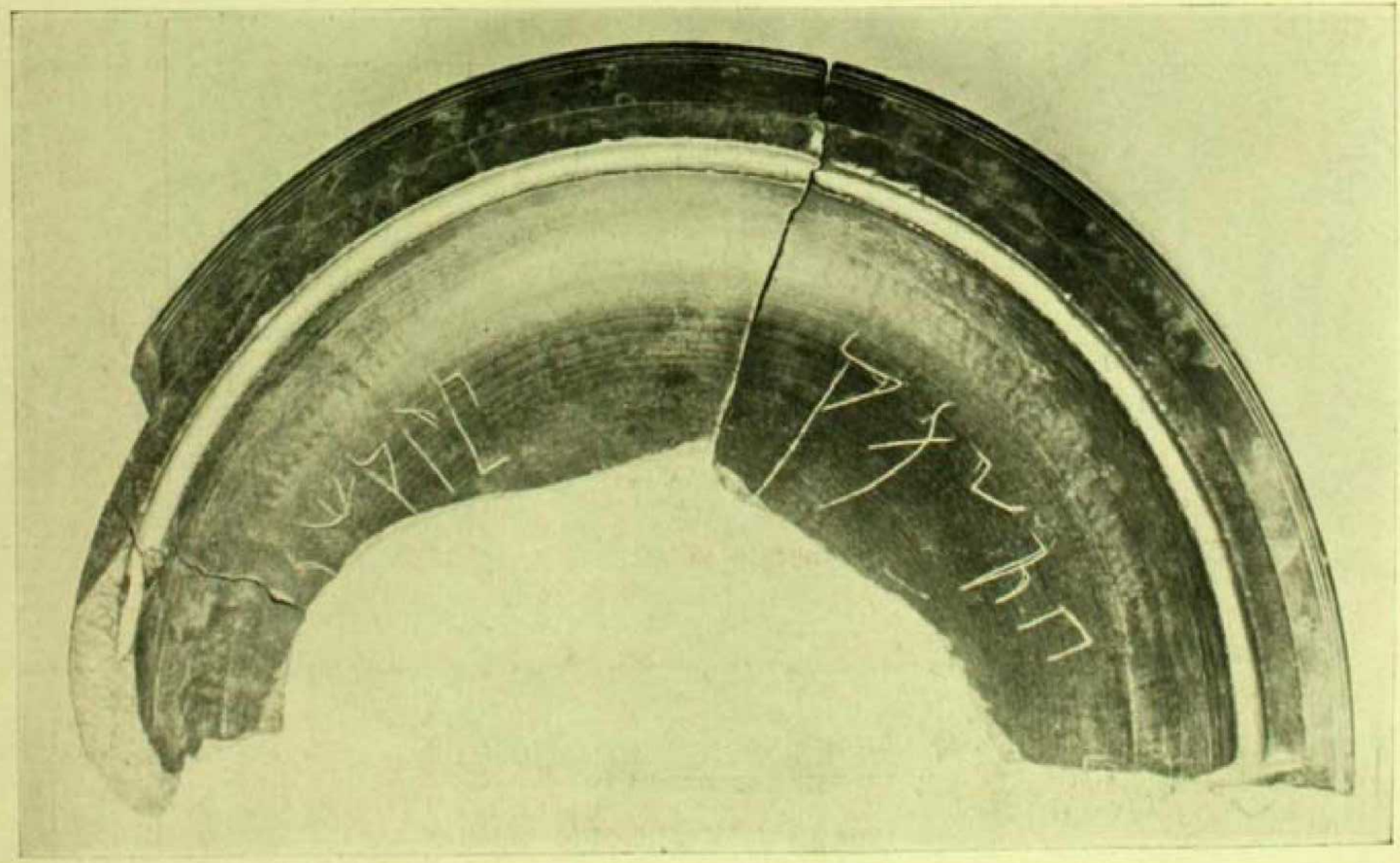
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

Shinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No 14). Sections A, A^1 & C.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14) Section A^2.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV).

Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14). Section E.

A_1

(in the centre of the lid)

.. ...[प्रति*][थवि]त [।*]

A_2

(inner face of the lid)

प्रण-समे[द] [शरिर+] [भगव*][तो] **शकमुनिस** [।*]

B

(inside of the casket)

वियकमित्रस[1] अप्रच-रजस [।*]

Group II

C

(centre of the lid)

1 **विजय[मित्रे]ण**[2] ...

2 पते प्रदिथविदे

D

(inside of the casket)

1 इमे शरिर पलुग भुद्रओ न सकरे अवित [।*] स शरिअवि कलद्रे नो[3] शद्रो न पिंडोयकेयि पिवि ग्रिणयवि [।*]

2 तस ये पते अपोमुअ [।*] **वषये पंचमये ४(+*)१ वेश्रखस मसस दिवस पंचविश्रये** इयो

3 प्रविथविते **विजयमित्रेन** अप्रचरजेन भग्रवतु **शकिमुणिस** सम-स[ं]बुधस शरिर [।*]

---

1 The additional stroke at the foot of स may indicate that the *akshara* is स्य. Viryakamitra appears to have been a feudatory of Menander. प्राणसमेत refers to the Buddhist belief that Buddha's relics could perform miracles.

2 Vijayamitra, successor of Viryakamitra, has been identified with the king of that name whose coins bearing legends in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī characters and belonging to the first century B. C. have been discovered in Taxila. ण is clear, but ignored by Majumdar. There were at least two *aksharas* after ण, the lower parts of which are visible. 3 Majumdar: न

E

(*on the back of the casket*)

विश्पिलेन अणंकतेन लिखिते [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Gr. I: A [संवत्सरे]...मौनेन्द्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्त्तिकस्य [मासस्य] दिवसे १४ प्राणसमेतं [शरीरं] A^1 [भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः] प्रतिष्ठापितम्। A_2 प्राणसमेतं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः। B वीर्यकमित्तस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य (=महाराजासमराजस्य=सामन्तस्य। यद्वा, अपत्यराजस्य)॥ Gr. II: B विजयमित्तेण...पात्रं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। C इदं शरीरं $^{+}$प्ररुग्ण-भूतकं (=भग्नं भूतं) न सत्कारेण आदृतम्। तत् शीर्य्यति कालतः, [अत्र कः अपि] न श्रद्धः (=श्रद्धालुः) न [च] पिण्डोदकानि पितॄन् ग्राहयति। तस्य एतत् पात्रम् अवमुक्तम् (यद्वा, अवमुच्य); वर्षके पञ्चमके ५ वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पंचविंशके इह [पुनः] प्रतिष्ठापितं [च] विजयमित्तेण अप्रत्यग्राजेन भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य [नवं] शरीरम् [अस्मिन् पात्रे]। E विश्वित्तेन आज्ञाकृता (=आज्ञाकारिणा) लिखितम्॥

No. 15—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 22

First side[2]

Bust of king to right, helmeted; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (=*basilēōs sōteros*)

(below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (=*Mēnandrou*)

1 He has been identified with the Yona (=Yavana or Greek) king Milinda who became a desciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, according to the *Milinda-pañho* which places him 500 years (i. e. in the 5th century) after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that occurred in 544 B. C. according to the Ceylonese tradition. Milinda's capital was at Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Panjab). He possibly ruled about the end of the second century B.C. The name is found as Milindra in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* of Kshemendra and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 4n.).

2 From Smith's Catalogue, Pl. V, No. 1. The Greek inscription means: "[coin] of king Menander, the Saviour."

Second side

Pallas Athene[1] to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunder-bolt with right hand ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरजस त्रतरस

(below) मेनद्रस

(=महाराजस्य त्रातुः मेनन्द्रस्य ॥)

No. 16—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Strato I[2] and his mother Agathokleia the Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 21

First side[3]

Bust of queen to right, bare-headed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ] [ϕΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (=*basilisses thēotropou*)[4]

(below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (=*Agathoklēias*)

Second side

Herakles seated to left on rock; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) [महरजस] [त्रतर]स ध्रमिकस

(below) [त्र]तस

(=महाराजस्य त्रातुः धार्मिकस्य त्रतस्य ॥)

---

1 The Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom (=Roman : Minerva.)

2 He ruled probably in Eastern Panjāb from about 85 to about 30 B.C. He is supposed to have been the son of Menander and to have been ousted by Heliokles (c. 130-80 B.C.) from Nikaea (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 699). This Heliokles need not have been the son or the immediate successor of Eukratides.

3 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate IV, No. 11.

4 It is interesting that the obverse refers to the queen-regent and the reverse to the minor king. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Queen Agathokleia true to the gods." She may have been daughter of Agathokles and wife of Menander.

No. 17—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 15, No. 1

First side[2]

Bust of King to right, diadem ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΕφΟΡΟΥ (=*basilēōs nikephorou*)
(below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (=*Antialkidou*)

Second side

Throned Zeus[3] to left, laureate, holding long sceptre in left hand ; and, in right hand, a small figure of Nike[4] who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant[5] to left, with bell round neck, extends its trunk ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरजस जयधरस
(below) अंतिअलिकितस
(=महाराजस्य जयधरस्य अन्तियलिकिदस्य ॥)

---

1 Antialkidas belonging to the house of Eukratrides ruled in the Taxila region about the end of the second century B.C.. He is mentioned in the Besnagar inscription of the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra who must be placed some years later than Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.) and Agnimitra (c. 148-140 B.C.) and possibly after their two successors who ruled for 17 years according to the Purāṇas. He might have sought assistance of the Vidiśā king against the aggression of the great conqueror Menander, king of Śākala and a scion of the rival house of Euthydemos.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate III, No. 1. On some copper specimens modified later forms of *sigma* and *omega* are noticed.

3 Roman Jupiter, the prototype of Indian Indra.

4 The Greek goddess of victory ; cf. the title जयधर. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of the victorious king Antialkidas."

5 The elephant which reminds us of Indra's Airāvata possibly indicates an approach to the identification of Zeus with Indra.

No. 18—Inscription on some Coins of Hermaios[1] (c. 20-30 A.D.) and his queen Kalliope

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 31

First side[2]

Busts of King and Queen to right, both diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΡΜΑΙΟΥ (=*basilēōs sōteros Ērmaiou*)

(below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (=*kai Kalliopes*)

Second side

King helmeted and diademed, on prancing horse to right, with bow and spear at his back; monogram; inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters:—

(above) महरजस ञतरस हेरमयस

(below) कलियपय

(=महाराजस्य ञातुः हेरमयस्य कलियपायाः [च] ॥)

---

1 He seems to have belonged to the house of Eukratides and to have ruled in the first half of the first century A. D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul region and was supplanted by the Parthians, probably by Gondopharnes. These joint issues may indicate a union of the rival houses of Eukratides and Euthydemos.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VI, No. 11. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour, and of Kalliope."

No. 19—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Hermaios and of the Kushāṇa yavuga Kujula Kasa[1] (c. 25-55 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 33

First side[2]

Bust of Hermaios to right, diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΤΗΡΟ]ΣΣΥ[3] ΕΡ[ΜΑΙΟΥ] (=*basilēōs sterossu Ērmaiou*)

Second side

Herakles facing, diademed; with right hand he holds club resting on ground, and with left hand lion's skin; circular inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

𐨑𐨪𐨫𐨁-𐨑𐨯𐨿 [𐨑𐨿𐨯𐨦-𐨬𐨪𐨿]𐨑𐨯 𐨥𐨪𐨯𐨣𐨤𐨯[4]

(=कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य [=कुषाणवंशीय-नायकस्य] धर्मस्थितस्य ॥)

---

1 He has been identified with Kadphises I. *Yavuga* is supposed to be a Turkish word meaning "prince". The Kushāṇas gradually ousted the Greeks and the Skytho-Parthians from the sovereignty of the Kabul region and the North-Western part of India. The joint issues may indicate that Kadphises I at first accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Greeks of Kabul. They may be similar to the coins of the East India Company issued in the name of Shāh 'Alam II (Whitehead, *Cat.*, II, Nos. 2864-67). In Kabul the Greeks were supplanted by the Parthians and the Parthians by the Kushāṇas. Kadphises I did not conquer the region of the Indus.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VI, No. 14.

3 Read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΣΥ was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name. The Greek inscription means: "[coin] of king Hermaios the saviour;" but in some cases *sōtēros* is wrongly translated by महतस.

4 On Kadphises' own coins (see *infra*) we sometimes get सच-धम-ठितस (=सत्य-धर्मस्थितस्य) which possibly refers to his devotion to the religion of Buddha.

No. 20—Swāt Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros

A Paṭhān village in the Swāt Valley; now Panjāb Museum.

F. W. Thomas, *Fest. Ernst Windisch*, p. 362; Sten Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 4

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī of *circa* 1st century B.C.

TEXT[1]

1 थेउदोरेन मेरिदखेन प्रतिठविद इमे शरिर शक-मुणिस भगवतो बहु-जण-[हिति]ये[2] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[+]थेवदोरेण [+]मेरिदखेण (=विषयपतिना=प्रदेशशासकेन ; Greek *meridarkhes*) प्रतिष्ठापितम् इदं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) शाक्यमुनेः (=बुद्धस्य) भगवतः बहुजन-हिताय ॥

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND THE KUSHĀṆAS

(i) Inscriptions Dated in the Older Skytho-Parthian Reckoning and Connected Records.

No. 21—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Maues (c. 90 B.C.-20 A.D.)[3]

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 39

First side[4]

Zeus standing to left, clad in himation; grasping long sceptre

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 Thomas: ०जतिष्ठितिये ; Konow: ०जणस्तितिये

3 This date of Maues is based on the supposition that he is the same as Moga of the Taxila record (*infra*). It is also possible to suggest that Maues of most of these coins was the grandfather of Moga (=Maues II). In that case, Maues I may be identical with Yin-Mo-fu king of Ki-pin (=Kafiristan and parts of N.W. India) of the Chinese and may be the founder of the early Skytho-Parthian (=Vikrama?) era. Maues imitated the coin-types of Demetrios and Strato I.

4 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, plate VIII, No. 2.

with left hand ; right arm extended ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above, in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΜΑΥΟΥ (=*Mauou*)

Second side

Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand; palm bound with fillet in left hand; monogram in right field; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above, in semicircle) रजदिरजस महतस

(below [मो]अस[1]

(=राजातिराजस्य महतः मोयस्य [=मोगस्य] ॥)

No. 22—Inscription on Some Silver coins of Azes I[2] (c. 10-35 A.D.)

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 43

First side[3]

Zeus standing to left; right hand extended; long sceptre with fillet in left hand; inscription in Greek characters[4] :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΟΥ (=*Azou*)

---

1 Another Indian form of the name is *Moga*. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Maues, the great king of kings." The title is derived from the Persian title *Khshāyathiyānam Khshāyathiya* of Old Pers. inscriptions.

2 He possibly succeeded Maues=Moga in the Gandhāra region and conquered Eastern Panjāb from Hippostratos.

3 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, plate VIII, No. 9. On some specimens the square *omicron* is noticed.

4 The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Azes, the great king of kings."

Second side

Winged Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand, and palm with fillet in left hand; monogram to right; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयस

(=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयस्य ॥)

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azilises[1]

(c. 30-40 A.D.)

Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 49

First side

King on horse-back to right, with lance; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (=*Azilisou*)[2]

Second side

Pallas Athene to left, thunder-bolt in right hand and aegis in left hand; monogram to left and Kharoshṭhī अ in right field; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयिलिषस

(=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयिलिषस्य ॥)

---

1 He was succeeded by Azes II (c. 35-75 A.D.). Asparvarman was a *strategos* (=सेनापति or governor) first under Azes II and then under Gondopharnes, while his nephew Sasa under the latter and Pakores.

2 The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Azilises, the great king of kings."

24—Mathurā Lion-Capital Inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śoḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttra) Dist., U.P.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XXVI, pp. 542-44; F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 141 ff; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i, p. 48.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

Group I

A (i)

1 महत्त[व]स **रजुलस**

2 अग्रमहेषि **अयसिअ**

3 **कमु[स]अ**[3] धित

4 **खर(ई?)ओस्तस** युवरञ

5 मत **नददि(सि?)अकस[ए?]**[4]

---

1 From the Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, *IX*, and *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* modifies the sound of the superscript consonant.

2 The first section may be and has been differently interpreted: "By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Ayasi Komūsā (masc.), mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaosta, Nandasi-Akasā (by name)" (Thomas); "The chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasia Komuia, the daughter of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka" (Konow). *Kshatrapa* is from Old Pers. *Khshathrapāvan*, a provincial governor. The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations. Rājūla and Rañjuvula are different froms of the same name.

3 Konow: कमुइअ. Kharraosta is from Old Pers. *khshathra-osta*, the blessing of sovereignty. Konow identifies him with Kharaosta son of Arṭa.

4 Konow: नद दिअकस [तये].

A (ll. 6-16)

A (ll. 1-5)

E (ll. 1-2); E′

E″

E (ll. 3-4)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections A, E & E″.

M

B; C; D

J

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Ek. II, No. 24).—Sections B, C, D, J & M.

A (ii)

6 सध मत **अवुहोल[ए]**
7 पितमहि **पिश्प्रस्त्रिअ**[1] भ्र-
8 त **हयुअरन** सध **हन** धि[त][2]
9 अतेउरेन होरक-प[3]-
10 रिवरेन इश्र प्रठवि-प्रत्ते-
11 श्रे निसिमे[4] शरिर प्रतिठविवो
12 भकवतो शक्मुनिस **बुधस**
13 म(?)किहि(?)रयस[5] श्प [अ]भुसवित(?)[6]
14 श्रुव च सघरम च चतु-
15 दिश्रस सघस **सर्व**-
16 **स्तिवत्रन** परिग्रहे [॥*][7]

C

1 कलुइ अ-
2 वरजो [।*]

D

1 नउलुदो [।*]

---

1 The two words are in a half compound.

2 Konow takes Hana to be the daughter of Hayuara.

3 Konow and Lüders think होरक=होरमुर्त, a Skythic rendering of दानपति.

4 Bühler explained निसिम (=निःसम) as an equivalent to स्तूप, and Thomas as निस्सीम,[a] स्तूप outside the सीमा.

5 Konow: मुकि[श्रि]रय, etc., "after having performed solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (=Maues) and his horse." Thomas: म (अ?)किटे(हि?)र(?)य; Indraji: मुकिहितय (=मुक्तिहिताय). The reading and interpretation of 1. 13 is doubtful.

6 Thomas: सश्पए भुसवेति ? (=शाश्वतं भूयात् इति).

7 Konow reads section E after A.

Group II

B

1 महच्छलवस

2 वजुलस्य[1] पुत्र[2]

3 शुडसे छत्रवे[3]

E

1 खर्र(ई)ओस्तो युवरय

2 खलमस कुमर

3 मज कनिठ

4 समनमोल-

E (b)

1 क करित

K and L

1 अयरिअस

2 बुधलेवस

3 उत्तएन अयिमित(स?)-

H

1 गुहविहरे

H(a)

1 धमदन (?)

F

1 बुधिलस नकरअस

2 भिखुस सर्वस्तिवतस [1*]

---

1 Read रजुल०

2 Konow reads section C here.

3 Konow reads section D here.

F (l. 1)

K ; L.

G

F (l. 2); G; J (l. 3); K; L (l. 3)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections F, G, J, K, & L.

I; J; M (l. 3); Q (l. 2).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections I, J, M & Q.

G

1 महक्ष[त्र]पस्य कुसुलअस पदिकस मेव(?)किस

2 मियिकस क्षत्रपस पुयए [॥*]

E (a)

1 कमुइओ [।*]

Group III

M

1 क्षत्रपे शुडिसे

2 इमो पढ़वि-

3 प्रवेश्रो

I

1 वेयउदिर्न[1] कधवरो बुसप-

2 रो कध-

3 वरो

4 वियउ-

J (1 and 2)

1 वे * * * * * * * पलिछिन (?)[2]

2 निसिमो करित नियवितो

J (3)

1 सर्वेस्तिवतन परि(?)ग्रहे

N

1 अयरिअस बुधिलस नकरकस भिखु-

2 स सर्वेस्तिवतस पम्र-

---

1 वेयउ seems to be the same as वियउ in I, line 4.

2 Konow reads here उर्वरपरेण पलिछिन, limited by Urvarapara. Thomas however notes that 7 or 8 *aksharas* before पलि are quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. Thomas: पलिप्टे(?)न

3 न महसघिअन प्र-

4 म(?)त्र-विलवे खलुलस [॥*]

O

1 सर्ववुधन पुय [।*] धमस

2 पुय [।*] सघस पुय [।*]

P

1 सर्वस सकस्त-

2 नस पुयए [।*]

Q

1 खर्दअस

2 क्षत्रवस [।*]

R

1 र(त?)क्षिलस

2 क्रोनिनस [।*]

J (a)

1 खलशमु-

2 शो [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Group I: A (i). महाक्षत्रपस्य राजुलस्य अग्र-महिषी, आयसेः कोमुसाः दुहिता, खरवस्तस्य युवराजस्य माता [या, तया] नदसियकसया—

A (ii). सार्द्धं मात्रा आवुहोलया, पितामह्या पिश्पस्या, भ्राता हयुयरेण, सार्द्धं हन [इति] दुहित्रा, आन्तःपुरेण +होरका-परिवारेण (=अन्तःपुरस्य स्त्रीसङ्घेन [च]) अस्मिन् पृथिवी-प्रदेशे (=स्थाने) निःसीमे (=स्तूपबहिःस्थे परंतु तत्संलग्ने तत्स्वत्वके च) शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः बुद्धस्य; मृग्याधिराजस्य अश्मा (?=सिंहशिखरः शिला-स्तम्भः)[1] अभ्युत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ; स्तूपः च सङ्घारामः च [अभ्युत्सर्पितः = कारितः] चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य सर्वास्तिवादानां (= ०वादिनां) परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

---

1 Cf. शकि=शाक्य (No. 14) and भकवतो=भगवतः (passim.)

O

N; O; P; Q; R.

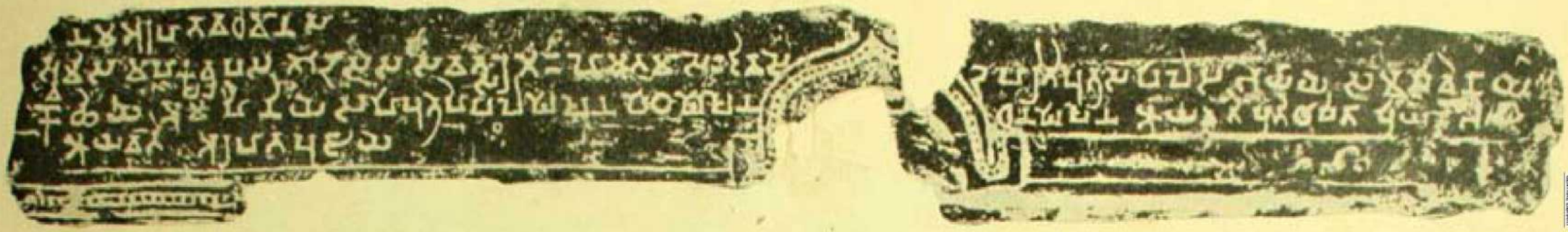
P

J'

Q (l. 2)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24').—Sections J', N, O, P, Q & R.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription (Bk. II, 25).

C कालुयी अवरजः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?]।

D नवलूदः [इति च नवकर्मिकः ?]।

Group II: B महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूलस्य पुत्रे शोडाशे क्षत्रपे [शासति],

E खरवस्तः युवराजः, खलमसः कुमारः, मजः कनिष्ठः [च इति] समनुमोद-

E(b) काः [वक्ष्यमानस्य धर्मदानस्य] ; कारितम्

K and L आचार्यस्य बुद्धदेवस्य [शिष्येण] उदयेन आजिमित्र- (यद्वा, आर्यमेः)

H, H (a). . गुहाविहारे धर्मदानम्

F बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय (=नगर-वास्तव्याय)[1] भिक्षवे सर्वास्तिवादाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय) ;

G महाक्षत्रपस्य कुसुलुकस्य (कुसुलुक-पुत्रस्य ?) पतिकस्य, मेवकेः (मेवकि-पुत्रस्य ?) मियिकस्य [च] पूजायै ।

E(a) कामूयीयः [इति नवकर्मिकः?]।

Group III: M क्षत्रपे शोडासे [शासति] अयं पृथिवी-प्रदेशः

I, J (1&2).—विजयोदीर्णम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, पुसापुरम्[इति] स्कन्धावारः, विजयोर्व ...परीक्षिणा (= तदाख्यपुरुषेण) निःसीमः (=स्तूपबहिःस्थः परंतु तदधीनः तत्स्वत्वकः च) कारितः, निर्यातितः (=दत्तः) [च]

J (3). सर्वास्तिवादानां (=०वादिनां) परिग्रहे,

N आचार्याय बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय भिक्षवे, प्राग्राणां माहासाङ्घिकानां प्रामाण्यविस्वे[2] +खलूराय (?=मल्लभुवे=निकषसदृशाय) ॥

O सर्व-बुद्धानां पूजा । धर्मस्य पूजा । सङ्घस्य पूजा ।

P सर्वस्य शक-स्थानस्य (= शकदेशस्य । Skythia, Indo-Skythia)[3] पूजायै ।

Q, R खर्दकस्य क्षत्रपस्य [पूजायै] । रक्षितस्य, कोणिनस्य [च] [पूजायै] ॥

J (a) खलशमुशः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?]।

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1 Possibly Nagara or Nagarahāra, modern Jalālābād. We may also have: आचार्याय बुद्धदेवाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय) उदयेन...धर्मदानम्। बुद्धिलस्य...सर्वास्तिवादस्य [पूजायै]।

2 I.e., "with reference to the knowledge of proof of the vanguard of the Māhāsāṅghikas (a Buddhist sect that was antagonistic to the sect of the Sarvāstivādins)." Konow makes प्रमां ज्ञपयितुम्, to teach the truth.

3 Fleet makes स्वकस्थान and Majumdar शकस्थान. Some take सर्व as a proper name.

No. 25—The Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa—Year 72(=A. D. 15?)

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at MATHURĀ

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 199; LÜDERS, *List*, No.59; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243-44.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 नम अरहतो **वर्धमानस**[2] [।*]

2 स्व[ा]मिस महक्षत्रपस **शोडास**स स[ं]वत्सरे ७०[3] (+*)२ हेम[ं]त-मासे २ दिवसे ६ हरिति-पुत्रस पालस भयाये सम(न*)-स[ा]विकाये[4]

3 कोछिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आर्यवति[5] [प्र]तिथापिता [।*] प्रिय***[6]

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1 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

2 Vardhamāna, Jina or Mahāvīra was the 24th Jain *tīrthaṅkara*. An *arhat* is described as सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्रैलोक्यपूजितः। यथास्थितार्थवादी च देवोर्हन् परमेश्वरः॥ Vardhamāna was the actual founder of Jainism. The name Kaṅkālīṭīlā means the mound of Kaṅkāli, one of the 64 Yoginīs according to Jain works.

3 Bühler suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 (see, however, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 55, n. 2 where he gives up that view) or 70. It is 40 according to Rapson (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 575). Though it may be confused with the figure for 40 on the Kshatrapa coins (*Ind. Pal.*, Taf. ix, Col. v.), there is no doubt that it is the same figure for 70 which is found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (*op. cit.*, Col. vii); see also *this very figure* in the plate for the record No. 42 of the same Mathurā series (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212) where Bühler definitely reads it as 70. Most scholars (*Ep. Ind.* XXI, p. 257, n.) now agree that the figure is to be read as 70. For the controversy between Rapson and Lüders, see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f; XI, p. 260f.

4 The restoration is due to Bühler.

5 Bühler : आयवती. The name seems to refer to the figure of the Arya or Arhat on the Āyāgaśilā.

6 Bühler : प्राय* भ* The reading intended seems to be प्रियकस कृति.

4 आयवंति[1] अरहत-पूजाये [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हते वर्धमानाय । स्वामिनः (=प्रजापालकस्य) महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे [द्विसप्ततितमे] ७२ हेमन्तमासे [द्वितीये] २ (=चातुर्मासिकस्य हेमन्ततीः द्वितीये मासे)[2] दिवसे [नवमे] ९ हारीती-पुत्रस्य पालस्य भार्यया श्रमण-श्राविकया (=जैनभिक्षु-शिष्यया) कौत्स्या (=कौत्सीगोत्रजया) अमोहिन्या सह पुत्रैः पालघोषेण, प्रौष्ठघोषेण, धनघोषेण [च] आर्यवती (= जैनानां आयागपटाख्या पूजाशिला) प्रतिष्ठापिता ।.....आर्यवती अर्हत्-पूजायै ॥

No. 26—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa.

Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., V, p. 188, No. 29; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III, p. 30; H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 247

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT[3]

1 स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य **शोंडासस्य**[4] गंजवरेण ब्राह्मणेन शैग्रव-सगोत्रेण [पुष्क*]-

2 रणि इमायां यमड-पुष्करणीनं पश्चिमा पुष्करणि उदपानो आरामो स्तम्भो इ[मो*]

3 [शिला]पट्टो च... ... [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य गञ्जवरेण (=कोषाध्यक्षेण) ब्राह्मणेन शैग्रव-सगोत्रेण पुष्करिणी—आभ्यां यमल-पुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा (=पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थिता) पुष्करिणी, उदपानः (=कूपः), आरामः, स्तम्भः, अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारितः] ॥

---

1 Bühler : आर्यवती

2 The ancient Indian year was divided into three seasons, viz., *grīshma* (Chaitra-Vaiśākha-Jyaishṭha-Ashāḍha), *varshā* (Srāvaṇa-Bhādra-Āśvina-Kārttika) and *hemanta* (Mārgaśirsha-Pausha-Māgha-Phālguna), each ending with a *châturmāsi* (*supra*, p. 63). Here is a compromise between the Greek (p. 102, n. 5) and Indian (cf. Sātavāhana inscr., *infra*) systems of dating.

3 From the facsimile in Arch. Surv. Rep., III.

4 Possibly Soḍāsa and Soṇḍāsa were two forms of the name ; cf. Rājūla =Rañjuvula.

No. 27—Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78. (=A.D. 21?)

THUPKIA, near Taxila.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, p. 221ff.; Bhagawanlal INDRAJI, ib., 1894, p. 551ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep.Ind.*, IV, p. 55f.; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 28

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 [संवत्स]रये[2] अठसततिमए २०(+*)२०(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४(+*)४ महरयस महंतस [मो]गस प[ने*]मस[3] ममस दिवसे पंचमे ४(+*)१ एतये पूर्वये क्षहर[स][4]

2 चुक्सस च क्षत्रपस **लिअको कुसुलुको** नम तस पुत्रो [पति][को*] **तखशिलये नगरे** [।*]उतरेण प्रचु-देशो **क्षेम** नम [।*] अत्र

3 (दे*)शे[5] पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकमुनिस शरिरं (प्र*)[तिथ[वेति][6] [सं]घरमं च सर्व-बुधन पुयए मत-पितरं पुयय[ंतो]

4 क्षत्रपस स-पुत्र-दरस अयु-बल-वर्धिए भ्रतर सर्व [च] [ञतिग]-[बं*]धवस[7] च पुययंतो [।*] महदनपति पतिक सज उव[भ]ए[न*][8]

5 रोहिणिमिवेण य इम[मि?] संघरमे नवकमिक [॥*]

---

1 See *supra*, No. 21. From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II,i; *Ep. Ind.*, IV.

2 The conjunct त्स is read by some as त्श,

3 The restoration is due to Dowson. The Greek month Panemos is roughly equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha.

4 Bhagwanlal and others: क्षहर[तस]. In that case, the meaning would be: the Kshaharāta and the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa (mod. Chach N. W. of Taxila).

5 The restoration is due to Bühler.

6 The restoration is due to Dowson.

7 The restoration is due to Bühler. Read बंधव च

8 See F. W. Thomas in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6. Konow who found the word जउवनए, by the Jaüva order, after Patika's name, has accepted (*Ep.Ind.*, XXI, p 257, note 6.) this reading and the translation of the passage as "the great gift-lord Patika together with the उपाध्याय Rohiṇimitra who is overseer of works in this सङ्घाराम". The original suggestion was जउ वनए=जयः वर्ण्यते.

Second Side

6 पतिकस छत्रप लिअक [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके अष्टसप्तति[त]मके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य [Maues] +पनेमस्य (=यवनानां मासविशेषस्य; Greek: Panemos) मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ =पूर्वोक्त-दिवसे] छहरस्य चुक्षस्य च [देशस्य] छत्रपस्य, लियकः कुसुलकः नाम [यस्य], तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः। तक्षशिलायां नगरे, उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (=उत्तरस्थविभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम। अत्र देशे पतिकः अ-प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति सङ्घारामं च—सर्व-बुद्धानां[1] पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्, छत्रपस्य सपुत्रदारस्य आयुर्बलवृद्धये, भ्रातॄन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिक-बान्धवान् च पूजयन्—महादानपतिः पतिकः, सार्द्धम् उपाध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्रेण यः अस्मिन् सङ्घारामे नवकर्मिकः (=निर्माणसंस्कारादिकार्यनियुक्तः)॥

पतिकाय छत्रपः लियकः (=पतिकमुद्दिश्य छत्रपेण लियकेन फलकः अयं प्रेषितः)॥

No. 28—Takht-i-Bāhī[2] Stone Inscription of Gondopharnes—[Regnal] year 26; Year 103 (=A.D. 46?)

Dowson, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1871; *J. R. A. S.*, 1875, p. 376ff; 1877, p. 144ff; Cunningham, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1873 (*Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 242); *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, V, 1875, p. 58ff; Senart, *Journ. As.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 144ff; Boyer, *ibid.*, 1940, X, iii, p. 457ff.; Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 282; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 62.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[3]

1 महरयस गुदुव्हरस[4] वष २०(+*)४(+*)१(+*)१

1 According to Buddhist conception, there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

2 There is no absolute certainty that the stone was discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. It was possibly found at Shāhbāzgaṛhī. Both the places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgaṛhī is 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles northwest of Mardān in Yūsufzāi.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

4 Two *aksharas* are erased between दु and व्ह

2 **संव[त्सरए] [ति]शतिमए १(×*)१००(+*)१(+*)१(+*)१ वेशखस मसस दिवसे**

3 [प्रठमे] [पुत्रे] (व*)[ह]ले पक्षे **व(वि?)लसमिस [वो(गो?)]यणस**

4 [परि]वर शध-दण स-पुअस केणमिर(स?)वोअणस

5 एर्भुण[1] कप[2] * * * * * स पुअए [।*] मदु-

6 पिदु पुअए [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

महाराजस्य गुदुव्हरस्य [राज्य]-वर्षे [षड्विंशे] २६, संवत्सरके [च] त्रिशत[त]मके (=त्र्यधिक-शततमे) १०३, वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे प्रथमे पुण्ये बहुले पक्षे बलस्वामिने +बोयनस्य परिवारः (=प्राकारः ; यद्वा, क्षुद्र-वासगृहं) श्रद्धा-दानं--सपुत्रस्य केनमिर-बोयनस्य, +एर्भुन (=कुमार?)-कप...स्य [च] पूजायै ; मातापित्रोः पूजायै (=संमाननाय) ॥

No. 29—Inscription on some Coins of Gondopharnes (c. 19-50 A.D.)[3]

SMITH, *Catalogue* p. 54

First side[4]

King diademed on horseback to right; monogram to right; inscription in Greek[5] characters:—

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1 Boyer read एभ्युन and saw in this word the name of a prince. Konow reads एर्भूण which is according to him a Khotani word meaning कुमार

2 Konow, who ignores the fact that some 8 letters are lost between प and स, reads *Kap[sha]sa*, as he thinks that there are traces of a श or ष under प. He identifies Kapsha with Kadphises I. The stone however, as noticed by Cunningham, was used as a *Sila* (a flat stone for grinding condiments on) and some letters are apparently lost owing to the rubbing by the muller. The reading of ll. 3-5 is doubtful in many places.

3 See No. 28. He was a Parthian king of Southern Afghanistan, but later conquered the Indus Valley. He is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas.

4 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate IX, No. 8.

5 *Sigma* has a developped form. "Of Undopherres, the great king of kings."

BACIΛEΩ[C] [BACIΛEΩN] [MEΓΑΛΟΥ] ΥΝΔΟφ[ΕΡΡΟΥ]
(=*basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou Undophērrou*)

Second side

Pallas Athene standing to right, with spear and shield[1]; monogram to right; Kharoshṭhī monogram reading मि and लं (?); inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) महरज रजतिरज-[त्रतरस] [देवव्रतस[2]]

(below) [गु]दव्ह(?)रस

(=महाराज-राजातिराज-त्रातुः देवव्रतस्य [+]गुन्दुपर्णस्य ॥)

No. 30—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.)[3]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 65f.

First side

Bust of Hermaios[4] diademed; very corrupt inscription in Greek[5] characters intended for:—

KO ϸ ANO KOZOUAO-KAΔφIZOY (=*Koshano Kozoulo-Kadphizou*)[6]

---

1 Not the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with the Gorgon's head and signifying a life-charm.

2 The reading देवव्रत is due to Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p.286. Some specimens clearly read गुदुव्हरस (*C H. I.*, Pl. VIII, No. 51) व्ह was formerly read फ.

3 See *supra*, No. 19. He possibly ruled over the region extending from the Jaxartes to the borders of the Indus region.

4 On some coins the head resembles very closely that of Augustus in his later years (circa 12 A.D.). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

5 Note the peculiar character ϸ indicating *sh* and the letter U for Y.

6 I.e., "[coin] of Kozoula-Kadphises, the Kushāṇa." Some coins have the Greek inscription:—

XO ϸANCY ZAOOY KOZAA KAΔAφEΣ (=*Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes*)

and the Kharoshṭhi inscription:—खुषनस यउअस कुयुल-कफ्सस सचध्रमठितस (=कुषाणस्य

Second side

Herakles standing, facing; right hand resting on club, lion-skin over left arm; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

[कुजुल-कस]स कुषन-[यवुगस] [ध्रमठिदस]

(=कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य धर्मस्थितस्य ॥)

No. 31—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises II[1] (c. 55-75 A. D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 68

First side[2]

Upper part of king diademed to right, emerging from clouds, without the usual cap or helmet ; flames arising from his shoul-

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यवुगस्य कुजुल-कफ्सस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 6. According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66) the full Kharoshṭhī legends on some coins are :—

(a) महरयस रयरयस देवपुत्तस कुयुल-कर-कफ्सस (=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुजुल-कर-कफ्सस्य) ;

(b) कुयुल-कर-कपस महरयस रयतिरयस (=कुजुल-कर-कपस्य महाराजस्य राजाति-राजस्य) ;

(c) महरजस महतस कुषण-कुयुल-कफस (=महाराजस्य महतः कुषाण-कुजुल-कफस्य);

(d) महरजस रजतिरजस कुयुल-कफस (=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य कुजुल-कफस्य). The title देव-पुत्त is of Chinese origin. Kujula Kara Kadphises is however usually supposed to be different from Kujula Kadphises I.

1 He was the successor of Kujula-Kadphises I and extended his dominions over a large portion of Northern India.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 5.

3 On some copper coins we have : king diademed, wearing high cap and long coat, standing to left, with right hand over alter; trident with battle-axe to left in left field; monogram in right field.

ders; club in the right and elephant-goad in the left hand; monogram behind the head; inscription[1] in Greek characters :—

BACIΛEYC OOHMO KA△ϕICHC (=*basilēus Oocmo Kadphises*),

Second Side.

Two-armed Śiva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin[2] over left arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand; monograms to right and to left; inscription[3] in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

[महरजस*] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोग-इश्वरस महिश्वरस विम-कथ्फिशस[4] [त्रतरस*] (=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य [यद्वा, महीश्वरस्य] विम-कथ्फिशस्य त्रातुः ॥)

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1 On some copper coins the Greek legend is OOHMO KA△ϕICHC BACIAEYC BACIAEωN CωTHP MEΓAC (=*Oocmo Kadphises Basileus Basileōn Soter Megas*). Note the developped form of the Greek letters. He seems to be the ruler referred to in the so-called *Soter Megas* coins. They were issued possibly by one or more kings who contended for sovereignty during the troubled period following Wema's death. The ins. means "[Coin] of king Oocma Kadphises."

2 Cf. Śiva's name कृत्तिवास.

3 On some copper coins we have :—Śiva two-armed, standing, facing, in front of bull standing to right; holding trident in right hand.

4 The subscript *r* is used to modify the pronunciation of व

No. 32—Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushāṇa King[1]. —Year 122 (=A.D.65?.)

PANJTĀR (74°31′ E, 34¼′ N), below the Mahāban Range. CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, 1854, p. 705, Pl. 4; *ib*, XXXII, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; *A.S.I.*, V, p. 616f., Pl. XVI, 4; SENART, *J.A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130, no.i; IX, xiii, 1899, p. 535; BÜHLER, *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; *W.Z.K.M.*, X, p. 173; R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 31, 44; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1913, p. 1010 f; 1914, p. 372; p. 1002f; STAËL HOLSTEIN, ib; 1914, pp. 8ln, 758f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, List, No 47; KONOW, *S.B.A.W.*, 1916, p. 802f.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 134; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i,p. 70.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 सं १(×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १(+*) १ श्रवणस मसस दि प्रढमे १ महरयस गुपणस रज[मि]

2 स्पसुअस[3] प्रच-[देशो*][4] मोइके उरुमुज-पुत्रे करविदे शिवथले तत्र दे मे[5]

3 दनमि तरक १(+*)१ [१*] पत्रकरे ण(णे?)व अमत[6] शिवथल रम * * म*.

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1 We may identify this king with Kadphises II who is known to have extended his arms in the interior of India. The non-mention of the king's name indicates that the record was engraved soon after the Kushāṇa conquest, when the people were not yet familiar with their new king's name.

2 From Cunningham's eye-copy in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The original stone is missing, and the reading especially of line 3 is doubtful.

3 The first *akshara* may also be read as स्पे, क or के.

4 The eye-copy suggests the restoration.

5 Cunningham : खत्र दे मे; Konow च मे.

6 Cunningham : हमुख.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे द्वाविंशत्यधिक शततमे] १२२ श्रावणस्य मासस्य दि[वसे] प्रथमे १, महाराजस्य कुषाणस्य राज्ये +स्वसुवस्य प्राच्यदेशः (=पूर्वभागः) मोयिकेन उरुमुज-पुत्रेण कारितः शिवस्थलं (=शिवमन्दिर-युक्तं चैत्यम् ?)। तत्र द्वौ मे (=मोयिकस्य ?)दाने (=प्रदत्त-वस्तुमध्ये) तरुकौ (=वृक्षौ) २ [स्तः]। पुण्यकरं नवम् अमृतं (=चिरस्थितिकं) शिवस्थलम्.....

No. 33—Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription —Year 134 (=A.D. 77?)

KALAWĀN, near Sirkap (Taxila), Rawalpindi Dist., Panjab.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 259.

Language: Prakrit
Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 **सवत्सरये १ (× *) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ अजस[1] श्रवणस मसस**
दिवसे खेविशे २० (+*) १ (+*) १ (+*) १ इमेण चुणेण चंदभि उअसिअ

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

2 See *infra*, No. 34. According to Marshall, the expression अजस or अयस means "of the era of Azes." Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Konow at first proposed to take it as an equivalent of Sanskrit आद्यस्य, "of the first (Srāvaṇa)," there having been two in the year including the intercalary one. He also showed that it cannot stand for आर्यस्य in the language of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. He now wants to explain अयस as meaning "of Azes," i.e. in the year so-and-so, Azes style (i.e. of the era used by Azes). The suggestion is not convincing. The reading सक १६१ in the Taxila silver vase inscription (*infra*, No. 36) to which Konow refers is problematical, and I do not think अयस is satisfactorily explained even if we accept the

2 ध्रंमस ग्रहवतिस धित भद्रवलस भय छ[?]डशिलए शरिर प्रइस्तवेति गहथू-

3 वमि सध भ्रदुण नंदिवडणेण ग्रहवतिण सध पुत्रेहि शमेण सइतेण च धितुण च

4 ध्रमए सध ष्णषएहि रजए इद्रए य[3] सध जिवणंदिण शमपुत्रेण अयरिएण य[4] स[वं]स्ति-

5 वश्रण परिग्रहे रठ-णिकमो पुयइत सर्व-स्वत्वण[5] पुयए [।*] णिवणस प्रतिअए होतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके [चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३४ अयस्य [Azes] श्रावणस्य मासस्य दिवसे त्रयोविंशे २३—अनेन क्षणेन चंद्राभी [इति] उपासिका, धर्मस्य गृहपतेः दुहिता, भद्रपालस्य भार्या, छलशिलके शरीरं (=भगवतः बुद्धस्य देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति गृहस्तूपे[6]-सार्द्धं भ्राता नन्दिवर्धनेन गृहपतिना, सार्द्धं पुत्राभ्यां शमेन सजितेन च, दुहित्रा च धर्मया, सार्द्धं स्नुषाभ्यां लज्जया इन्द्रया च, सार्द्धं जीवनन्दिना शम-पुत्रेण आचार्याणां च सर्वास्तिवादानां (=°वादिनां) परिग्रहे, राष्ट्रनिगमौ (=जनपदं नगरं च) पूजयित्वा, सर्वसत्वानां पूजायै। निर्वाणस्य प्रत्यायै (=लाभाय) भवतु ॥

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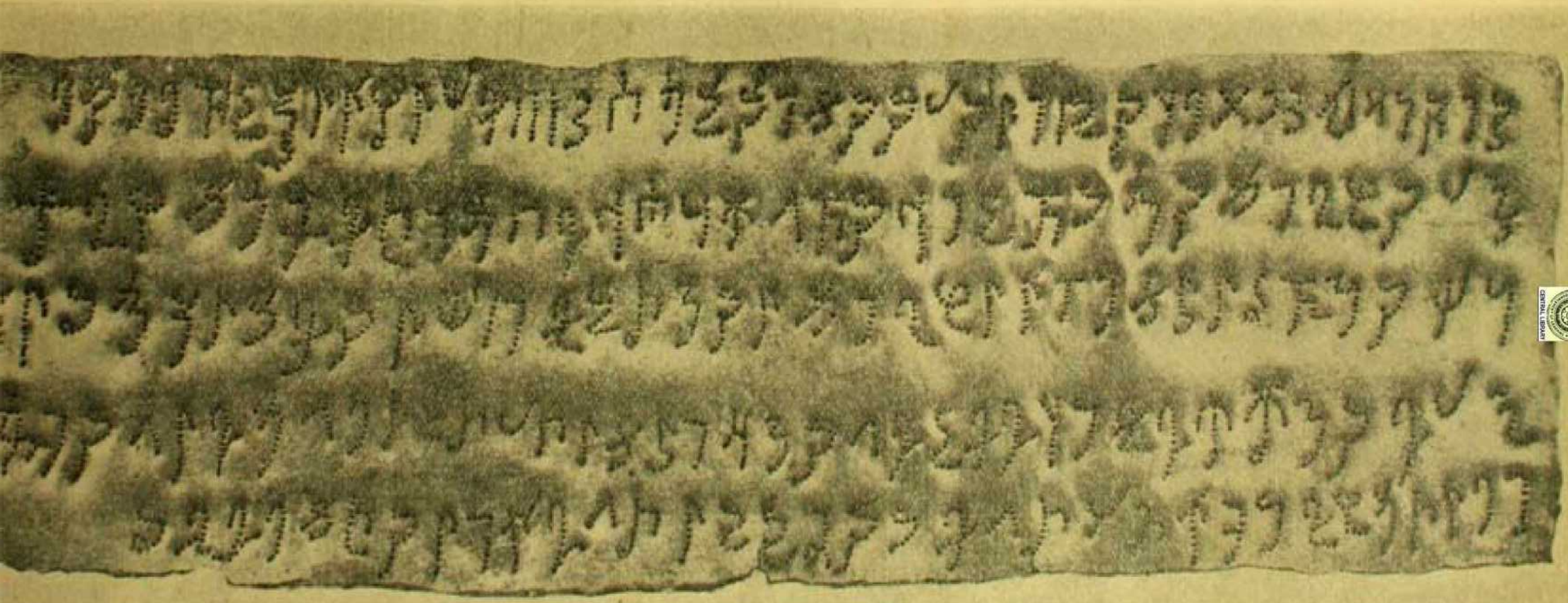
reading. The original of No. 36 has no trace of any letter before क, though the photograph shows another क before it. For another date क ४००, see Majumdar, *Guide*, II, p. 92. क seems to stand for कले = काले. The style, e.g., of the Taxila copper plate of Patika which reads संवत्सरए अठसततिमए ७८ महरयस महंतस मोगस पनेमस ममस दिवसे पंचमे would prove that अयस also refers to a king, but he is not called a महरय and महंत. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in comparing these dates with the *atīta-rājya* years of Govindapāla and Lakshmaṇasena. Azes II lost the region to foreigners who were as yet not wellknown to or favoured by the public. Cf. the Belkhārā inscription, and *supra*, No. 32. The founder of this Skytho-Parthian era is not known; but I do not think it possible to connect its origin with Azes on the strength of the word अजस or अयस.

3 Read च 4 Read अयरिअण च.

5 The Sanskrit word is सत्त्व or सत्व।

6 *I. e.*, "in the *Stūpa* (a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic) in her house."



: Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

Kalavān C. P. Inscription (Pk. II, No 33).

No. 34—Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushaṇa King—Year 136 (=A. D. 79 ?)

TAXILA, Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., N. W. F. P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 295 ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 77

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Kharoshṭhī.

TEXT[1]

1 **स** १(×*)१०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ (+*) **१ अयस अषडस मससस** दिवसे १० (+*) ४ (+*)१ इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतु[ओ] उर[स]-

2 केण इ'तव्हिअ-पुत्रेण[2] बहलिएण[3] गोअचए णगरे वस्तवेण [1*] तेण इमे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतुओ धमर-

3 इए[4] तक्षशि(ल*)ए तणुवए बोसिसत्व-गहमि[5] महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्रस **खुषणस** अरोग-दक्षिणए

4 सर्व-बुधण पुयए प्रचग-बुधण[6] पुयए अरह(त*)ण पुयए सर्व-स(त्व*)ण पुयए मत पितु पुयए मिलमच-ञति-स-

5 लोहि(त*)ण पुयए अत्वणो अरोग-दक्षिणए णि[व]णए [1*] होतु अ[य]दे सम-परिचगो [1*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे षट्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३६ अयस्य [Azes] आषाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे [पञ्चदशे] १५—अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः (= देहावशेषाः) औरशकेन

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1 From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For references, *ib*, p. 70f. See *supra* No. 33. The King may have been an issuer of the *Soter Megas* coins (p. 125, n. 1)

2 May be लोतव्हिय०.

3 Some take Urasaka as a proper name and Bahalia as belonging to Balkh.

4 Dharmarāja is an epithet of Buddha. A Dharmarājikā seems to be a Stūpa with Buddha's relics.

5 Bodhisattva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous births and also before his enlightenment.

6 Read **प्रचेग०** See *supra*, p. 71, n. 5; p. 121. n. 1

(=उरशा-देशीयेन) इन्तप्रिय-पुत्रेण (यद्वा, °पुत्राणां=तत्स्थानजातानां [केनचित्]) बाहलिकेन नवाचले (?) नगरे वास्तव्येन। तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्मराजिके (=धर्म-राजिका-स्तूपे) तक्षशिलके (यद्वा, °शिलायां)+तनुवके (=स्वकीये) बोधिसत्त्व-गृहे—महा-राजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुषाणस्य आरोग्यदक्षिणायै (=आरोग्य-दानप्राप्तये), सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, प्रत्येकबुद्धानां पूजायै, अर्हतां पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै, मातापित्रोः पूजायै, मित्रामात्य-(=°स्वगृहवासि° ; यद्वा, प्रतिवेशि°) ज्ञाति-सलोहितानां (=°रक्तसम्बन्ध-युक्तानां) पूजायै, आत्मनः आरोग्यदक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च]। भवतु आयातः सम्यक्-परित्यागः।

No. 35—Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu(?)—Year 187 (?=A. D. 130?)

KHALATSE, Ladakh, Kāshmīr.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 81

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Kharoshṭhī.

TEXT[1]

1 **सं १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) + २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) ४ (+*) [१ (+*) १ (+*) १]**

1 **महरजस उविमिकस्तु(व्दु?)सस**[2] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे सप्ताशीत्यधिकशततमे] १८१ महाराजस्य उविमिकस्तुसस्य (यद्वा, उविमि-कस्तोः स .....) ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The record appears to be incomplete.

2 Konow reads **उविम-कव्थिसस** and identifies the king with Wema Kadphises II. But his reading and interpretation are doubtful. The second *akshara* may also be read as **च**, **रि** or **ति** and the third as **द** or **दे**. The fifth *akshara* is doubtful. The date may be year 184. The identity of the alien king mentioned in the record cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 36—Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihoṇika—Year 191 (= A. D. 134 ?)

SIRKAP (Taxila), Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., Panjāb.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 82

Language : Prakrit.

Script ; Kharoshṭhī.

TEXT[1]

1 क[2] १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*)
१ महरज* * * * *स[3] पुतस **जिहोणिकस चुख्सस** छतपस [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

का[ले (=संवत्सरे) एकनवत्यधिकशततमे] १९१ महाराजस्य [मणिगुलस्य ?] पुत्रस्य जिहोणिकस्य चुख्सस्य (= चुख्साख्य-प्रदेशस्य)[4] छत्रपस्य (= राजाधीन-प्रदेशशासकस्य) ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 क appears to have the same value as सं. It may, as formerly suggested by Konow, be an abbreviation of कले=Sanskrit काले, "in the year." I do not think we can restore सक (=शक). See *supra*, p. 127, n. 2.

3 Konow restores महरज-भ्रत-मणिगुलस. Jihoṇika has been identified with the Satrap Zeionises of the coins, who was son of the Satrap Maṇigala and is supposed to have been a contemporary of Azes II. This Jihoṇika was apparently the son of a Mahārāja and may have been the grandson of Zeionises.

4 See *supra*, No. 27. Chukhsa is identified with the Plain of Chach near Taxila.

(ii)—INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KAṆISHKA'S RECKONING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

Nos. 37-39—Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kaṇishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)

Year 3 (=A. D. 81 ?).[1]

SĀRNĀTH, near Benares, U.P.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

No. 1

TEXT[2]

1 महारजस्य **कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २०** (+ *)२

2 एताये पूर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्यवुद्धिस्य सद्धयेवि-

3 हारिस्य भिक्षुस्य वलस्य वे पिटकस्य

4 वोधिसत्वो छत्रयष्टि [च] प्रतिष्ठापितो

5 **वाराणसिये** भगवतो च[ ]क्रमे सहा मात[ा*]-

6 पितिहि सहा उपद्धयायाचर्येहि[4] सद्धयेविहारि-

7 हि अंतेवासिकेहि च सहा वुद्धमिलये वेपिटिक-

8 ये सहा छत्तपेण[5] **वनस्परेन खरपल्ला**-

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1 Kaṇishka I was the founder of an era, that is to say, his regnal year was continued by his successors for some reason(e. g., assumption of power by the successor during the life time of the predecessor owing to the latter's prolonged illness, infirmity due to old age, etc.). This era seems to be the other early Indian era (beg. 78 A.D.), known as Śaka owing to its constant use by the west Indian Śakas. Traditions assigning Kaṇishka to the 2nd century A.D. probably refer to Kaṇishka II of the Ara inscription. Kaṇishka I's dates range between years 1 and 23.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. 3 Vogel: उपद्धयायाचेरेहि.

4 Actually however Vanaspara was the Kshatrapa and Kharapallāna the Mahākshatrapa (*supra*, p. 112, n. 2). They were ruling over the easternmost province (including the Benares region) of Kaṇishka's empire.

9 **नेन** च सहा च च[तु]हि परिषाहि सर्वसत्वनं

10 हितासुखार्थं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हेमन्त-[मासे तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमान्तमाघे) दिवसे [द्वाविंशे] २२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (= तिथौ पूर्वोक्तदिवसस्य)[1] भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य। Pāli सद्धि॰) भिक्षोः बलस्य वैपिटकस्य (=त्रिपिटकविदः) बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्वस्य विग्रहः) क्षत्रयष्टिः च [शिलामयी] प्रतिष्ठापिती वाराणस्यां भगवतः चङ्मे (=गन्धकूटीविहारालिन्दे)—सह मातापितृभ्यां, सह उपाध्यायाचार्यैः सार्द्ध-विहारिभिः अन्तेवासिकैः (=शिष्यैः) च, सह बुद्धमित्रया वैपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन च, सह च चतसृभिः परिषद्भिः[2]—सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

No. 2

TEXT[5]

1 भिक्षुस्य बलस्य वे पिटकस्य बोधिसत्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो ।[3]

2 महाक्षत्रपेन **खरपल्लानेन** सहा क्षत्रपेन **वनप्परेन** ॥[4]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भिक्षोः बलस्य वैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

No. 3

TEXT[5]

1 महारजस्य **क[णिष्कस्य] सं ३ हे ३ दि २०**(+ *) [२*]

2 एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य बलस्य वे पिट[कस्य*]

3 बोधिसत्वो क्षत्रय[ष्टि] [च] [प्रतिष्ठापितो ।*][6]

1 Expressions like एतस्यां पूर्वायां, एतस्य पूर्वायां, एतस्यां दिवसपूर्वायां, etc. suggest that पूर्वा was used in the sense of तिथि, क्षण or घटिका.

2 The four classes of Buddhists are Bhikshu, Bhikshuṇi, Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

3 A short slanting stroke is visible after तो. Vogel thinks that one or two letters are lost here. It is possible that the sign actually signifies half-stop.

4 Two short slanting strokes are found below न. They probably indicate full-stop.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

6 This word is lost with the exception of the medial *i* of ति.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३ (=तृतीये) हे ३ (=हेमन्ततौः मासे तृतीये) दि २२ (=दिवसे द्वाविंशे)—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

No. 40—British Museum Stone Inscription of Kaṇishka I— Year 10 (=A. D. 88 ?).

H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 240

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्ध [˙] [॥*] महराजस्य देव[पुत्रस्य]

2 **काणिष्कस्यं**[2] **सवत्सरे** [१०][3]

3 ग्रि २ दि ६ एतये पू[र्वये]

4 उतरायं न[व]मिकायं [हा]-[4]

5 [र्म्य]न्दत [।*] प्रियतां[5] देवि ग्राम[स्य] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे [दशमे] १० ग्रीं[ष्म-मासे द्वितीये] २ (=पूर्णिमान्तवैशाखे) दि[वसे नवमे] ६ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] उत्तरायां नवमिकायां (=उत्तरनवमिकाग्रामे ; यद्वा, नवमिकाग्रामस्य उत्तरांशे) हर्म्यं दत्तम् । प्रियतां देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

---

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, IX.

2 The अनुस्वार should have been engraved on the following *akshara*.

3 There seems to be no space for another figure after 10.

4 The reading हार्म्य is not beyond doubt.

5 The अनुस्वार above प्रि should have been on the preceding *akshara*.

6 There was no unanimity regarding the beginning of a season, as the two *Paurṇamāsīs* that follow those refered to *above*, p. 63, were also recognised by some as *Chāturmāsīs*. It must however be noticed that the universal custom of the Buddhists was to observe *Varshā* from the day following the Ashāḍhī Pūrṇimā up to the Kārttikī Pūrṇimā (Childers, *op. cit.*, s.v. *vasso*, *vassūpanāyikā*).

No. 41—Sui Vihār Copper-plate Inscription of Kaṇishka I—Year 11 (=A. D. 89 ?)

SUI VIHĀR, a ruined *Stūpa*, near Bahāwalpur

DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1869, p. 477f ; BAYLEY, *ibid*, 1870, p. 65 ; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 324ff; Bhagawānlāl INDRAJI, *ibid*, XI, p. 124f ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, i (1922), p. 459ff ; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 141

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshṭhī.

TEXT[1]

1 महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य क[निष्कस्य] संव[त्स]रे एकदशे सं १० (+*)१ दइसिकस्य[2] मस[स्य] दिवसें[3] अठविशे दि २०[4] (+*) ४ (+*)४

2 [अथ]ल[5] दिवसे भिक्षुस्य नगदतस्य ध[र्म]-कथिस्य[6] अचर्य-दमवत-शिष्यस्य अचर्य-भवे-प्रशिष्यस्य[7] यठिं[8] अरोपयत इह द[म]ने

---

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 Read दइसिकस्य as the name of the month is Daisios. Daisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Jyaishṭha.

3 Read दिवसे

4 The figure for 20 is clear. The reading 10 in *C. I. I.* is possibly a misprint.

5 This word was read अवे by Bayley, अन्व by Dowson, अव by Indraji, व्यव by Hoernle and Majumdar, and उत by Bühler (ZDMG., XLIII, p. 133) and Johansson, (*Actes du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128, n.1). Read अल

6 मं looks like ख

7 Read भव

8 The word indicates monumental pillars which are even now called *lāṭh*. Majumdar suggests that there is reference to a relic of Nāgadatta, i e. the pillar contained the corporeal relics of Nāgadatta. Konow suggests यष्टिम् आरोपयतः

3 विहरस्वमिणिं[1] उपसिक [व]लनंदि-[कु]टिंबिनि बलजय-मत च इमं यठि-प्रतिठनं
ठप[इ]चं अनु परिवरं ददरिं[2][।*] सर्व-सत्वनं

4 हित-सुखय भवतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दैसिकस्य (=दैसिकाख्यस्य । Makedonian : Daisios) मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे[4]दि २८—अत्र दिवसे भिक्षोः नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः (=धर्मतत्त्वव्याख्यातुः) आचार्य्य-दमत्रात-शिष्यस्य आचार्य्य-भव-प्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिम् आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी [इति] उपासिका—बलनन्दि-कुटुम्बिनी (=०भार्य्या), बलजय-माता च इदं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा (=विहाय[3]=यष्टिपीठात् अधिकं)अनु (=तदनु=साम्प्रतं) परिवारं (=प्राकारं) ददाति । सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

No. 42—Zeda Inscription of Kaṇishka I —Year 11 (=A. D. 89?).

Zeda, near Uṇḍ, Panjāb.

Cunningham *A. S. I.*, 1875, p. 57f.; Senart, *J. A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 135ff.; Boyer, *ibid*, X,iii, 1904, p. 466ff., E. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*,1877, p. 9, n. 1; Bühler, *ibid*, 1894, p. 535; Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46, 72; Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 1 ff.; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 145.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshṭhī.

TEXT[4]

1 **सं १० (+*)१ अपडस मसस दि २० उतर-फगुणे**[5] इशे चुणमि

---

1 Read स्वमिनि. 2 Read ददति

3 Or, यष्टिपीठं कारयित्वा, if we have आरोपयतः in l. 2

4 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The stone is rough and damaged; the reading and interpretation of ll. 2-3 therefore are uncertain in many places.

5 In Āshāḍha, the *Nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī falls on the 5th-8th days of the Sukla paksha. The month therefore seems to have been Pūrṇimānta. See *supra*, No. 28.

2 खदे(णे?)[1] कुए [वेरो]डस[2] मर्ककस[3] **कणिष्कस** रजमि [तोयं]द[4] च भुइ दणमुख हिपेअधिअस[5] स[र्वस्ति]वदतिवधस पु[ज?]ने लिअक-

3 स क्ष[त्र?]पस[6] उप[क]चअ म[दु] [।*] कत दण अनुग्र[हिण] [बुध]स[7] संघमित्र-रजस [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

सं[वत्सरे एकादशे] ११ आषाढस्य मासस्य दि[वसे विंशे] २० +उत्तरफल्गुने (=उत्तर-फल्गुन्यां नक्षत्रे)—अस्मिन् क्षणे खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मर्ककस्य, कणिष्कस्य राज्ये। तोयदा (=प्रपा ?) च भूयः दानमुखं (=दानवरं =दानं) हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादातिवर्धाय (=०वृद्धये)—पूजने (=पूजायै) लियकस्य क्षत्रपस्य, उपकुल्यायाः (=तदाख्यायाः) [दातुः] मातुः [च]। कृतं दानम् अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य (=बौद्धस्थवियस्य ?) सङ्घमित्रराजस्य ॥

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1 Cunningham read चनं उस्प, Senart भनं उक, Boyer खनं उस्फ, Lüders खणे कुए; खदे कुए is Konow's reading corresponding to Sanskrit खातः कूपः.

2 Cunningham read खरडस, Senart * चस, Boyer मु*चस, Lüders वेर(रो?)-डस, and Majumdar वेमडस. Konow reads मुरोड and connects it with Saka मुरुण्ड, "master", "lord".

3 Cunningham read मर्डुकस and Boyer and Lüders मर्डकस. Konow takes मर्ककस to be an older form of the Khotani-Saka word *malysaki*, i.e. *malzaki* which is possibly equivalent to गृहपति.

4 Cunningham read the passage धर्य ददभस इदमुखस्तपे अ दे अस ..., Senart...ददभइ द[न]मुख* [पे अधिअ]स [दअदअस] ति[ध]..., Boyer : तोयदलभइ दनमुख सपेअधिअ ससशुपे सति बुधे. Konow translates, "and moreover a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda."

5 Konow finds in it a Greek name like Hippeos, Hippias.

6 Boyer: क्षत्रपस ; Senart: क्षहरस.

7 Boyer read पुनर्वधसे सघमित्रस दन, "gift of Saṃghamitra, in order to increase his merit".

No. 43—Māṇikiāla Stone Inscription of Kaṇishka I—Year 18 (=A.D. 96?).

MĀṆIKIĀLA, Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., Panjāb.

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, 1834, p. 557 f. ; CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129; *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, p. 703 ff.; *A. S. I.*, ii, 1871, p. 161 ff.; DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1863, p. 250ff., SENART, *J.A.*, IX., vii, 1896, p. 1 ff.; LÜDERS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 645 ff. ; PARGITER, *ibid*, 1914, p. 641 ff.; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 46 f.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 373 f.; 1003f.; STAËL-HOLSTEIN, *ibid*, pp. 757, 759, N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1928, p. 67; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 149f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

A:1 सं १०(+*)४(+*)४ (B: कर्तियस मस(स*) दिवसे २०)[2] [एत] पुर्वए महरजस कणे-

2 ष्क[स्य] गुषण-वश-संवर्धक लल

3 दड-णयगो वेश्पशिस क्षत्रपस

4 होरमु[र्तो][3] स तस अपनगे[4] विहरे

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. Lines 1-6 form the main part of the record ; ll. 7-9 are at the left ; l. 10 is at the upper left corner; l. 11 is above the main part ; and l. 12 at the right above B.

2 This portion is engraved in the second line on the right side of the record. Konow: मम्हे ; Pargiter: मन

3 Staël-Holstein read गुषाण or गुषाणु (which he explained as the gen. plu. of गुषि) corresponding to कोषाणो (i. e. कुशानु) on the coin legends of Kaṇishka and his successors.

4 According to Lüders होरमुर्त्तो is a Skythian word corresponding to Sanskrit दानपति. Cf. "an incarnate image of Ahura" (Senart); "attached to *horās* or *muhūrtas*" (Pargiter).

5 Senart took अपनग to represent अल्प-नाग, i. e. "in the विहार of the small नाग." Pargiter took it to be आपणके, "in the market place."

5 होरमुर्तो एत्र गण भगव-बुद्ध-भुव[1]

6 [प्र]तिस्तवयति सह तए[न][2] वेश्पशिएण खुदेचिए[न][3]

C:7 बुरितेण च विहरकर[व्ह]एण

8 संवेण च परिवरेण सध [।*] एतेन कु-

9 शलमूलेन बुधेहि च प[व]एहि[4] [च]

D:10 समं सद भवतु

E:11 भ्रतर स्वरबुधिस अग्रप[डि]अशए

F:12 सध बुधिलेन नवकर्मिगेण [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे अष्टादशे] १८ कार्त्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे [विंशे] २० । अत्र पूर्व्वायां [तिथौ] महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्ये ?] कुषाण-वंश-संवर्धकः ललः दण्डनायकः, [यः] वेश्पसेः क्षत्रपस्य [+]होरमुर्त्तः (=दानपतिः)—सः तस्य आत्मके (=आत्मीये) विहारे होरमूर्त्तः—अत्र नाना भगवद्-बुद्ध-स्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति सह त्रयेण—वेश्पशिकेन क्षुदेचियेन (=खुदेचि-वासिना?), बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्बेन च—परिवारेण सार्द्धम् । एतेन कुशलमूलेन (=स्तूपरूपेण सत्कार्य्येण [जातं पुण्यं]) बुद्धैः च श्रावकैः च समं (=सह) सदा भवतु भ्रातुः स्वरबुद्धेः अग्रप्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्यभागाय)—सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्म्मिकेण (= निर्माण-संस्कारादि-कार्यनियुक्तेन) ॥

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1 Read : ध्रुव. Lüders ठुव ; Pargiter : ञव ; Konow : ध्रुव (relics?)

2 Pargiter : तएन=तेन ; Senart : तएन=त्रयेण.

3 Senart: खुडचिएन ; Lüders: खुजचिएन ; Pargiter: खुदेग्गिटएन

4 Senart read स्पवस्पहि, Pargiter स्पण्डकहि and Majumdar अठकहि. Lüders takes पवकहि to represent Sanskrit श्रावकैः.

5 Senart read सच सद, Pargiter सवसन and Lüders सछसन.

6 The first part of this name and of Piśpasi in *supra*, No. 24, seems to correspond to Sanskrit विश्व.

No. 44—Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kaṇishka I

Set(or Sahet)-Mahet, on the borders of Goṇḍa and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

I. Bloch, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT[1]

1 [म][हाराजस्य*][2] .....[दे*]-

2 [वपु][त्रस्य*] [कणिकस्य?] [सं.....दि...]

3 [भिक्षस्य*...[3] .....][सद्धये*]ि[व]हा[ि]र-

4 [स्य] [भिक्षुस्य*] [पुस्यवुद्धिस्य*] [सद्धेयविहारि*]-

5 स्य [भिक्षुस्य*] [बलस्य*] [वेपिट]कस्य

6 दानं बोधि[स]त्वो ह्रवं दरडश्च

7 **शावस्तिये** [भगवतो*] [चं*]क[मे] कोसंव-

8 [कुटिये*] [आचार्य्यानं][4] [सर्वास्ति*]वादिन[*][5]

9 [परिग्रहे*] [॥*]

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1 From the facsimile and photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. This record is practically the same as *infra*, No.45 ; cf. also *supra*, Nos. 37-39. Nos. 44-45 prove that Śrāvasti stood on the site of modern Sahet-Mahet.

2 As a line of the record appears to contain about 12 aksharas, I think it possible that there was the word राजातिराजस्य between महाराजस्य and दे in line 1.

3 The conjecture of the name of another Bhikshu in l. 3, would give an approximately equal number of *aksharas* in all the lines.

4 Only the *ā*-sign and the super-script *r* of र्य्यां are visible.

5 Only the superscript *s* and the *i*-sign of स्ति are visible.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.....दिवसे १६] भिक्षोः .....सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्य्यानां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥

No. 45—Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription of Kaṇishka I (?)

SET (SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 180f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT

1 [महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य **कणिष्कस्य**(?) सं * * * * दि][2] १० (+*)६ एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्य[वु*]–

2 [द्धिस्य*][3] सद्धेयविहारिस्य[4] भिक्षुस्य ब[ल]स्य लेपिकटस्य दान[ं] [बो]धिसत्वो छत्रं दण्डश्च **शावस्तिये** भगवतो चंकमे

3 [5]कोसंबकुटिये [अचर्य्या]णां सर्वेस्तिवादिनं परिगहे [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.....दिवसे ऊनविंशे] १६—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्य्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII

2 Only traces of the lower parts of these letters remain.

3 The name can be confidently restored with the help of the Sārnāth image inscriptions (Nos. 37-39).

4 The literary Pāli form of the word is सद्धिविहारी

5 This line begins from below the *akshara* नं of the word दानं in the preceding line.

No. 46—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Kaṇishka I. (c. 78-102 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 69f

First Side[1]

King standing to left, bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders ; grasping spear in left hand and holding in right hand an elephant-goad over alter ; sword at waist ; inscription in modified Greek script and Old Persian language :—

ϸAONANOϸAO KANH ϸKI KOϸANO (=*Shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano*)[2]

Second Side

Four-armed Śiva, standing, facing with head to left, holding in upper right hand thunder-bolt[3], in lower right hand an elephant-goad[4], in upper left hand trident and with lower left hand on hip ; antelope[5] on its hind-legs in right field ; monogram to left ; inscription in Greek characters :—

OHϸO (=*oesho*)[6].

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1 From representation is Smith's Catalogue, plate XI, No. 9.

2 I. e., "Kaṇishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of kings." On some copper coins we have the Greek legend :—

BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN KANH ϸKOY (=*Basileus Basileōn Kaneshkou*, "[coin] of Kaṇishka, king of kings."). *Shaonanoshao* is the same as O. Pers. *Khshāyathiyānām Khshāyathiya*, M. Pers. *Shāhān Shāh*, Indian पाहानुपाहि.

3 Cunningham suggested "small hand-drum."

4 On some coins we have in lower right hand of the god a water-vessel with mouth downwards.

5 Gardner suggested "goat." Possibly crude representation of a seated bull.

6 The word has been supposed to indicate Bhaveśa ; but *O* seems to represent *H* or *V*. *Oesho* may possibly be taken as Sanskrit वृष (cf. वृषाङ्क, etc.) which was perhaps considered as a name of Śiva. On the reverse of Kaṇishka's coins

No. 47—Kurram Copper Casket Inscription —(Śaka?) Year 21 (=A.D.99?)

KURRAM, near Peshāwar, N. W. F. P.

V. Natesa AIYAR and F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 15ff ; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 155

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[1]

1 (A) [सं२० (+*)१ मस]स[2] अवदुनकस[3] दि २० इ[शे] त्रुनंमि (B)श्वेड्वर्म[4] यश-पुत्र तनु[व]कंमि रंञंमि (C) [नवविह*]रंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परि-(D) [ग्रहं]मि थुवंमि भग्रवतस शक्यमुनिस

2 (A) शरिर प्रदिठवेदि [।*] यथ[5] वुत भग्रवद (B) अविज-प्रचग्र संकरं संकर-प्रचग्र विञन (C) [वि]ञन-प्रचग्र नम-रुव नमरुव-प्रचग्र षड्[य]- (D) [दन] षड्यदन-प्रचग्र फष पष-प्रचग्र

3 (A) वेदन वेदन-प्रचग्र तष्ण[6] तष्ण-प्रचग्र उवदन (B) उवदन-प्रचग्र भव भव-प्रचग्र जदि जदि-प्रच[ग्र] (C) जर-मर[न]-शोग्र[7]-परिदेव-दुख-दोर्मनस्त-उपग्रस [*।] (D) [एवं] [अस] केवलस दुख-कंधस संमुदए भवदि [।*]

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we have representations of the fire-god AoϽO (=Athsho, modern Persian Atash), the moon-god MAO (=*Mao*), the sun-god MIIPO (Miiro), MIYPO (Miuro) or MIOPO (Mioro), Neo-Sans. *Mihira*, the mother-goddess NANA (*Nana*), NANAIA (*Nanaia*) or NANAϽAO (*Nanashao*), the war-god OPAAΓNO (=*Orlagno*, i. e. Bahram), the fire-god ΦAPPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*); the sun-god HAIOΣ (*Elios*), the wind-god OA Δ O (*oado*, i. e. Vado, Sanskrit वात), etc.

1 From the Facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II. i.

2 Originally सं २० मसस was engraved.

3 Makedonian Audunaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Pausha.

4 Thomas : त्शुलवर्मयशपुत्रस नवकंमिञस संघ

5 Thomas : यठ उतं

6 Cf. ष्णष in No. 33, l. 4.

7 Thomas : शोय

8 Thomas : दोमनवि(सि) उवेग संभवति

4 (D) सर्व-सत्वन पुयए अय च प्रतिच-संमुपते (A) लिखिद महिफतिएन सर्वसत्वन पुयए [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकविंशे] २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (=अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य । Audunaios) दि[वसे विंशे] २०—अस्मिन् क्षणे श्वेतवर्मा यशः-पुत्रः [+]तनुवके (=स्वकीये) रम्ये नवविहारे आचार्य्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति । यथा उक्तं भगवता—अविद्या-प्रत्ययात् (=०कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कारप्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञान-प्रत्ययात् नाम-रूपे, नाम-रूप-प्रत्ययात् षड़ायतनानि, षड़ायतनप्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्श-प्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदनाप्रत्ययात् तृष्णा (=तर्षः), तृष्णाप्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादान-प्रत्ययात् भवः, भव-प्रत्ययात् जातिः, जाति-प्रत्ययात् जरा-मरण-शोक-परिदेव-दुःख-दौर्मनस्योपायासाः[1]। एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (=समग्रस्य) दुःख-स्कन्धस्य (=दुःख-समूहस्य) समुदयः (=उत्पत्तिः) भवति । सर्व-सत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः [श्वेतवर्मणा लेखितः] । लिखितः [च] महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ॥

No. 48—Sāñchī Buddhist Image Inscription of Vāsishka—(Śaka?) Year 28 (=A.D. 106?)

SĀÑCHĪ, Bhopāl State, Central India.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 369-70; LÜDERS, ib, IX, p. 244 ; *List*, No. 161; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 326ff; 1910, p. 1313.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [महाराज*]स्य[3] र[ा]जा[ि]तराजस्य [देव*]पुत्रस्य षा[ि]हि-वा[ि*]सष्कस्य

1 The quotation said to be a saying of Buddha is the well known *Pratītya-samutpāda* formula possibly belonging to some canonical text. Konow translates: "in interconnection with delusion the *saṃskāras* ; with the *saṃskāras* consciousness ; with consciousness name and form ; with name and form the six organs ; with the six organs touch ; with touch sensation ; with sensation thirst ; with thirst grasping ; with grasping life ; with life birth ; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection, dispair". Cf. *Milindapañho*, B. S. P., p. 102. Pāli अविज्जापच्चया, etc. Here अ्र stands for य ; cf. उपायासः (=नैराश्यं)

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

3 Bühler : वासुस्क. He has been identified with Jushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and Vajhishka of No. 51. The *Rāja.* suggests that Hushka (Huvishka), Jushka and Kaṇishka (II) ruled contemporaneously. Vāsishka's Isāpur ins. is dated in Year 24 (Lüders, No. 139a). षाहि=Shāh=Khshāyathiya (p. 142, n. 2).

सं २०[1] (+*) ८ हे १ [दि ५] [ए*]तस्या[*] पुर्वा[यां*] भगव-

2 [तो*].....स्य[2] जम्बुछाया-शैल[ा]ग्र[स्थ?]स्य[3] धर्मदेव-विहारे प्रति[ष्ठ]ापिता(तो?) खरस्य[4] धितर मधुरिक*[5]

3 .....णं देयधर्म...[6]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य पाहि-वासिष्कस्य संवत्सरे अष्टाविंशे २८ हे[मन्त-मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्तमार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः* जम्बुच्छायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य (यद्वा, ०शैल-गृहस्य ; यद्वा, ०शैलाग्रीयस्य) धर्मदेव-विहारे (=धर्मदेवस्य विहारे) प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहित्रा मधुरिकया...देयधर्मः.....॥

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1 The figure was originally read by Bühler as 20; but later he consulted Cunningham and read it as 70 of the looped variety. There is however no resemblance between this figure and the looped sign for 70 in the Mathurā record No. 22 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 204) to which Bühler refers. The date is supposed by Smith and Lüders to be 68. This "थ without bar" type of 20 is found on the coins of the Western Satraps and in the Nānāghāṭ and Gaḍhā inscriptions.

2 Bühler's suggested restoration is शाक्यमुनिस्य.

3 May be शैल-गृ[ह]स्य.

4 Bühler suggests the alternative reading वेर which is unlikely, as there is no trace of the *serif* of व.

5 Bühler reads धितरे मधुरिका.

6 Excepting these five, other *aksharas* of l. 3 cannot be read. A word like प्रतिमा is to be restored.

No. 49—Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) year 28 (=A.D. 106?)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttrā) Dist., U.P.

K. P. JAYASWAL, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 4ff.; H. K. DEB, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, p. 117ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 60f.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्ध [symbol][2][॥*] **संवत्सरे २०** (+*) ८ **गुर्प्पिये दिवसे** १ अयं पुण्य-

2 शाला **प्राचिनीकन सरुकमान**-पुत्रेण **खरासले**-

3 **र**- पतिन **वकन**-पतिना अक्षय-नीवि दिन्न[ा] [।*] तुतो[3] व्[द्धि]-

4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुर्दिशि पुण्य-शा[ला]-

5 र्ं ब्राह्मण-शतं परिविषितव्यं [।*] दिवसे दिव[से]

6 च पुण्य-शालाये द्वार-मुले धारिये साधं-सक्तुना[ं][4] आ-

7 ढका ३ लवुण-प्रस्थो[5] १ शक्त-प्रस्थो[6] १ हरित-कलापक-

8 घटक[ा][7] ३ मल्लक[ा] ५ [।*] एतं अनाध[ा]नां कृतेन द[ातव्य]

9 बभक्षितन पिबसितनं [।*] य चत्र पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य

10 **षाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य** [।*] येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य

11 भवतु [।*] सर्वायि[8] च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु [।*] अक्षय-निवि दिन्ना

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1 From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, 1932. See *infra* No. 56.

2 See *supra*, p. 150, n. 3

3 Read **ततो**.

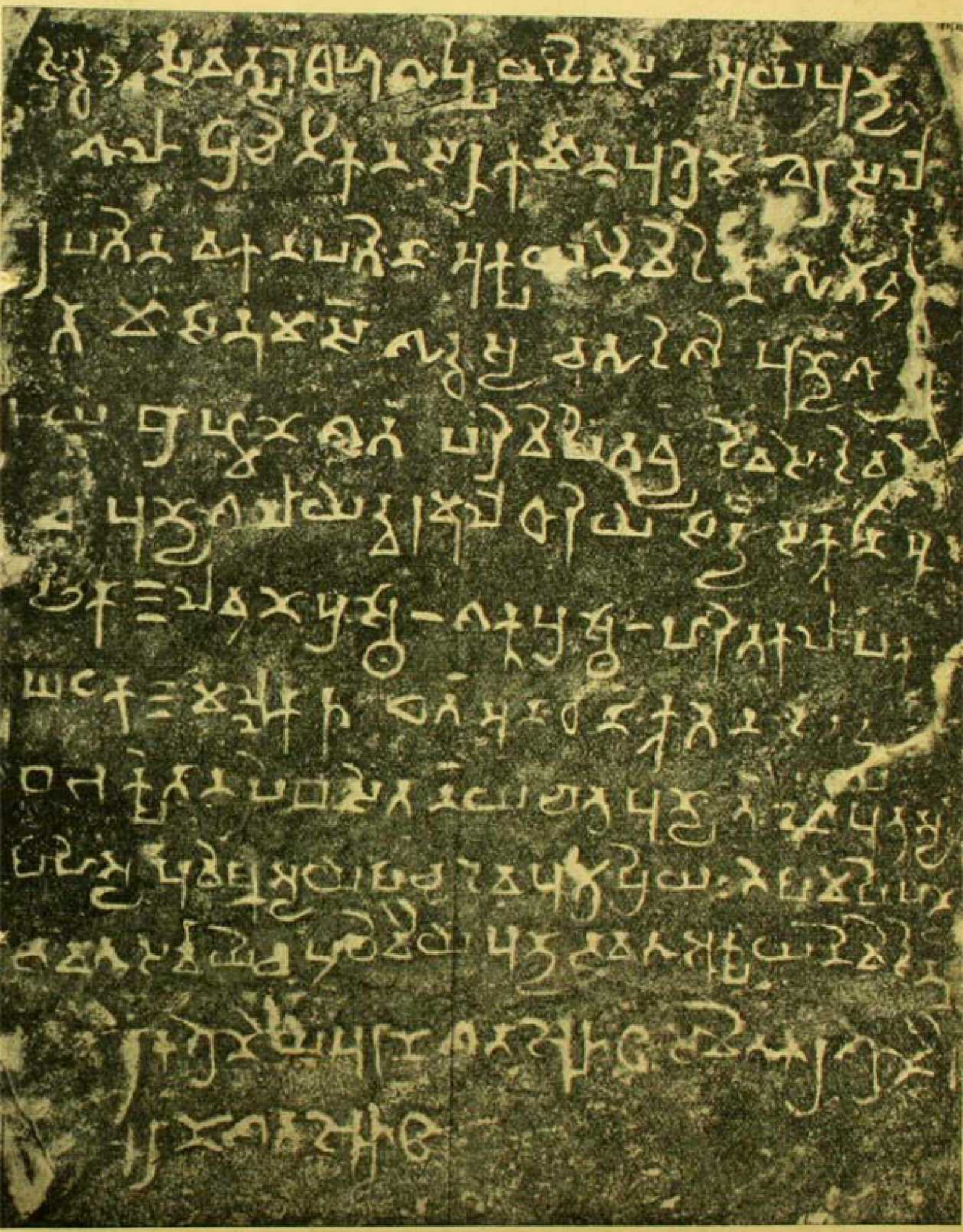
4 Read **स्वाध** (or **सद्यः**)-**सक्तूनां** ; **क्त** looks like **क्तृ** of **कृतेन**

5 Possibly **लवुण** was intended. Read **लवण**

6 Read **शुक्त**. Others read **शक्तु**

7 Taken separately **घटका** may mean water-jars.

8 Read **सर्वाये**.



Courtesy : B.O.R.S. (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII).

Mathurā Inscription of Huviṣhka (Bk. II, No. 49).

12 .....[र]क-श्रेण[ी]ये पुराण-शत ५००(+७) ५० समितकर-श्रेणी-

13 [ये च*] पुराण-शत ५०० (+७) ५० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे [अष्टाविंशे] २८ गुर्प्पिये (=यवनानां गुर्प्पियाख्ये मासि ; Gorpiaios)[1] दिवसे [प्रथमे] १--इयं पुण्यशाला (=धर्मशाला) प्राचीनीकेन सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण (यद्वा, प्राचीना=पूर्व्वादिग्वर्त्तिनी [यद्वा, पुरातनी], कनसरुकमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा, प्राचीनीकनस्य रुकमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा, प्राचीनीकन-सरुकमाण-पुत्रेण) खरासलेर-पतिना वकन-पतिना[2] अक्षयनीविः[3] दत्ता । ततः वृद्धितः मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य (=शुक्लपक्षस्य) चतुर्द्दश्यां[4] पुण्यशालायां ब्राह्मण-शतं परिवेशयितव्यं (=भोजयितव्यं) ; दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्य्यं (=स्थापनीयं) स्वाद्य-सक्तूनाम् (यद्वा, सद्यः०) आढ़काः[5] [त्रयः] ३ ; लवणप्रस्थः [एकः] १, शुक्त-प्रस्थः (=अम्लरस०) [एकः] १, हारित-कलापक-घटकाः[6] [त्रयः] ३, मल्लकाः (=पान-पात्राणि) [पञ्च] ५ । एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन (=कृते) दातव्यं बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानाम् [अपि च] (यद्वा, एतत् अनाथानां कृते न दातव्यं, [परंतु] बुभुक्षितानां-पिपासितानाम् [च]) यत् च अत्र पुण्यं तत् देवपुत्रस्य पाहेः हुविष्कस्य । येषां च देवपुत्रः प्रियः तेषाम् अपि पुण्यं भवतु । सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुण्यं भवतु । अक्षयनीविः दत्ता..... श्रेण्यां पुराणशतानि [सार्द्धपञ्च] ५५० ; समिताकर-श्रेण्यां (=गोधूमचूर्णविक्रयि०) च पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्धपञ्च] ५५० ॥

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1 Makedonian Gorpaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Bhādra.

2 Kharāsalera and Vakana are possibly place names. The latter may be Wakhan (37N, 74E) in Central Asia. Prāchīnika came to Mathurā for some unknown mission.

3 The *Akshayanīvi* was a permanent endowment which could not be withdrawn and whose interest alone could be enjoyed. The Sreṇis were banking and trading corporations. Purāṇa is the ancient Punch-marked coin of silver (32 Ratis =58·56 gr.), also called Kārshāpaṇa. See *infra*, No. 58, p. 158, n. 5 ; p. 159, n. 4.

4 Konow takes शुद्ध (cleared off) with वृद्धितः and चतुर्दिशि (open) with पुण्यशाला.

5 *Āḍhaka* is usually 256 handfuls (about 16 or 20 Bengali seers (1 seer=80 *tolās*=a little above two pounds). *Prastha* is usually ¼ of an *Āḍhaka*. But the designations indicated different measures in different parts of India.

6 Jars of a preparation of different green vegetables ?

No. 50—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 33 (=A. D. 111?)

MATHURĀ, Muttra Dist., U. P.

LÜDERS, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 39; BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 181 f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य **हुविष्कस्य सं ३०(+*)३ गृ**[2]**१ दि ८** भि[क्षु]स्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य अन्तेवासि[नी]ये भिक्षुणीये ले[पिटका*]ये बुद्धमिलाये

2 भागिनेयोये भिखुणीये धनवतोये बोधिसत्वो प्रतिथा[वितो] **[म]धुरवणके**[3] सहा मातापिति[हि]...[॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३३ (=त्रयस्त्रिंशे) ग्री[ष्म मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्तचैत्रे) दि[वसे] ८ (=अष्टमे) भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः (=शिष्यायाः) [+]भिक्षुण्याः (=स्त्रीभिक्षोः) लैपिटक्याः बुद्धमिलायाः भागिनेय्या भिक्षुण्या धनवत्या बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्वविग्रहः) प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके (=मथुरायां) सह मातापितृभ्याम्... ॥

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1 From the photograph and rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 Read ग्री.

3 The *akshara* म and the *u* sign of धु are not clear. Bloch reads the first *akshara* as मा. Madhuravana is the same as Madhuvana or Madhurā (modern Muttrā).

No. 51—Ārā Stone Inscription of Kaṇishka II —(Śaka?) Year 41 (=A. D. 119?)[1]

ĀRĀ, near Attock, Panjāb

R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 58 ff; LÜDERS, *ibid*, 1913, p. 132 ff; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 143; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 165

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 महरजस रजतिरजस देवपु[त्रस] [क]इ[स]रस

2 व[भि]ष्प-पुत्तस[3] **कनिष्कस** संवत्सरए एकचप[रि]-

3 [शए] **सं** २० (+*)२०(+*)१ जेठस मसस दिव[से]१[4] इ[शे] दिवस-क्षुणमि ख[दे]

4 [कुपे] दषव्हरेन[5] **पोषपुरिअ**-पुत्रण मतर-पितरण पुय[ए]

5 [हि]रंणस[6] सभर्य[स] [स]पुत्तस अनुग्रहर्थए सर्व[सप]ण

6 जति[षु] क्ष(?)तए[7] [।*]इमो च लिखितो[8] म[धु]...[॥*]

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1 Kaṇishka II is sometimes identified with Kaṇishka I. The absence of father's name in any of the latter's numerous records and that of any record of a year between 23 and 41 render the theory untenable. Kaṇishka II seems to be the Kaṇishka whom traditions place in the 2nd century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others. The exact reign-period of Kaṇishka II and his relation with Huvishka are not known.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 Banerji: वसिष्प० ; Lüders and Konow: वझेष्क. The probable identification with Vāsishka of No. 48 and Jushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may suggest that ष्क was intended by ष्प, the difference between the two forms being slight. See *supra*, No. 48.

4 Konow: दि २० (+*)४ (+*)१. There is a gap between व and से owing to defect of the stone.

5 Sometimes read दषव्होतेन, दषभेरन

6 Konow: अत्मणस 7 Konow: हितए and मे धम...

8 Cf. the *i*-sign of लि in l. A 1 No. 47 and of पि in l. 2, No. 55.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य [+] कैसरस्य (=कैसर इति रोमक-सम्राड्-विरुद-भृतः । Cæsar, Kaiser) वासिष्क-पुत्रस्य(?) कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्यैष्ठस्य मासस्य दिवसे [पञ्चविंशे] २५ — अस्मिन् दिवस-क्षणे (=दिवसपूर्वायां=दिवसस्य तिथौ ; यद्वा, दिवसस्य क्षणविशेषे) खातः कूपः दाषपरेण पौषपुरिक-पुत्राणां (यद्वा, पौरुषपुरिक० ; यद्वा, ०पुत्रेण)[1] मातापित्रोः पूजायै, हिरण्यस्य सभार्य्यस्य सपुत्रस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय (=०ग्रहलाभाय), सर्व-सत्त्वानां जातिषु (=जन्मनि जन्मनि) क्षदाय (=रक्षायै)। इदं च लिखितं मधु...(=तदाख्येन) ॥

No. 52—Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka— (Śaka?) Year 44 (?=A. D. 122?)

KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, Mathurā, U. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 387, No. 9; *Ibid*, II, p. 212, n. 37; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid*, X, p. 114, No. 7.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 स्ध [symbol][3] [॥*] नम [अ?]र[ह]तव[4][।*]महरजस्य **हुवक्षस्य सवसरे** ४०[5](+*)४ पन गृ[स्य]-मस ३ दिविस २ ए[त]-

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1 *Putra* may be used here in the sense of an original inhabitant. Poshapura may be modern Peshāwar.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X.

3 For another contraction of सिद्धं, see *supra*, No. 48. This seems to be the way in which the variants of the auspicious symbol at the beginning of later records developed. The following symbol found in several Kushāṇa records resembles an Aśokan ट्ठ with mouth to left. It is supposed to be a full-stop or म् (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212, n.; XXI, p. 56). It may be connected with the सिद्धं symbol.

4 The last *akshara* may be intended for नं or म. Bühler and Banerji: शरसतम (=शूरसत्तम).

5 Banerji read अष्टपन (i. e., 58) in place of Bühler's ४०(+*)४ हन. The first figure was also suggested to be ७०. The second may be a variant of ८

2 य पूर्वय... गने **अर्यचेटि**यिग-कुले हरितमाल-कडि[यक-शखय].....[1] [वा*]
चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन.....तगसेण दन...[2]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हद्भ्यः (यद्वा, अर्हत्तमाय) ॥ महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [चतु-श्चत्वारिंशे] ४४ पुनः (=विशेषेण) ग्रीष्ममासे [तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमान्तज्यैष्ठे) दिवसे [द्वितीये] २—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ]...वारणगणे(?) आर्य्यचेटीयक-कुले हरितमालगढीयक-शाखायां वाचकस्य...भगनन्दिनः (?) शिष्यकेण...तकाशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

No. 53—Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 48 (=A. D. 126?)

R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 112; No. 5

Language : Prakrit
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 मह[ा]राजस्य **हु[वि]क्षस्य**[4] **सवचर** ४० (+*)८ व २ दि १०(+*)६ एतस्य
पुवायं [कोट्टिये गणे] [वम][दा*]-
2 [सि]ये [कु]ले **पचनगरिय**-शाकाय [ध]नवलस्य[5] शिशि[निये] धय[शि]रि[ये] निवतन
3 [व]धुकस्य वधुये शवलात-पो[त्रिये] **यशा**[ये] दान **स**[ं]भवस्य प्रोदिम प्र-
4 त[स्थ]पित[6] [॥*]

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1 Bühler : ०चेटिये कुले and कडियशाख ; Banerji : ०कडियातो शा...

2 Bühler: हगिनंदिअ शिसोग...नागसेणस्य नि... ; Banerji: हगिनादिस्य शिसो गन...नग-सेनो दनं

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The find-spot of the record was possibly Mathurā.

4 त्त is evidently a mistake for ष्क (cf. *supra*, No. 52.)

5 Banerji read धुभ्कवल, धुभ्कशिरि, वुधुक and शवलन.

6 These *aksharas* stand below the middle of the previous line.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [अष्टचत्वारिंशे] ४८ व[र्षामासे द्वितीये] २ (=पूर्णिमान्त-भाद्रे) दि[वसे सप्तदशे] १७—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] कोट्टीये गणे ब्रह्मदासीये कुले पत्तनगरीय-शाखायां धान्यपालस्य शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निर्वर्त्तनात् (=अनुरोधात्) बन्धुकस्य वध्वाः शर्वेलात-पौलघाः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य[1] प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

No. 54—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 51 (=A. D. 129?)

Jamalpur mounds, Mathurā

R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 113 No. 6.

Language : Parkrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 महारजस्य दवपुत्रस्य **हुवष्कस्य सवत्सरे** ५० (+*)१ हेमन्त-मास १ दव··· [एतस्या'] पु[र्व्वा]यां [भिक्षुणा] [बु]द्धवर्म[णा][3] [भग*]वतः श[क्य][मुनेः*]

2 प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्त्थ[म्][।*] अ[नेन] [दे]यधर्म-परित्यागेन उपध्यायस्य सघदासस्य [निवनावा]प्तये(ऽ*)स्तु मा[तापितो च] [।*] [बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं ?]

3 बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्व-[दु]खोपशम[ा]य सर्व-सत्व-हित-सुखार्थ[ं] **[म]हाराज-दे[वपुत्र-वि]हरे** [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ हेमन्त-मासे [प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्तमार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे...एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्वबुद्ध-पूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्मपरित्यागेन [जातं पुण्यं] उपाध्यायस्य सङ्घदासस्य निर्वाणावाप्तये अस्तु, मातापितोः च । बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वदुःखोप-शमाय सर्व-सत्व-हित-सुखार्थं महाराज-देवपुत्रविहारे (=मथुरायां हुविष्कप्रतिष्ठापितविहारे) ॥

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1 Sambhavanātha is the third Jain *tīrthaṅkara* whose *lāñchhana* is the horse. His image is usually connected with the Yaksha Trimukha, the Yakshiṇi Sāsananevī or Duritāridevī, the Kevala tree Śāla and the *chowri*-bearer Satyavirya.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X.

3 Banerji : भिक्षुनो बुद्धवर्मणः शक्य.

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A

Side B

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Side D

No. 55—Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 51 (=A. D. 129?)

Ruined Stūpas, KHAWAT (Wardak)[1], Afghanistan

J. DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, XX, pp. 231-68; F. E. PARGITER, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 210 f; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 170

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshṭhī

TEXT[2]

1 **सं** २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) १ म(स*)स्य अर्थ(?)मिसिय[3] सस्तेहि १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ इमेण गड्रिग्रेण कमगुल्य-पुत्र वग्र-मरेग्र[4] स्र इय **खवदग्रि** कदलयिग्र **वग्रमरिग्र-विहरग्रि** थुस्तिग्रि[5] भग्रवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति [।*]

2 इमेण कुशल-मुलेण महरज-रजतिरज-**होवेष्कस्य** अग्र-भग्रए भवतु [।*] मद-पिदर मे पुयए भवतु [।*] भ्रदर मे हष्थुरण(?)-मरेग्रस्य पुयए भवतु [।*] यो ग्र[6] मे भुय णतिग्र-मित्र-संभतिग्रण पुयए भवतु [।*] महिय ग्र वग्र-मरेग्रस्य अग्र-भग्र-पड्रियंशं[ए]

3 भवतु [।*] सर्व-सत्वण अरोग-दक्षिणए भवतु [।*] अविय[7]-नरग्र-पर्यत यव भवग्र यो

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1 The place is about 30 miles to the west of Kābul. Khawat is the same as Khavada of the record.

2 From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For other references, see *ib*, p. 166.

3 Konow reads **मस्ये अर्थमिसिय सस्तेहि**. He takes the last word to be identical with Khotani Śaka *sasta*, the past participle of the base *sad*, to shine, to appear, which is used about the sun. **सस्तेहि १५** = when 15 had appeared. Senart proposes **संस्था=अहोरात्र**. This word is used in the sense of day in several Kharoshṭhī records. Makedonian Artemisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Vaiśākha.

4 Some read **वग्रमरेग्रस्य** and **इश**. The unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sound of the consonants.

5 Read **थुवंग्रि** which is Konow's reading.

6 Some read **शोच**.

7 Pargiter suggests the correction **अरिय**.

अत्र अंतरं अंडजो जलयुग शप(फ?)तिग[1] अरुप्यत सर्विण पुयए भवतु [।*] महिय त्र रोहण सद सर्विण अवपडिगण सपरिवर त्र अग्र-भग-पडियंश[ए] भवतु मिथ्यगस्य[2] च अग्र-भग भवतु [॥*]

4 एष विहरं अचर्यण **महसंघिगण** परिग्रह [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ मासस्य [+]अर्थमिस्याः (=अर्थमिस्याख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य। Artemisios) [+]सस्तेहि १५ (=दिवसे पञ्चदशे)—अनेन [+]घटिकेन (=अस्यां घटिकायां) कमगुल्य-पुत्रः वग्र-मरेगः—सः इह खवदे (=खवदाख्ये प्रदेशे) कृतालयकः (=कृतावासः)—वग्रमरेग-विहारे स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति। अनेन कुशल-मूलेन (=इदं पुण्यस्य मूलं) महाराज-राजातिराज-हुविष्कस्य अग्र-भागाय भवतु ; मातापित्रोः मे पूजायै भवतु ; भ्रातुः मे हष्धुरण-मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु ; एतत् च मे भूयः ज्ञातिक-मित्र-संभ्रातृ-काणां (=०बान्धवानां) पूजायै भवतु। मम च वग्र-मरेगस्य अग्रभाग-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्यभागरूपांशाय) भवतु। सर्व-सत्त्वानाम् आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (=०दानप्राप्तये) भवतु। अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात् (=अधस्तनलोकानां शेषसीमातः समारभ्य) यावद् भवाग्रं (=स्वर्गलोकं)—यः अत्र अन्तरे अण्डजः, जारायुकः (=जरायुजः), शष्पादिकं (=उद्भिज्जः), अरूप्यात्मा (=स्वेदजः)[3]—सर्वेषां पूजायै भवतु। मम च रोहाणां (=वंशधराणां) सदा सर्वेषाम् अपाषण्डिकानां (=धार्मिकाणां) सपरिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु, मिथ्यागस्य (=वितथधर्म सेविनां) च अग्रभागः भवतु। एषः विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाङ्घिकानां परिग्रहः ॥

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1 Konow: येतिग.

2 Konow: मिथ्यगस्य.

3 पशवश्च मृगाश्चैव व्यालाश्चोभयतोदतः। रक्षांसि च पिशाचाश्च मनुष्याश्च जरायुजाः ॥ अण्डजाः पक्षिणः सर्पा नक्रा मत्स्याश्च कच्छपाः। यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि स्थलजान्यौदकानि च ॥ स्वेदजं दंशमशकं यूका मक्षिकमत्कुणम्। उष्मणश्चोपजायन्ते यच्चान्यत्किञ्चिदीदृशम् ॥ उद्भिज्जाः स्थावराः सर्वे बीजकाण्डप्ररोहिणः। ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता बहुपुष्पफलोपगाः ॥ (मनुसंहिता १।४३-४६). अरूपम्=अल्परूपम्=क्षुद्राकारः ; अरूपी+आत्मा (देहः) [यस्य]

No. 56—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.)[1]

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 76

First side[1a]

Half-length figure[2] of king, rising from clouds, richly dressed, with round jewelled helmet or cap to left, with ends of the diadem hanging down behind, club and sceptre in hands, inscription in Greek characters:—

ϷAONANO ϷAO OOHϷKI KOϷANO (=*Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano*)[3]

Second side

War-god (Mahāsena), standing, facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird[4] and with left hand resting on sword at his side, monogram to left; inscription to right in Greek characters:—

MAACHNO (=*Maaseno*=Sansk.*Mahāsena*=Kārttikeya)[5]

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1 Huvishka's inscriptional dates range between the years 28 and 60.

1a From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XII, No. 8.

2 On some gold coins we have a very large head (or bust) of the king, covered with round jewelled helmet with spreading crest and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind; a large ornamental ear-ring in the ear, and flames springing from shoulders. On some specimens we get half-length figure of the king to left, rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand and club in right hand before face. Sometimes we have *aṅkuśa* for sceptre, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider, as seen on his copper coins.

3 I. e., "Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, king of the kings".

4 This is the *Sikhi-dhvaja* of Kārttikeya. The bird is evidently a peacock. On some specimens we have *Skando* (Skanda), *Maaseno* (Mahāsena), *Komaro* (Kumāra), and *Bizago* (Viśākha), possibly conceived as more than one deity.

5 On the reverse of Huvishka's coins we have representations of the god AθϷO (=*Athsho*) represented with hammer in right and tongs in left hand (cf. Greek Hephaistos and Indian Viśvakarman); the god ΛPΔOXϷO (*Ardokhsho*), the moon-god MANAO-BAΓO (*Manao-bago*) or MAO (*Mao*),

No. 57—Mathurā Image Inscription of Vāsudeva—(Śaka?) Year 80 (=A.D. 158?)[1]

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, U. P.

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 392, No. 24; Lüders, List, No. 66; R. D. Banerji, X, p. 116, No. 10.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1a]

1 स्धि[2] [॥*] महरजस्य व[ा]सुदेवस्य स[ं] ८० हमव[3] १ दि १०(+*)२ एतस
पुव[ा]यां सनक[दसस?]

2 धि[त्र] संघतिधिस वधुये बलस्य.....[॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं[वत्सरे अशीतितमे] ८० हेमन्त[मासे] १ दि[वसे द्वादशे] १२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां सनकदासस्य दुहित्रा सङ्घातिथेः वध्वा बलस्य [मात्रा]...॥

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the sun-god ANIO (*Anio*), MIIPO (*Miiro*) or MIOPO (*Mioro*), the goddess NANA|DAO (*Nanashao*), the goddess OANAO (*Oanao*) or OANIN Δ A (*Oaninda*), the god (*Oesha*, i.e. Śiva), the war-god |ɔ AOPHOPO (*Shaoreoro*; Persian *Shāhrewar*; cf. Greek Ares), the fire-god ΦAPPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*), the four-armed god OOɔNA (*Ooshna*, possibly Vishṇu, not Śiva as generally suggested). On a few specimens we have on the reverse the word गणेश in Brāhmī characters, but the god represented is an archer, standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. The inscription and representation seem to refer to Śiva. It may however be suggested that sometimes on Huvishka's coins we have the representation of Mao with the legend *Ardokhsho* and that of Ardokhsho with the legend *Mao*. But the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is known to be a post-epic god. For Śiva-tripurāntaka with two hands carrying bow and arrow, see Gopinātharao, *El.H.Icon.*, II, pp. 168, 171, pl. 38. Śiva is the "lord of *gaṇas*" in early literature.

1 His reign period is *circa* 152-176 A.D., as his inscriptional dates range between the years 74 and 98. After him, the Kushāṇas appear to have lost much of the Panjāb and U.P. to local dynasties like that of the Nāgas. The Nāgas, especially of Mathurā, became a notable power in the 3rd century A.D.

1a From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X. L. 2 begins from below middle of l. 1

2 See *supra*, p. 150, n. 3

3 Bühler: हणव. Read हेमंत

(iii) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS OF WESTERN INDIA

(a) HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA

No. 58—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

—(Śaka) Years 41, 42, 45 (=A. D. 119, 120, 123)[1]

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. Immediately below the inscription of Dakshamitrā (*infra*, No. 60) in Cave No. 10.

Bhagawanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 102f; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 82ff., No. 12[2]

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

1 सिधं [॥*] **वसे ४०(+*)२** वेसाख-मासे राञो **क्षहरातस** क्षत्रपस **नहपानस** जामातरा दीनीक-पुत्रेन **उषवदातेन** संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं [॥*] दत चानेन अक्षय-निवि काहापण-सहस्रा-

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1 Some scholars think that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Vikrama era and that therefore he ruled much earlier, because the palaeography of these records is earlier than that of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with the Andau records and the palaeography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi. Inscriptions and coins prove the contemporaneity of Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna and Ushavadāta, and Ptolemy's Geography suggests the author's (c. 140 A.D.) contemporaneity with Puḷumāvi and Chashṭana, grand father of Rudradāman. The earlier members of the houses of Nahapāna and Chashṭana were probably feudatories of the Kushāṇas (cf. *supra*, No. 48); but the later members retained their fudatory title even after they had assumed independence (cf. the titles *rājan*, *svāmin* and *kshatrapa* used together).

2 For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1133; also *infra*., No. 59.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record appears to have been engraved on the cave-wall from a grant inscribed on plates of copper or cloth.

2 नि लेणि[1] ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इमस्मि लेणे वसांतान['][2] भविसंति[3] चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च [।*] एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधनं[4] वाथवासु श्रेणिसु [।*] कोलीक-निकाये २००० वृधि पडिक-शत अपर-कोलीक-निका-

3 ये १००० वधि पा[यू]न-[प]डिक-शत [।*] एते च काहापणा [अ]पडिदातवा वधि-भोजा [।*] एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि बे २००० ये पडिके सते [।*] एतो मम लेणे वसवुथान भिखुनं वीस[।]य एकीकस चिवरिक बारसक[5] [।*] य सहस्र प्रयुतं पायुन-पडिके शते अतो कुशन-

4 मूल [।*] **कापूराहारे** च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्राणि[6] अठ ८००० [।*] एत च सर्व स्रावित [नि]गम-सभाय निबध च फलकवारे चरितो ति [।*] भूयोनेन दतं **वसे ४०** (+*)१ **कातिक शूधे**[7] **पनरस** पुवाक **वसे ४०**(+*)५[8]

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1 Others read लिनि

2 Read वसंतानं

3 Others read भविसति

4 Others do not notice the *anusvāra*.

5 The rate of monthly interest being 1 per cent., the sum of 2000 *Kārshāpaṇas* would bring 20 K. per month and 240 K. per year. Each monk getting 12 K. for cloth money, 20 of them would get 240 K. The rate of interest was very high in ancient India. Monthly interest at the rate of 2% from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3% from a Kshatriya, 4% from a Vaiśya and 5% from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law-givers (*Manu*, VIII, 142; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 38; *Vishṇu*, VI, 2). *Kārshāpaṇa* was a coin (of copper, gold or silver) weighing 1 Karsha=80 Ratis=146·4 grains (Rati=1·83 grains). The gold *Suvarṇa*, the copper *Paṇa* and Kauṭilya's silver *Dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was however usually of 32 Ratis=58·56 grains. But here the silver coins of Nahapāna (about 36 grains) are called Kārshāpāṇa. Thirty-five of them made one Suvarṇa.

6 Senart: नालिगेरान मुलसहस्रानि

7 Others read शुधे

8 Some words of the original appear to have been left out in lines 5-6. The difference of donees suggests that ll. 5-6 belong to a different charter. *Aksharas* are big in ll. 1-2 and 6; but smaller in ll. 3-5. The smallest letters begin from भूयोनेन in l. 4.

5 [1]पनरस नियुतं भगवता[ं] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि सतरि ७००० प[ं]चत्रि[ं]शक सुवण कृता दिन सुवर्ण-सहस्रणं मूल्य[ं] [॥*]

6 [2]फलकवारे चरितवो ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे [द्विचत्वारिंशे] ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य (=नखवतः ?) जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन (यद्वा, वृषभदत्तेन) सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (=सर्वदेशीयाय) इदं लयनं (=गुहावासः) निर्यातितं (=दत्तम्)। दत्ता च अनेन अक्षयनीविः (=०न्यासः) कार्षापण-सहस्राणि त्रीणि ३००० सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन् लयने वसतां [भिक्षूणां] भविष्यति चैवरिकं (=चीवरमूल्यं) कृशन-मूल्यं (यद्वा, कृशान्न-मूल्यम्)[3]। एतानि च कार्षापणानि प्रयुक्तानि (=न्यासीकृतानि) गोवर्द्धने (=नासिके) वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु—कौलिक-निकाये [कार्षापणानां] द्वे सहस्रे २०००, [येषां] वृद्धिः प्रतिक-शतं[4] (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति कार्षापणम् एकं यथा स्यात् तथा); अपरकौलिक-निकाये यत् [कार्षापणानां] सहस्रं १०००, [तेषां] वृद्धिः पादोनप्रतिक-शतं (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति पादोनम् एकं कार्षापणम्)। एतानि च कार्षापणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, [परं तु] वृद्धि-भोज्यानि। एतयोः (=न्यासयोः) चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे २००० [कार्षापणानां], ये प्रतिक-शतं (=ये शतं प्रति एकं कार्षापणं वृद्धिं यच्छेताम्)। अतो (=अमुष्मात्) लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां विंशतये एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकं [कार्षापणानाम्]। यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोनप्रतिक-शतम्, अतः कृशन-मूल्यम्। कर्पूराहारे च ग्रामे चित्खलपद्रे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां मूला-

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1 This line begins from below स्रा of the word स्रावितं in l. 4.

2 These letters are inscribed at the beginning of l. 5.

3 कुशण-मूल is "expense of outside life" according to some. कुशण may be कृशन (gold, pearl)=minor necessities or कृशान्न=minor food (अमुख्याहार) Bhandarkar thinks that *Kuśaṇa* (a coin-designation named after the Kushāṇas) indicates the silver coins of Nahapāna. According to him *Kuśaṇa-mūla*="value of the Kuśaṇas"; 90 Kārshāpaṇas, the annual interest of 1000 K. were equal to 80 Kuśaṇas, each of the 20 monks requiring 4 Kuśaṇas for the 4 months of the rainy season (*Car. Lecm.*, 1921, pp. 199-200). This interpretation is untenable.

4 प्रतिक means कार्षापणिक. The passage प्रतिकं शतं means "one Kārshāpaṇa per cent." *Akshaya-nīvi* is a "permanent endowment"; *śreṇi* is a "guild"; and *nikāya* is a "corporation." The "weavers' guild" and the "western weavers' guild" were apparently like modern banking and trading corporations.

सहस्राणि (=शिशुनारिकेलतरुणां मूल-भूयिष्ठानां० ; यद्वा, मूल्यं [कार्षापणानां]०) अष्ट ८००० । एतत् च सर्वं श्रावितं निगम-सभायां (=पौरसभायां), निबद्धं च फलकवारे (=लिखितं ताम्रपट्टसमूहे ; यद्वा, कार्षापिकपट्ट० ; यद्वा, राजकोये फलकानां रक्षागृहे एतस्य प्रतिलिपिः रक्षिता) चरित्रतः (=यथाचारम्) इति । भूयः अनेन दत्तं वर्षे [एकचत्वारिंशे] ४१ कार्त्तिक-शुद्धे (=०शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चदशे [दिवसे] पौर्वकं (=पूर्वदत्तं) वर्षे [पञ्चचत्वारिंशे] ४५...पञ्चदशे (=कस्य-चिन्मासस्य पञ्चदशदिवसे)...नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यः देवेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि सप्तति ७०००, [कार्षापणानां] पञ्चत्रिंशतकं सुवर्णम् [एकं] कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्णसहस्रयोः मूल्यं (=मूलधनम्) । [निबद्धं च एतत्] फलकवारे चरित्रतः इति ॥

No. 59—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A. D.)

Nāsik, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10 under the ceiling.

R. G. Bhandarkar, *Transactions of the 2nd London Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, p. 326ff; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 139 ff; Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 99f. ; Indraji, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 569 ff; Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 27 ff; Senart, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 78 ff, No. 10.

Language: Prakrit much influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सोद्धम्[2] [*svastika*] [॥*] राज्ञः **क्षहरातस्य** क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दौनीक-

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. For other references, see Lüders, No. 1131. The record which seems originally to have been a copper-plate (or cloth-plate) grant and was later engraved on the cave-wall has evidently reached us in a distorted form. The latter part of the grant appears to have been condensed. The absence of date, the reference to the donor in both the first and third persons and the palaeography are to be noted. Like *supra*, No. 58, this record seems also to be made of more than one original charter.

2. Others read सिद्धं.

पुत्रेण **उषवदातेन** खि-गोशत-सहस्रदेन नद्या **बार्णासायां** सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण देवत[ा]भ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजापयित्वा

2 **प्रभासे**[1] पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन[2] **भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे** च चतुशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन आराम-तडाग-उदपान-करेण **इवा-पारादा-दमण-तापी-करवेणा-दाहनुका** नावा पुण्य-तर-करेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतो तीरं सभा-

3 प्रपा-करेण **पींडीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे** च **रामतीर्थे**[3] चरक-

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1 Cf. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम्, etc. in *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20ff, 58ff. These *tīrthas* were all in western India within the dominions of Saka Nahapāna, father-in-law of the Hinduised Saka prince Ushavadāta. Govardhana is near mod. Nāsik. Prabhāsa is in Kāṭhiāwār. Bhṛigukachchha is mod. Broach and Sūrpāraka mod. Sopara in the Ṭhāna Dist., Bombay Pres. Daśapura is mod. Man-Dasor in Western Mālwā (Gwalior State). Of the rivers, Tāpī is the celebrated Tāptī. Damana may be the Damangaṅgā running by the Portuguese town of Daman and Dāhanukā may be connected with the Portuguese town of Dahanu. Nānaṃgola is supposed to be Nārgol near Sanjan. Bārṇāśā is possibly mod. Banas, a tributary of the Chambal. The names mentioned in the record point to the wide extent of Nahapāna's kingdom.

2 Many of the gifts referred to in ll. 1-2 are highly recommended in the Purāṇas; cf., e.g., *Padma-Purāṇa*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, ch. 24. क्षिति सशस्यां यो दद्याद्ब्राह्मणाय द्विजोत्तम। विष्णुलोके सुखं भुङ्क्ते यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश ॥३॥ सप्तद्वीपां महीं दत्त्वा यत्पुण्यं प्राप्यते द्विज। तत्पुण्यं प्राप्नुयान्मर्त्यो धेनुं यच्छन् द्विजातये ॥१३॥ तिलप्रमाणं स्वर्णं यो ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति। हरेर्निकेतनं याति युक्तं कोटिकुलैरपि ॥१८॥ सालङ्कारां द्विजश्रेष्ठ कन्यां यच्छति यो नरः। स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मसदनं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥२२॥ अन्नं वारि द्विजश्रेष्ठ येन दत्तं महीतले। तेन दत्तानि दानानि सर्वाणि च द्विजर्षभ ॥४१॥ See also *ibid*, ch. 5. Cf. also *Vishṇusaṃhitā*, 19: अथ कूपकर्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्यार्द्धं विनश्यति।१। तडागकृन्नित्यतृप्तो वारुणं लोकमश्नुते।२। जलप्रदः सदा तृप्तो भवति।३।, etc. See also *Kūrma* P., II, 39, v. 79: अनाथं दुर्गतं विप्रं नाथवन्तमथापि वा। उद्वाहयति यस्तीर्थे तस्य पुण्यफलं शृणु ॥ etc.

3 Cf. ततः शूर्पारकं गच्छेज्जामदग्न्यनिषेवितम्।
रामतीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा विन्द्यात् बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥ Mbh., III, 85, 42

पर्वभ्यः ग्रामे **नानंगोले** द्वालीशत-नाळोगेर-मूल-सहस्र-प्रदेन गोवर्धने **त्रीरश्मिषु**[1] पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पोढियो [॥*][2] भटारका-अजातिया[3] च गतोस्मिं वर्षा-रतु **मालये**[हि][4] * * हि रुधं **उतमभाद्रं** मोचयितु [।*]

4 ते च **मालया** प्रनादेनेव[5] अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं च क्षत्तियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता[।*] ततोस्मिं गतो **पोक्षरानि**[6] [।*] तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो त्रीणि च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च [॥*][7]दत च[।]नेन क्षेत्र[ं] ब्राह्मणस वाराहि-पुत्रस अग्निभूतिस हथे कीणिता मुलेन काहापण-सहस्रे हि चतुहि ४००० यो[8] स-पितु-सतक नगरसीमायं उतरापरा[यं] दीसायं [।*]एतो मम लेने वस-

5 [9]तानं चातुदीसस भिखु-सघस मुखाहारो भविसती[10] [॥*]

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1 Senart: त्रिरश्मिषु. Triraśmi was the name of the hills in which the caves are found. Govardhana was the name of both a city and the district round it.

2 The remaining letters of the line are about half the size of the letters of the record up to the word पोढियो.

3 अ was afterwards inserted. Senart: अंजा०।

4 Traces of a few letters are found between ये[हि] and हि. It is possible that they were purposely erased.

5 Cf. का कथा बाणसन्धाने ज्याशब्देनैव दूरतः।
हुङ्कारेणैव धनुषः स हि विघ्नानपोहति॥ *Śākuntala.*

6 Cf. पुष्करे स्नानमात्रतः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति। विष्णुसंहिता ।८५।२; see also *Mbh.*, III. 82, 20 ff; 89, 16 ff. Coins of the Mālavas (originally living in the Jhang Dist., Panjāb) prove that they settled in the eastern part of the Jaipur State (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 161 f.). Coins of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna discovered at Pushkar and Ajmer possibly prove Kshaharāta occupation of the Ajmer region. It is interesting to note that many coins of the Saka house of Chashṭana have also been discoverd in the same region. See Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 64, 67, 77, 85, 93, 190, 192, etc. See *supra*, p. 92, n. 6.

7 There is a blank space between च and दत. The letters of the rest of the record from the word दत are very small in size.

8 Senart: य.

9 This line begins from below यो स-पितु० in l. 4

10 Senart reads भविसति.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन, त्रि-गो-शतसहस्रदेन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण (=सुवर्णदानस्य सोपानकरणस्य च विधात्रा), देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडश-ग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्रा, प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे (=भृगु-कक्षे ?) दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारके च चतुःशाला-वसथ-प्रतिश्रयप्रदेन (=तीर्थनिषेविणां कृते चतुःशालगृहाणां विश्रामागाराणां च विधात्रा), आराम-तडागोदपान-करेण, इवा-पारादा-दमन-तापी-करवेणवा-दाहनुकासु नावा (=नौ-योगेन) पुण्यतरकरेण[1] (=पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा=अशुल्केन नदीतरणविधात्रा। यद्वा, ०दाहनुका-नावाख्यनदीषु पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा), एतासां च नदीनाम् उभयतः तीरं सभा-प्रपा-करेण (=विश्रामागारान् जलसत्राणि च कृतवता), पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारके च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षद्भ्यः (=चरकाख्यसम्प्रदायानुसारिभ्यः[2]। यद्वा, परिव्राजकभिक्षुसङ्घेभ्यः) ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रिंशन्नारिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन (=शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूलभुविष्ठानां द्वात्रिंशत्-सहस्राणि दत्तवता। यद्वा, द्वात्रिंशच्छत-नारिकेलतरूणां मूल्यं कार्षापण-सहस्रं दत्तवता ; यद्वा, द्वित्र-शत०), गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु (=त्रिरश्मि-पर्वते) धर्मात्मना (=ऋषभदत्तेन) इदं लयनं कारितम्, इमे च प्रहयः (=निपानानि)। भट्टारकाज्ञप्त्या (=नहपानाज्ञया) च गत आसं वर्षतौ मालवैः रुद्धम् औत्तमभाद्रं (=उत्तमभद्रकाणाम् अधिपतिं) मोचयितुम्। ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन (=ऋषभदत्तसैन्यहुङ्कारेण) इव अपयाताः (=पलायिताः), उत्तमभद्रकानां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे [मालवाः] परिग्रहाः (=वन्दिनः) कृताः [ऋषभदत्तेन]। ततः आसं गतः पुष्करान् (=पुष्करतीर्थम्)। तत्र च मया अभिषेकः (=स्नानं) कृतः, त्रीणि च गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि, ग्रामः च [दत्तः]। दत्तं च अनेन (=ऋषभदत्तेन) क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराही-पुत्रस्य अग्निभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा मूल्येन कार्षापण-सहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृ-स्वत्वकम् (=अग्निभूति-पितृ-स्वत्वकं [क्षेत्रं]) नगरसौत्रि उत्तरापरायां (=पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां) दिशायां [वर्तते]। अतः (=एतस्मात्) मम लयने वसतः चातुर्दिशस्य भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारः (=०हाराय=मुख्यान्नाय [एषः ग्रामः]) भविष्यति।

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1 Cf. शुल्क-तर in *Vishṇu*. 3, 9 and तर-शुल्क in *Agni* P. 223, 25. पुण्यतर= अशुल्कतर. People got free food at a king's *āvasathas* in *Chhā. Up.*, IV, i.

2 *Charaka* primarily denotes 'a wandering student' in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas. More especially it denotes the members of a school of the Black Yajurveda, whose practices are referred to with disapproval. The चरकाचार्य is enumerated among the sacrificial victims of the Purushamedha sacrifice (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 256). Rāmatirtha was in Sūrpāraka.

No. 60—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A. D.)

NĀSIK, Bombay Pres. In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 81 f., No. 11

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.
Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[1]

1 सीधं[2] [॥*] रंञो **क्षहरातस** क्षतपस **नहपानस** दीहि-
2 तु दीनीक-पुतस **उषवदातस** कुडुंबिनिय **दखमित्ताय** देयधम[3] ओवरको[4] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षतपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः, दीनीक-पुतस्य ऋषभदत्तस्य कुटुम्बिन्याः (=भार्य्यायाः) दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः (=धर्मदेयं=धर्मवृद्धये दत्तः वस्तुविशेषः) अपवारकः (=गुहा-गृहम्) ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see *supra*, No. 59 and Lüders, List, No. 1132.

2 Some read सिधं

3 Senart: धंमं

4 There is a similar inscription in the same veranda of the same cave, over the doorway of the right cell.

No. 61—Kārle Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres. On the upper freize to the right of the central door of the Chaitya cave.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, IV, p. 101 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 57 ff, No. 13.

Language : Prakrit.
Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं [॥*] रञो **खहरातस** खतपस **नहपानस** जा[म]तरा [दीनीक]-पूतेन **उसभ-दातेन** ति-

2 गो-सतसहस[दे]ण नदिया **बणासाया** [सु]वण-[ति]थकरेन[2] [देवतान*] ब्रह्मणान च सोळस-गा

3 म-दे[न*] **पभासे** पूत-तिथे ब्रह्मणाण अठ-भाया-प[देन*] [अ]नुवासं पितु सत-सहसं [भो]-

4 जपयित **वलूरकेसु** लेण-वासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सघस

5 यापणथ गामो [कर]**जिको** दतो स[वा]न [वा]स-वासितानं (?) [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभ-दत्तेन त्रि-गो-शतसहस्र-देन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्ण[दान]-तीर्थ-करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च

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1 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1099. This record may have been copied from a grant originally on plates of copper or cloth. The writing is much defaced.

2 In *supra*, No. 60 we have सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण in place of सुवर्णतीर्थकरेण of this inscription.

3 Valūraka appears to be the ancient name of the Kārle region. The suggestion that it may be Elūra from where the monks came to Kārle to pass the rainy season (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 391) does not appeal to me.

षोडशग्रामदेन, प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्य्याप्रदेन, अनुवर्षं पिते (=स्वर्गतं पितरं प्रीणयितुं) शत-साहस्री-भोजयिता (=ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीभोजयिता) बलूरकेषु लयन-वासिभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः चातुर्द्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य यापनार्थं (=वर्षायापनार्थं=वर्षासु जीवनयात्रा-निर्वाहार्थं) ग्रामः करजिकः दत्तः सर्वेभ्यः वर्षाव्युषितेभ्यः (=वर्षाप्रवासि-भिक्षुभ्यः) ॥

No. 62—Junnār Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

(Śaka) Year 46 (=A.D. 124).

JUNNĀR, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

INDRAJI and BURGESS, *Ins. C. Temp. W. Ind.*, p. 51f; BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [राञो*] महखतपस सामि-**नहपानस**[2]

2 [आ]मतस[3] वछ-सगोतस **अयमस**

3 [दे*][यधम] च (पो*)डि मटपो च पुञथय **वसे ४०(+*)६** कतो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-नहपानस्य अमात्यस्य वत्स-सगोत्रस्य अर्य्यम्नः देयधर्मः (=धर्मबुद्धये दत्तं वस्तु) च प्रहिः (=उदपानं, निपानं) मण्डपः (=जनानां विश्रामगृहं) च पुण्यार्थाय वर्षे [षट्चत्वारिंशे] ४६ कृतः ॥

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1 From the plate in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1174.

2 Bühler: हा. The word *svāmin* is the Sanskrit rendering of a Saka word meaning "lord" (cf. *Saka-muruṇḍa*; Chinese *wang*). Some Indian kings, e.g. the Later Sātavāhanas, imitated the title. Neo-Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka* (from *bhartṛi*) may also be connected with the same Skythian word.

3 Bühler: ०मात्यस.

(b) HOUSE OF CHASHṬANA

Nos. 63-66—Andau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman[1]

—[Śaka][2] year 52 (=A.D. 130).

ANDAU, Khāvḍā (or Pachchham), Cutch

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[3]

No. I

1 [राज्ञो] [चाष्ट]नस य्सामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामम जयदाम-पुत्रस

2 व[र्षे] [द्वि]प[ं]च[ाशे] [५०] (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस [द्वि]तिय-वारे(?)[4] [२] मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन [भ]गिनिये जेष्टबोराये

3 [सी]हि[ल-धि]त ओपशति-सगोत्राये[5] लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

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1 Banerji translated the beginning of these records as "In the year 52, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, *va* 2 (during the reign) of the king Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, (the grandson) of the king Chāshṭana, son of Ysāmotika." In my opinion, the wording shows beyond doubt that the year should be referred to the reign of both Chashṭana and Rudradāman. Possibly at this stage Chashṭana was styled महाक्षत्रप and Rudradāman क्षत्रप. The coins of this family prove that a महाक्षत्रप and a क्षत्रप ruled at the same time, possibly like a महाराज and his युवराज. Chashṭana and Rudradāman recovered much of the territories that Nahapāna lost to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi even during the latter's life time.

2 The "Saka" era very probably took its name from its constant use by this Saka family for a long time

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the *yashṭis* referred to in these records, see *supra*, 135, n. 8. The first three *yashṭis* were raised by Madana in memory of his sister, brother and wife. The fourth was raised by Treshṭadatta in memory of his son. The persons in whose honour the *yashṭis* were raised were apparently dead. The first name is written चष्टन in many cases.

4 Banerji read व २ and explained व=बहुल. Lüders finds here a symbol for 15.

5 Banerji : सागोत्राये. His सगोत्राण in No. III, l. 2 is also wrong.

No. II

1 [राज्ञो **चाष्ट]नस ष्सामोतिक-**

2 पु[त्र]स राज्ञो [रु]द्रदामस

3 **जयदाम**-पुत्रस **वर्षे द्वि-प[ं]-**

4 **[चा]शे** ५० (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस

5 द्वितीय- वारे(?) २ ऋषभदेवस

6 सीहिल-पुत्रस ओपशति-सगोत्रस

7 भ्रात्र[ा] [मदने]न [सीहि]ल-पुत्रेन

8 लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

No. III

1 राज्ञो **चाष्टनस ष्सा[ा]मोतिक**-पुत्रस राज्ञो **रुद्रदामस जयदाम**-पुत्रस **वर्षे द्विपंचाशे** ५० (+*)२

2 फगुण-बहुलस द्वितिय-वा २ यशदताये सीहमित-धीता शेनिक-सगोत्राये शामणेरिये

3 मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन कुटुबिनिये [लष्टि] उथापिता [॥*]

No. IV

1 र[ा]ज्ञो **चाष्टनस ष्सामोतिक**-पु[त्रस] [राज्ञो] **रु[द्रदामस]** **ज[य]दा[म]**-

2 पुत्र[स] **वर्षे** ५० (+*)२ फगु[न]-बहुलस [द्वितिय]- वारे(?) २

3 ऋषभदेवस लेष्टदत-पुत्र[स] ओपश[ति]-गो[त्र]स

4 पि[त्रा(तिन?)] लेष्टदतेन श्राम[णे]रेन लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

I—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य (= ०कृष्णपक्षस्य) द्वितीय-वारे (= ०दिवसे) २ मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण भगिन्याः जेष्ठवीरायाः सिंहिल-दुहितुः औपशति सगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

II—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य सिंहिलपुत्रस्य औपशति-सगोत्रस्य भ्राता मदनेन औपशति-सगोत्रेण यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

III—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य ज़ामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय- वा[रे =०दिवसे] २ यशोदत्तायाः सिंहमित्र-दुहितुः शैनिक-

सगोत्रायाः श्रामण्यर्य्याः (=बौद्धसङ्घे प्रव्रज्या-ग्रहोर्य्याः)[1] मदनेन सिंहिल पुत्रेण कुटुम्बिन्याः =([आत्मनः] भार्यायाः) यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

VI—राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदात्रः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे [द्विपञ्चाशे] ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य क्षेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गोत्रस्य पिता क्षेष्टदत्तेन श्रामण्येरेण[1] यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

No. 67—Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I—[Śaka] Year 72 (=A.D. 150)

Near JUNĀGARH in Kāṭhiāwār "at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnār".

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, p. 338ff; *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, II, p. 57ff; LASSEN, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, p. 146ff; BHAU DAJI, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, p. 113f; 118f; 125f.; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, II, p. 128ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 257ff., KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 42ff; LÜDERS, List, No. 965 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धं [।*] इदं तडाकं **सुदर्शनं** गिरिनगराद[पि] * *[3].....[मृ*][त्ति]कोपल-विस्तारायामोच्छ्रय-निःसन्धि-बद्ध-दृढ-सर्व्व-पाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वत-पा-

1 A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajjā*, but has not yet received the *Upasampadā*, is called *Sāmaṇera*, "novice," "deacon" (fem. *Sāmaṇerī*). He becomes a fully-privileged monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*. The interval may be very short or very long. Note that the wife's gotra is different from that of the husband (cf. Poona grant of Prabhāvatī, *infra*.).

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The rules of *sandhi* have been observed in many cases, but not in all. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

3 Indraji and Bühler have गिरिनगरा[द्रि-पाद-रम] ; but Kielhorn rightly thinks that the letter read as द्रि is undoubtedly द. According to him the first four *aksharas* of the lacunae may be conjecturally read as दूरमन्त. रा looks like रि

2 द-प्प्रतिस्पर्द्धि-सुश्लि[ष्ट]-[बन्धं*].....[व]जातेनाकृत्रिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रति-
विहित-प्रनाळी-परीवाह-

3 मौढविधानं[1] च विस्क[न्ध*].....नादिभिरनुग्र[है]र्महत्युपचये वर्त्तते [।*]
तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही-

4 त-नाम्नः[2] स्वामि-**चष्टनस्य** पौत्र[स्य*] [राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामि-**जय-
दाम्न***]: पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्त-नाम्नो **रु[द्र]दाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्त-
तित[मे]** ७०(+*)२

5 मार्ग्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्र[ति][पदि*].....*: सृष्टवृष्टिना[3] पर्ज्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरे**रूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-**

6 **पलाशिनी**-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां[4] अतिमात्रोद्वृत्तैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम...[यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकार-[5]
मपि गिरिशिखर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपत[ल्प]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना[6] युगनिधन-सद-

7 श-परम-घोर-वेगेन[7] वायुना प्रमथि[त] सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जर्ज्जरीकृताव[दी][र्णं*]...
[क्षि]प्ताश्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं[8] आ नदी[त]लादित्युद्घाटितमासीत् [।*] चत्वारि
हस्त-शतानि वीशदुत्तराण्यायतेन[9] एतावंत्येव [वि]स्ती[र्णे]न

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1 मौड means गोमूत्रक and Indrāji translates, "the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine". Kielhorn points to मौढगिरि (a dunghill) of the *Lalitavistara* and translates "arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities."

2 Cf. नामापि गृह्णतोऽस्य पापकारिणः पापमलेन लिप्यत इव मे जिह्वा, *Harsha-charita*. N. S. P. ed., p. 210.

3 Indrāji and Bühler सुसृष्ट ; but a *visarga* before स् is clear.

4 Read °नाम् अति°.

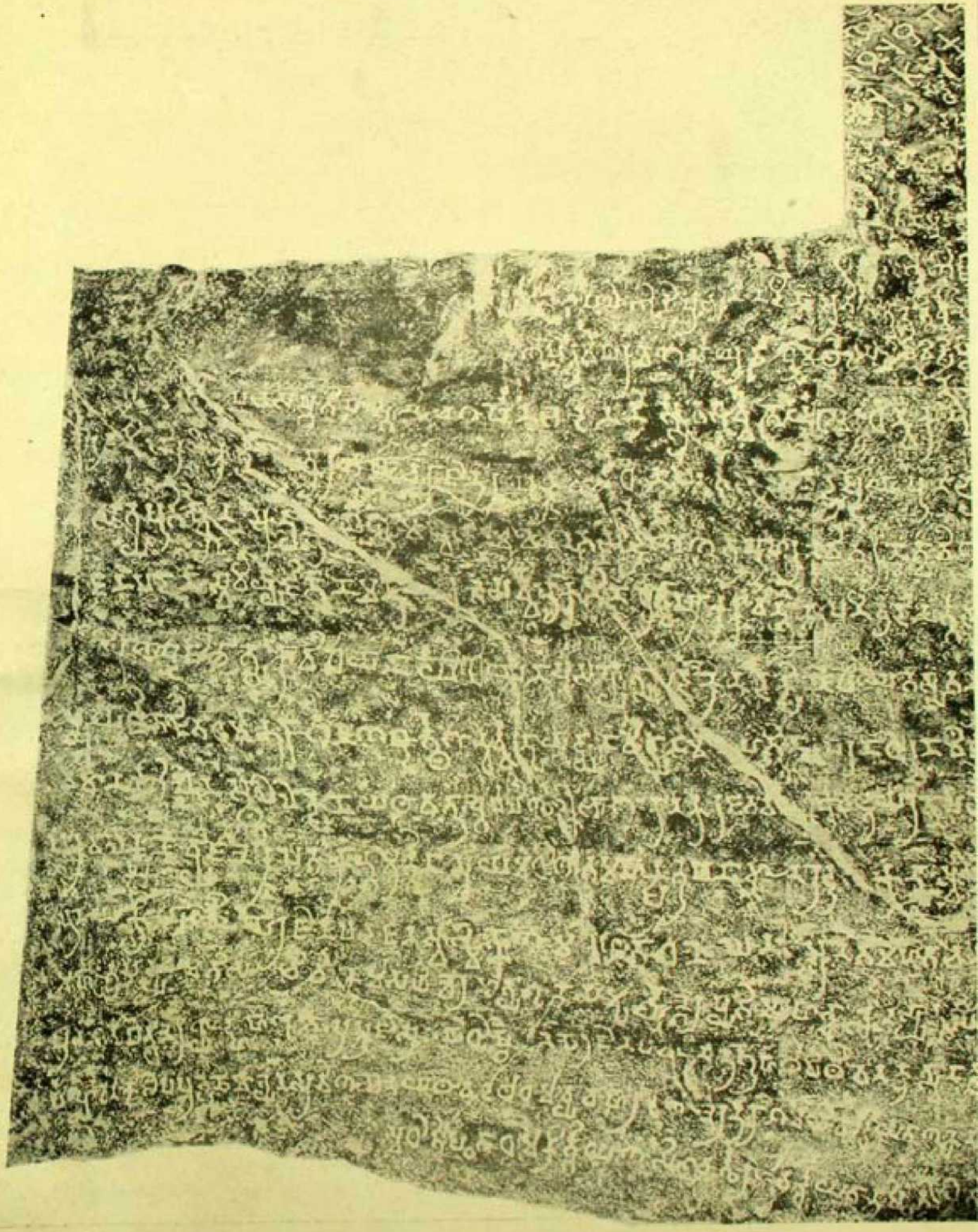
5 Indraji and Bühler : °र्यमाणा°.

6 उपतल्प means the same thing as तल्प in *Raghu*, XVI, 11, "an upper story". शरणोच्छ्रय is "a shade for shelter;" cf. प्रतिच्छ्रय in No. 59, *supra*.

7 Read वेगेन.

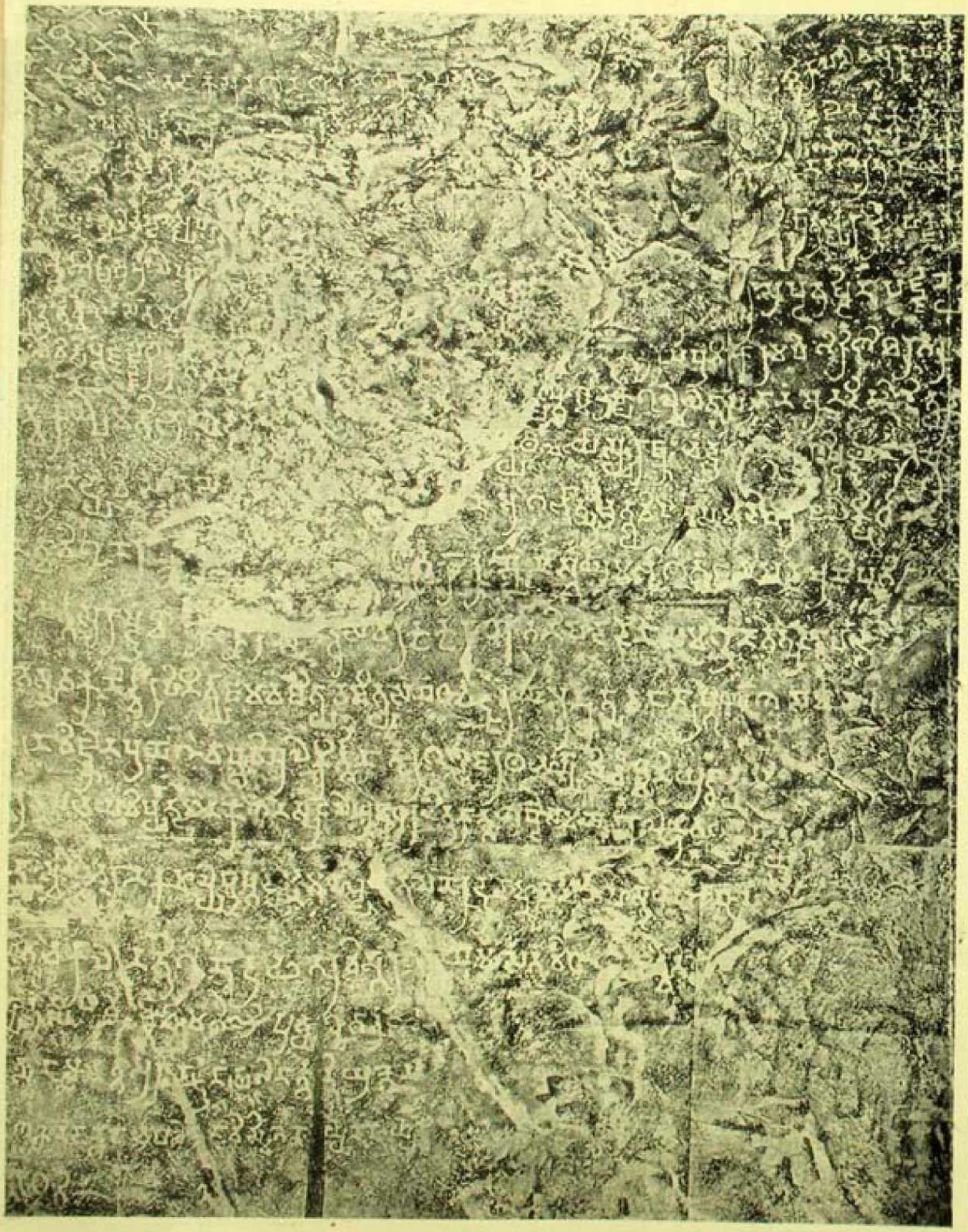
8 Read °तानम् आ°.

9 Read विंशत्यु°.



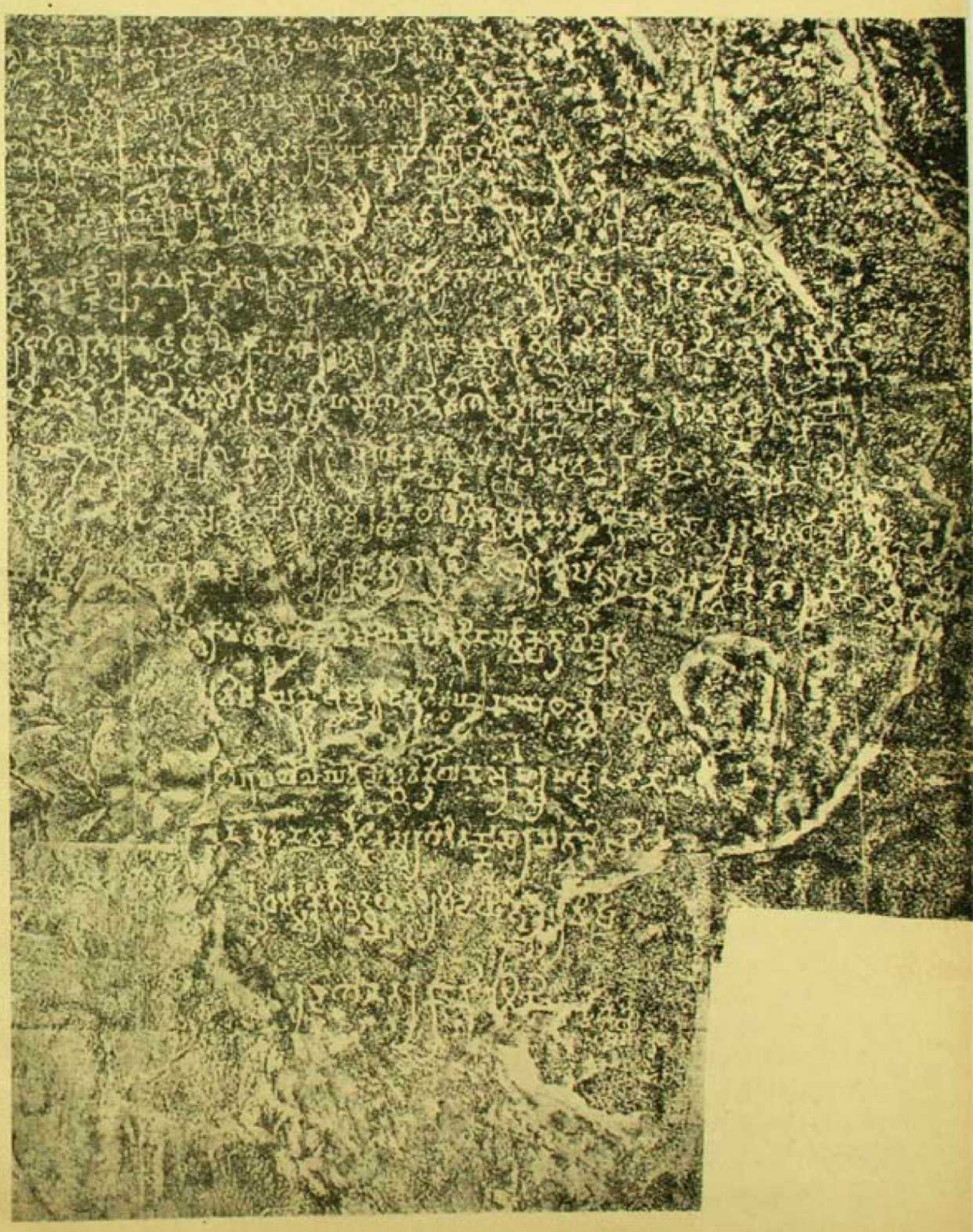
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67). Section I.



Courtesy : Arch Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67). Section II.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Junāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67). Section III.

8 पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन[1] भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व्व-तोयं मरु-धंन्व-कल्पमतिभृशं[2] दु[र्द][3].....[।*]...[स्य]र्थे **मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गु][प्त*][स्य] राष्ट्रियेण [वै]श्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन** कारितं[4] **अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य** (कृ*)ते[5] **यवनराजेन तुष[ा]स्फेना**धिष्ठाय[6]

9 प्रण[ा]ळीभिरल[ं]कृत[ं] [।*] [त]त्कारित[या] च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया तस्मिं[7] [भे]दे दृष्टया प्रनाड्या[8] वि[स्तृ]त-से[तु*].....णा[9] आ गर्भा-त्प्रभृत्यवि[ह]त-समुदि[व[10]-रा]जलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्सर्व्व-वर्णैरभिगंम्य[11] रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत-

10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[त्र] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदृश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविगुण-रि[पु*]..... ...त-कारुण्येन[12] स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपति[ता*][यु]पशरणदेन[13] दस्यु-व्याळ-मृग-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व्व-नगर-निगम-[14]

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1 Kielhorn reads सप्तति. 2 Read धन्व·

3 Kielhorn suggests the restoration दुर्दर्शनमासीत् with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

4 Read कारितम् अशोकस्य.

5 The original has ते for which Bhau Daji proposed तेन, and Indraji तत्. Kielhorn suggests कृते which is better. Apparently Rudadrāman had access to some records regarding the origin of the Lake. The Greek king with a Persian name was probably Aśoka's feudatory and governor. For *yavanas* in Western India, see *infra*, No. 86; *Periplus*, § 47; for Dattāmitri (=Demtriaspolis) in Sauvīra, Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 319.

6 Generally read स्पे ; but Kielhorn is right when he points out that the subscript is not प but फ·

7 Read तस्मिन्. 8 Some read प्रणाळथा.

9 Some read नो 10 Read ०समुदित०.

11 Read ०गम्य

12 Indraji and Bühler suggest धृत. The usual form of अन्यत्र संग्रामेषु (except in battles) is अन्यत्र संग्रामेभ्यः

13 जनपद may also be treated as one word meaning mankind. But the meaning seems to be "who grants life to people repairing to him of their own accord and protection to those prostrating themselves before his feet." Indraji and Bühler have प्रणिपत्ति [विशे]ष. Read ०तायुश्शरण०

14 We may possibly also read मृगोरग०.

11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्य्यार्जितानामनुरक्त-सर्व्व-प्रकृतीनां **पूर्व्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृ-दानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-श्व[भ्र-मरु-कच्छ-सिन्धु-सौवी]र-कुकुरापरांत--निषादादीनां**[1] समग्राणां ततप्रभावाद्य[थावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थ*]-काम-विषयाणां[2] विषयाणां पतिना[3] सर्व्वक्षत्रावि[ष्कृत-

12 वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]त्सेकाविधेयानां[4] **यौधेयानां** प्रसह्योत्सादकेन **दक्षिणापथ-पते-स्सातकर्णेर्द्विरपि** निर्व्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य[5] संबंधा[वि]दूर(त*)या[6] अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्त-यशसा [वाद][7] .....[प्रा*][प्त]-विजयेन भ्रष्टराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्त्थ-हस्तो-

13 च्छ्रयार्जितोर्जित-धर्मानुरागेण[8] शब्दार्त्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां[9] विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-

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1 Restoration of the damaged text is due mainly to Indrāji. Akarāvanti = Mālwā; Ākara = East Mālwā (cap. Vidiśā); Avanti = West Mālwā (cap. Ujjain). Anūpa realm, cap. Māhishmatī (mod. Maheśvar or Māndhātā in Nimār Dist.); Anarta = North Kāṭhiāwār, cap. Dvārakā; Surāshṭra = South Kāṭhiāwār, cap. Girinagara; Svabhra on the Śābarmatī; Maru = in Rājputānā Desert, cf. Mārwār; Kachchha = Cutch; Sindhu west of Lower Indus; Sauvīra east of Lower Indus; Kukura in North Kāṭhiāwār near Anarta; Aparānta = North Konkan, cap. Śūrpāraka; Nishāda from Vinaśana to Pāriyātra (= W. Vindhya and Aravelly; cf. *Mbh.*, III, 130, 3-4; XII. 135, 3-5). The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygarh region of Bharatpur and in Johiyābār on the Satlaj.

2 The restoration is due to Kielhorn. Bühler proposed य[थेप्सितावाप्त-सर्व]-काम.

3 Read पत्या

4 जाथो॰ was originally engraved.

5 Read निर्व्याजमवजित्यावजित्य.

6 The Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüders, No. 994) mentions the *devī* of Vāsishṭhīputra śrī-Sātakarṇi, who descended from the Kārddamaka kings and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name begins with *Ru* (apparently Rudradāman). *Devī* does not always mean a queen. Chārudevī, wife of a crown-prince, is called *devī* in the British Museum grant (*infra.*). It is thus uncertain whether this Sātakarṇi was a king and is referred to in Rudradāman's record. He might have been a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who was possibly twice defeated by Rudradāman (cf. the list of countries in l. 11 with that in *infra*, No. 86, l. 2).

7 Kielhorn: मा(द?).

8 Read ॰रागेण.

9 शब्द = grammar; अर्थ = lexigraphy or politics; गान्धर्व = music; न्याय = logic.

धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्त-विपुल-कीर्त्तिना तुरग-गज-रथचर्य्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्या.....

ति-परबल-लाघव-सौष्ठव-क्रियेण अहरहर्दान-मानान-

14 वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्षेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्क-भागैः[1] कानक-रजत-वज्र-वैडूर्य-[2]

रत्नोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-कान्त-शब्दसमयोदारालंकृत-[3]

गद्य-पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रवीणे*]न[4] प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण्ण-सारसत्वादिभिः[5]

15 परम-लक्षण-व्यंजनैरुपेत-कान्त-मूर्त्तिना स्वयमधिगत-महाक्षत्रप-नाम्ना नरेंद्र-क[न्या]-[6]

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1 स्थूललक्ष = बहुव्ययी ; बलि=tax, possibly identical with कर ; शुल्क=tolls and duties; भाग=king's grain share.

2 Read कनक. Usually वैदूर्य.

3 Cf. the characteristics of the Vaidarbha style as explained by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa, chapter I: श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्य्यं सुकुमारता। अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्व-मोजः-कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ 41. श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टशैथिल्यमल्पप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम्। शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ॥ 43. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युति। लक्ष्म लक्ष्मी तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥ 45. समं बन्धेष्वविषमं ते मृदु-स्फुट-मध्यमाः। बन्धा मृदु-स्फुटोन्मिश्र-वर्ण-विन्यास-योनयः ॥ 47. मधुरं रसवद्वाचि वस्तुन्याप रसस्थितिः। येन माद्यन्ति धीमन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥ 51. कन्ये कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम्। इति ग्राम्योऽयमर्थात्मा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते ॥ 63. अनिष्ठुराक्षरप्रायं सुकुमारमिहेष्यते। बन्ध-शैथिल्य-दोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्व-कोमले ॥ 69. अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य हरिणोद्गता। भूः खुर-क्षुण्ण-नागासृग्लोहितादुदधेरिह ॥ 73. उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिद्यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते। तदुदाराह्वयं येन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ 76. ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम्। पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ 80. कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात्। तच्च वार्त्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्वपि दृश्यते ॥ 85. अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यत्र लोकसीमानुरोधिना। सम्यगाधीयते यत्र स समाधिः स्मृतो यथा ॥ 93. कुमुदानि निमीलन्ति कमलान्युन्मिषन्ति च। इति नेत्र-क्रियाध्यासाल्लब्धा तद्वाचिनी श्रुतिः ॥ 94

4 This very probable restoration is due to Bühler. Various definitions of काव्य and its varieties are noticed by Sanskrit rhetoricians.

5 Read सत्त्व०

5 न्या was originally engraved.

स्वयंवरानेक-माल्य-प्राप्त-दाम्न[ा] महाक्षत्रपेण **रुद्रदाम्ना** वर्षसहस्राय गो-ब्रा[ह्म][ण*]
.....[र्थं] धर्म्मकीर्त्तिवृद्धयर्थं च अपीडयि[त्वा] कर-विष्टि-

16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः[1] पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा[2] महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुण-दृढतर-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य स*]म्बत[टे][3].....[सु]दर्शन-तरं कारितमिति [।*] [अस्मि]न्नर्थे

17 [च][4] महा[क्ष]त्रप[स्य] **मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवै**रमात्य-गुण-समुद्युक्तैरप्यति-[5] महत्त्वाद्भेदस्यानुत्साह-विमुख-मतिभि[ः][6] प्रत्याख्यातारंभ[ं]

18 पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्याद्ब्राह्मभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं[7] पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नाना**मानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां**[8] पालनार्थन्नियुक्तेन

19 **पह्लवेन**[9] **कुलैप**-पुत्रेणामात्येन **सुविशाखेन** यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुराग-मभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणाह्रार्य्येण

20 स्वधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्त्ति-यशांसि भर्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति[10] ।[।*]

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1 **कर**=tax ; **विष्टि**=forced (i. e., free) labour; **प्रणय**=benevolence or emergency tax (cf. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, V,ii), mod. *prīti-dān*.

2 Read ०कोशात.

3 Indraji and Bühler have [सर्व्व]नग[र] ; but Kielhorn appears to be right.

4 Not noticed by others.

5 **मतिसचिव** (cf. **धीसचिव** of Amara)=counsellor; **कर्मसचिव**=executive officer. For **अमात्य-गुण**, see l. 19.

6 Read ०महत्त्वा०.

7 Originally the engraver began an *akshara* with *e*-sign in place of **ग्र**.

8 Read **सुराष्ट्राणां**

9 Pahlava is usually taken to mean Parthian. Pahlava and Pārada are mentioned side by side in literature. Pahlava is apparently connected with the old Pelhevi language of Iran. Did a Pahlava sometimes denote a Persian and Pārada a Parthian?

10 The full stop is indicated by a slightly curved dash-like sign.

No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 78, No. 270 ff.

First side[1]

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters[2].

Second side

Symbol of three arches[3], surmounted by crescent; waved line[4] beneath ; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots. Inscription[5] in Brāhmī characters :—

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदाम-पुत्रस[6] राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस[॥*]

(=राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य जयदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रदाम्नः ॥)

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1 From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, plate X.

2 "From this period onwards the inscription in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear on the coins until the end of the dynasty."—Rapson. In imination of the coins of their Greek predecessors the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas used Greek legends on their coins. The Satrapal Skythian families of western India were originally feudatory to the Kushāṇas.

3 Formerly the symbol was supposed to indicate a Chaitya. It is now believed to indicate a hill.

4 This symbol is supposed to indicate a river. The three arches on a waved line may indicate a hill-fort on the bank of a river.

5 The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. This is also the case even with the coins of Rudrasiṃha III, the last king of the dynasty. This fact shows that pure Sanskrit was still not very popular even in that locality where it began to oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy from an early period.

6 Some specimens have जयदामस पुत्रस. See Rapson, Catalogue, p. 79; No. 276 ff; plate X. This kind of *sāpeksha-samāsa* is common in early inscriptions; cf. गोवधनस वेनाकटकस्वामि in No. 83, *infra*; also No. 72.

No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasiṃha I—[Śaka] Year 103 (=A.D. 181)

GUNDĀ, Hālār Dist., North Kāṭhiāwār

G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 157f; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. i; p 42; RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 375; *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS, List, No. 963; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circle*, 1914-15, p. 67; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 235

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्ध[ं] [॥*] र[ा]ज्ञो मह[ा]क्षत्र[पस्य] स्वामि-**चष्टन**-प्रपौत्रस्य[2] राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-**जयदाम**-पौत्रस्य

2 स्य[3] रा[ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य] स्वामि-**रुद्रदाम**-पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि **रुद्र**-

3 **सीहस्य [व]र्षे [त्रि]युत्तरशते** १००(+*)३ वैशाख-शुद्धे पंचम-धत्ये(रय ?)-तिथौ[4] रो[हि]णि-नक्ष-

4 त्र-मुहू[र्त्ते] **आभीरेण**[5] सेनापति-बापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्र[भू]तिन[ा ग्रा]मे **रसो**-

5 [प]द्रिये वा[पी][6] [खा]नि[ता] बन्धापितश्च[7] सर्व्व-सत्वानां हितसुखार्थमिति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि जयदाम-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

2 Some read चाष्टन

3 स्य is superfluous.

4 Some read पंचमि and धन्य

5 The Ābhīras originally lived near Vinaśana is the Rājputānā Desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Aparānta. See p. 177, n. 2.

6 Some read श्रवण.

7 पद्रे हदार्थे (Bühler); पद्रे हदः (Indraji). वापी is doubtful, and the reading may be वन्धो (= वन्धः) or वर्तो (= वर्त्त)

8 Some read बंद्धा

ऽधुत्तर-शत[तमे] (=ऽधिके) १०३ वैशाख-शुद्धे (=०शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चम-धन्य-तिथौ रोहिणी-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्त्ते[1] आभीरेण सेनापति-बप्पकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्रभूतिना[2] ग्रामे रसापद्रके वापी (=कूपः) खानिता, वन्दिता [शिलादिभिः] च सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् इति ॥

No. 70—Junāgaṛh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson[3]

JUNĀGARH, Kāṭhiāwār

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, II, p. 140f; *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Ins.*, Bhavnagar, p. 17; RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS, List, No. 966; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 241

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT[4]

1 ... ...स्तथा सुरगणेन [क्षत्रा]णां प्रथ[म]... ...

2 ... ...**चष्टनस्य** प्र[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञः] क्ष[त्रप*]स्य स्वामि-**जयदाम**-[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञो म[हाक्ष].....

3 ... ...[**चैत्र**]**शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे** ५ इ[ह] **गिरिनगरे** देवासुर-नाग-य[क्ष]-रा[क्ष]से.....

4 .....तथा(?) [पुर]मि[व].....केवलि[ज्ञा*]न-सं[प्राप्ता]नां(?)... ...जरा-मरण[5] ...

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1 The reference to Nakshatra Rohiṇī on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha also points to the Pūrṇimānta month. See *supra*, p. 136, n. 5. Note that the Uṇḍ inscription (*C. I. I.*, II, i, p. 70) connects Pūrvāshāḍhā with the 8th day of Chaitra.

2 The influencial position of the Ābhīras at the Śaka court apparently helped Ābhīra Iśvarasena in gaining the throne for himself.

3 The name of the reigning prince is lost. He must be either Dāmaysada or Rudrasiṃha I, possibly the latter. The modern name Girnār represents the ancient Girinagara.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

5 The reading of this line is not beyond doubt. Some read जितजरा०

No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Jīvadāman[1]—Śaka year 120 (=198 A. D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 83ff., No. 291

First Side

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters; date[2] is Brāhmī numerals:—

१००(+*)२०

Second Side

Symbol of three arches, surmounted by crescent, with waved line beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

र[ा*]ज्ञो मह[ा*]क्षत्रपस दामजदस[4] पुत्रस राज्ञो मह[ा*]क्षत्र[पस] [जीवदामस] [॥*]

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य जीवदाम्नः ॥)

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1 Jīvadāman was the grandson of Rudradāman I. He possibly succeeded his uncle, Rudrasiṃha I, in Saka 119=197 A.D. and ruled for a few years.

2 From the representation in Rapson's Catalogue, plate XI. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

3 "With the reign of Jīvadāman, son of Dāmajadaśrī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jīvadāman there are also dated coins of potin".—Rapson, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxiv. But the reading of the date on Rapson's coin No. 288 is doubtful, and the first Brāhmī date is possibly to be attributed to the coins of Rudrasiṃha I. A variety of Cashṭana's coins is supposed to contain dates expressed in Kharoshṭhī numerals (*loc. cit.*, p. cxiv). There can be no doubt that the dates should be referred to the Saka era.

4 The actual name of this prince as found on a variety of his own coins is Dāmaysada (which was previously read by some scholars as Dāmaghsada), or Dāmajadaśrī. The latter part of the name has been connected with the Persian word *zāda*, "a son."

No. 72—Gaṛhā (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—Śaka Year 127 (?=A.D. 205)

GAṚHĀ, near Jasdan, Kāṭhiāwāṛ.

BHAU DAJI, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VIII, p. 234f; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 32f; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and RAPSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 652; RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. lxii, No. 42, LÜDERS, List, No. 997; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circ.*, 1914-15, p. 67f; R.D. BANERJI and SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 238

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 [व]र्षे १००(+*) २०(+*) [७][2] [भा]द्रपद-बहुलस ५ राज्ञो महाक्ष[त्र]पस

2 भद्रमुखस[3] स्वाम-**चष्टण**-पुत्र-पपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्ष(त्र*)पस

3 स्वामी-[ज]**यदम**-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुख[स्य]

4 [स्व]म-**रुद्रदाम**-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो महाक्ष(त्र*)पस्य भ[द्रमु]खस्य स्वामि-

5 **रुद्रसिंह**-(पुत्र*)स्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-**रुद्रसेनस्य** इदं शान्यं(?)[4]

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

2 Bhandarkar : ५. Banerji and Sukthankar alternatively suggest ६

3 भद्रमुख=having an auspicious face; cf. सुगृहीतनाम, p. 170, n. 3. It is used as a polite address in *Śākuntala*, VII. Note the *sāpeksha samāsas*.

4 Bhandarkar reads सक्र and others शत्र. Bhau Daji translates it as "tank". Hoernle connects it with सत्र, "a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days" and takes it in the sense of "liberality, munificence." Lüders takes it to be the सत (seat?) of a Cave inscription. As has been pointed out by Banerji and Sukthankar, the word उत्थवित clearly implies that a structure which was raised, elevated and erected is indicated by this word. Banerji connects it with सत्र, "almshouse". But the change of स into श is difficult to explain. It appears to indicate a *lāṭh* raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers.

6 मानस-सगो[त्र]स्य[1] प्र[ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर[पा]र्थस्य[2] भातृभिः[3] उत्थावित स्व[र्ग-][4]

7 [सुखार्थं ?] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

वर्षे [सप्तविंशत्यधिकशततमे] १२७ भाद्रपद-बहुलस्य [पञ्चमे दिवसे] ५ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पुत्र-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम्नः पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य—इदं शान्यं (=शिलामयी यष्टिः ?) मानस-सगोत्रस्य प्रव्राशकपुत्रस्य खरपार्थस्य भ्रातृभिः उत्थापितं [स्वर्ग-सुखार्थम्] ॥

No. 73—Kānākheṛā Stone Inscription of Śrīdharavarman—Regnal year 13; Śaka year 201 (=A.D. 279)

KĀNĀKHEṚĀ, near Sāñchī, Bhopāl State, Central India.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 232; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, XIX, p. 343f.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī.

Metre : V. 1: Śādūlavikrīḍita

TEXT[5]

सिद्धम् [॥*][6]

1 भगवतस्त्रिदशगण-सेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि-महासेन-महा[भक्त?][स्य] [आदित्य]-वीर्य्या[ञ्जितविजय][7] .....

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1 Hoernle: मान[ॅ]तु तुंगोत्तस्य प्रता[र]थक० ; Bhau Daji: सुप्रनाथक०.

2 खर-पौत्तस्य (Bhau Daji and Hoernle); खरपीत्थस्य (Bhandarkar); खरपत्थस्य (Banerji and Sukthankar).

3 भ्रात्तभिः (Banerji and Sukthankar) ; भ्रात्रभिः (Bhandarkar)

4 उत्थवितास्व (Bhau Daji); उत्थवितास्ति (Hoernle). Traces of three *aksharas* are found below ०र्थस्य भा० of l. 6. Banerji and Sukthankar think there is no trace.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

6 On the left margin of the inscription on the level between ll. 3 and 4.

7 Banerji reads जीवदाम and identifies him with the father of Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II.

2 धर्म्मविजयिना[1] शक-नन्द-पुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन **श्रीधरव[र्म्म]णा** वर्ष-
[सह]स्राय[2] स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके **संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे]**[3]

3 श्रावण-बहुलस्य दशमीपूर्व्वकमेतद्दिवसं[4] कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धयर्थमक्षयस्वर्ग्गावाप्तिहेतो-[5]
र्द्धर्म्मयशो(ऽ*)र्थं धर्मासि-संबुद्धया श्राद्ध...[6]

4 शाश्व[तो][7] चन्द्रादित्य-समकाल.....[॥*]अपि[च]
का[न्तः]—⏑⏑—: [प्रसन्न ?]-सलिलः सर्व्वाधिगम्यः सदा

5 सत्त्वाना[*] प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्म्मामलः[8] [शाश्व]तः [।*]
—— —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑——⏑——⏑—

6 [कू]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो(ऽ*)यं[9] शुभः ॥[10]
२००(+*) १ [।*] [स्वस्त्यस्तु] ॥[11]

---

1 Banerji: विजयेन

2 Banerji: धर्म्म.....स्रा(श्रि)य ; Majumdar: वर्ष्ण०.

3 The date refers to Jīvadāman's rule according to Banerji; but Jivadāman never ruled. Sridharavarman seems to have been originally an official of the Saka house of Mālwā, but later assumed independence. There are many cases of the survival of the original official or subordinate titles.

4 Read वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके एतद्दिवसे

5 Banerji: ०वाप्तिमेतद्धर्म०

6 Majumdar suggests श्रद्धया

7 Banerji: शाखाते चतुःसत्य...तुकोयम्...ि...मापि...कापिबम्...सलिल; Majumdar शाश्वतचन्द्रसूर्यकालिकोयं

8 Banerji reads ०मलः...गत...प्य...प्राच्य...

9 Evidently the author did not follow Sanskrit Grammar according to which the correct form would be खानितः. This shows that pure Sanskrit was not very popular in the royal courts of Western India even as late as the 3rd century A.D. Note also the Prakritisms in ll. 2-3 and the *sāpeksha samāsa* in l. 1.

10 The verse in शार्दूलविक्रीडित is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in Classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres Sārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita. See *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 200; *I. H. Q.*, XVI, p. 485. These records prove the developed stage of the Kāvya literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, though apparently Sanskrit was not then quite popular in Indian courts.

11 Majumdar reads the date स[२००] ४० १ in place of स्वस्त्यस्तु and explains the preceding signs as punctuation marks. The reading of the date is doubtful.

No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudrasiṃha III—Śaka year 310 (?=A.D. 388)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 194f., No. 907

First side[1]

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters; date in Brāhmī *akshara*s and numerals behind the head:—

व[षे] ३००(+*)१०[2]

Second side

Symbol of three arches; a waved line beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots; inscription along the border in Brāhmī characters:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-[सत्य][सह*]-पुत्रस[3] राज्ञ [महा]क्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-रुद्रसहस [॥*]

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-सत्यसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य ॥)

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1 From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, plate XVII. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

2 It is not possible to determine whether there was a unit figure at the end. The date may therefore be A. D. 388+x. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II, which is dated in G. E. 82=A. D. 402 says that the king went there in course of an expedition "for conquering the whole earth". After the conquest of Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwār, Chandragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from the silver issues of the Kshatrapas. On the obverse these bear the king's head with imitation of inscription in Greek characters and date behind. On the reverse they have the Garuḍa bird in place of the symbol of three arches, etc. The earliest date on these coins is G.E. 90 or 90+x=A. D. 410 or a date between 410 and 414 which is the beginning of Kumāragupta's reign. Smith takes A.D. 395 as the mean date for the completion of the conquest of western India by Chandragupta II. See Allan's Catalogue, p. xxxviii f.

3 Rapson suggests that one specimen reads हस (sic. सह=सिंह)

CHAPTER II

SOUTHERN INDIA

A—WESTERN DECCAN: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

No. 75—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 91, No. 1; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93, No. 22; LÜDERS, List, No. 1144 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of the first century B.C.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 सादवाहन-कु[ले] कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन[3]

2 समणेन महामातेण लेण[ं] कारित[ं][3] [Svastika] [Taurus] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

शातवाहन-कुले कृष्णे राजनि (=शातवाहन-कुलजस्य[4] कृष्णस्य राजत्वकाले) नासिककेन

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1 Earlier scholars generally placed the early Sātavāhana kings about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Modern scholars, like Mr. R P. Chanda (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 1), have however proved that the Nānāghāṭ records are to be assigned to a much later date on palaeographic grounds. Angular forms of some letters (cf. म of महा॰) in the present epigraph prove in my opinion that the record is not earlier than the latter half of the first century B. C. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of earlier art-critics who assigned the "Nasik Hall to the latter half of the first century B. C." (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 636ff).

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

3 The mention of Nāsika and not Govardhana suggests that the two places, though very near each other, were not identical.

4 This royal family has been called Andhra or Andhrabhṛitya in the Purāṇas. Its name was Sātavāhana according to inscriptions. No early king

(=नासिकनगर-वास्तव्येन) श्रमणेन (=भिक्षुणा) महामात्रेण[2] लयनं (=भिक्षूणां व्यवहाराय गुहावासः) कारितम् ॥

Nos. 76-81—Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I

NĀNĀGHĀṬ, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poonā Dist., Bombay Pres.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64; LÜDERS, List, Nos. 1113-18.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

TEXT[3]

No. 1

1 राया **सिमुक-सातवाह-** 2 **नो** सिरिमातो [॥*]

of the dynasty had anything to do with the Andhra country near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī (cf. Mayidavolu grant, *infra*.). The list of countries forming the kingdom of Gautamīputra (*infra*, No. 86, l. 2), the 23rd Andhra king according to the Purāṇas, does not include Andhradeśa. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as literary (Brahmanic, Jain and Greek) traditions referring to Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paiṭhān in the Auraṅgābād Dist., Hyderābād), as the capital of the Sātavāhana kings, shows that the original Sātavāhana kingdom was in the Northern Deccan (see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 346f, n). Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (Siriptolemaios, ruler of Baithāna in Ptolemey's geography), was the fiirst king who extended Sātavāhana power over the Andhra country. The Purāṇas apparently refer to a period when Sātavāhana rule was limited in the Andhra region. "Sātavāhana District," the 3rd-4th century name of the Bellary Dist., merely proves the extent of the family's suzerainty and has nothing to do with its original home. Discovery of their coins in Berar proves nothing on this point. The name Sātavāhana is usually found as Śālivāhana in literature.

2 Senart translates "by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik".

3 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. These six inscriptions are incised above the positions of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed. Note that the names of the reigning king and his queen are given in the 6th case-ending. Apparently the labels and representations belong to the royal pair (No. 2), the king's father (No. 1), the queen's father (No. 4; cf. *infra*, No. 82, l. 3.) and the royal Kumāras. See p. 190, n.

No. 2

1 देवि-**नायनिकाय** रञो

2 च सिरि-**सातकनिनो** [॥*]

No. 3

1 कुमारो भा- 2 य...[॥*]

No. 4

महारठि त्रनकयिरो [॥*]

No. 5

कुमरो हकुसिरि [॥*]

No. 6

कुमारो सातवाहनो [॥*][2]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा शिमुक-शातवाहनः श्रीमान् । II—देवी-नागनिकायाः (=०नागायाः =०नाग्याः)[3] राज्ञः च श्री-शातकर्णेः । III—कुमारः.....। IV—महारथी त्रणकाय्यः । V—कुमारः शक्तिश्रीः । VI—कुमारः शातवाहनः[4] ।

---

1 Bühler restored Bhāyala and took him as a younger brother of Sātakarṇi.

2 Earlier scholars assigned the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. on grounds of palaeography. Scholars however have now proved that the palaeography of these records is later. For references, see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 337ff; also *supra*, p. 183, n. 1; 186, n. 1.

3 The actual name of the queen must have been Nāgā. *Anikā* or *aṃṇikā* (*aṇṇikā*, *arṇikā* ?) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions. Male names usually have the suffix *anaka* or *aṃṇaka* (*aṇṇaka*, *arṇaka* ?).

4 This personal name seems to suggest that the family is named after a king called Sātavāhana who may have been an ancestor of Simuka. Simuka's *viruda* "Sātavahana" may suggest that either it was his second name or it means "descendant of Sātavāhana." The first alternative is improbable as it became the family name as early as the time of Simuka's immediate successor. None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of .Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi is satisfactory. They cannot be connected with the Satiyaputas.

No. 82—Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nāganikā (?)

NĀNĀGHĀṬ, Bombay Pres.

G. BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 60f; 86f; LÜDERS, List, No. 1112 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

TEXT[1]

Part I

(on the left wall)

1 [सिधं ।*][2]...नो धंमस नमो ईदस[3] नमो संकंसन-वासुदेवानं[4] चंद-सूरानं[5]

---

1 From the plate in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. The *i*-signs and characters like व, प, द and च exhibit an amount of development. व, though without *serif*, is on the way of becoming triangular. प is almost of the Kushāṇa type. Palaeographically the inscription may be placed between the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros (about the beginning of the 1st cent. B. C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st cent. B.C.)

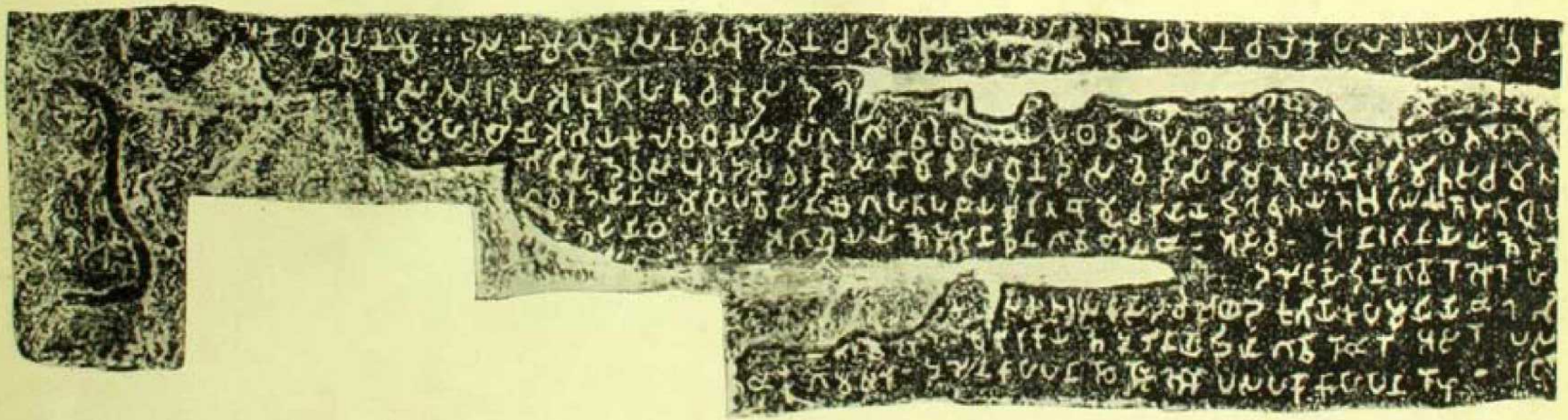
2 Bühler's restores ओं (or सिधं) नमो प्रजापतिनो धंमस. I prefer सिधं, which is found at the beginning of numerous early inscriptions. सिद्ध = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

3 It is interesting to note that Dharma and Indra are not identified respectively with the Lokapālas Yama and Vāsava who are separately mentioned. The identifications are probably of a later date.

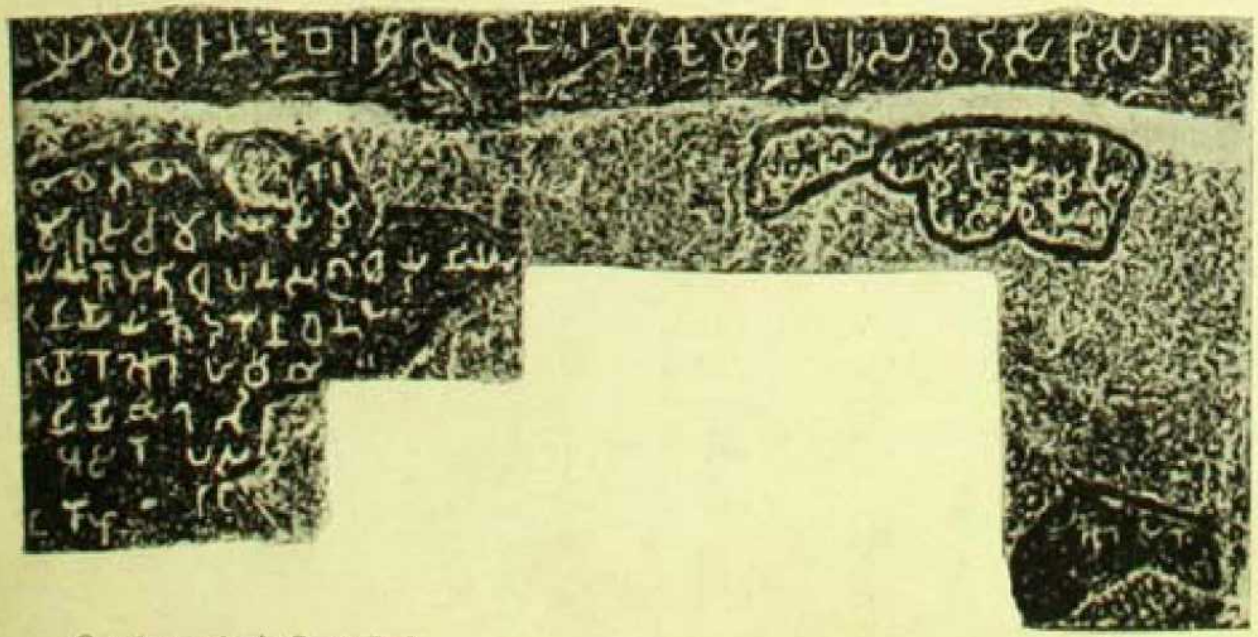
4 The absence of Pradyumna and Aniruddha in connection with Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva may suggest that the Vyūha doctrine did not develop before the age of this record at least in its locality. It should be remembered that even a law book like the *Vishṇusaṃhitā* cannot help referring to the four: वासुदेवाय सङ्कर्षणाय प्रद्युम्नायानिरुद्धाय (67 : 2).

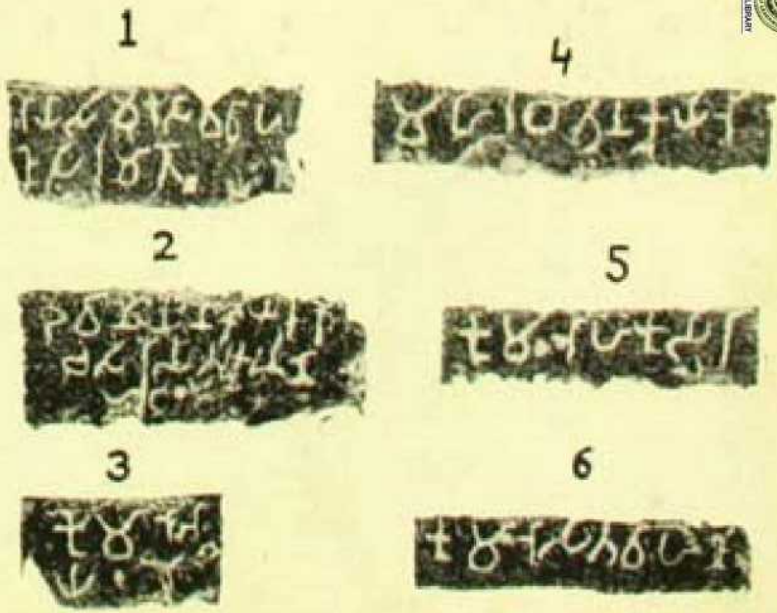
5 Bühler read चंद-सूतानं ; but the second *akshara* may well be वा, but is surely not ता. सूर means "the sun"; cf. अत्थाहिलासी भअवं सूरो *Mudrā-rākshasa*, Act IV.

I



II





Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind.

1. Nanaghat Cave Inscription (Part I) of Nāgaṇpnikā (Bk. II. No. 82) Sections I & II.
2. Nanaghat Cave Figure-label Inscriptions (Bk. II, Nos. 76-81).

III

IV

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind.

[महि]मा[व]तानं चतु[नं] चं लोकपालानं **यम-वरुन-कुवेर-वासवानं** नमो [॥*]
कुमारवरस **ख[द]सिरिस**[1] र[ञो]

2 .....[व]ीरस सूरस अ-प्रतिहत-चकस **दखि[नप*]ठ**-[पतिनो*].....[2]

3 [मा].....[बाला*]य महारठिनो **अंगिय**-कुल-वधनस सगर-गिरिवर-वल[या]य[3] पथविय पथम-वीरस वस...य व अलह (वंतठ?).....सलसु...महतो मह...

4 **सिरिस**...[4] भारिया देवस पुतस वरदस कामदस धनदस [**खद**]**सिरि**-मातु **सतिनो सिरिमतस** च मातु[य] सीम.....

5 वरिय.....ा [न]गवर-दयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गह-तापसाय चरित-ब्रम्हचरियाय दिख-व्रत-यंञ-सु[ं]डाय यञा हुता धूपन-सुग[ं]धा य निय.....

6 **रायस**.....[य*]ञेहि यिठं [।*]वनो। **अगाधेय** यंञो द[खि]ना[5] दिना गावो वारस १०(+*)२ असो च १ [।*] **अनारभनियो** यंञो दखिना धेनु[6].....

7 .....दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) ७०० हथी १०.....

8 .....स...ससतरय[7] [व]ासलठि २००(+*) ८० (+*) ६ कुभियो रुपामयियो १०(+*)७ भि.....

9 .....**रिको** यंञो दखिनायो दिना गावो १०००० (+*) १००० असा १००० पस[पको*].....

10 .....१० (+*) २ गमवरो १ दखिना काहापना २०००० (+*) ४००० (+*) ४०० पसपको काहापना ६०००।[8] **राज[सूयो** यंञो*].....सकटं

---

1 Usually read वेदि ; but see *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1923-24, p. 88.

2 The suggested restoration is सातकंणिसिरिस पुतस मातुय नायनिकाय or, to avoid duplication of Sātakarṇi's name, शिमुक-सातवाहनस वंस-वधनस०

3 The passage seems to be an echo of the Buddhist cosmographic idea of the earth being encircled by sea and also by mountains known as the *chakkavāla-pavvatas*.

4 Possibly we have to restore सातकंणि-सिरिस.

5 खा seems to have been originally engraved.

6 There are traces of two numerical symbols after धेनु.

7 The first two *aksharas* may be read सवं.

8 Bühler takes the sign to indicate "1". I take it here (as well as in other cases) as a mark of punctuation, as it is not close to the symbol for 6000.

Part II

(on the right wall)

11 धंञगिरि-तंस-पयुतं सपटो १ असो १ अस-रथो १ गावीनं १०० [।*] **असमेधो** यंञो[1] बितियो [यि*]ठो दखिनायो [दि]ना असो रुपाल['का]रो १ सुवंन...नि १० (+*) २ दखिना दिना काहापना १०००० (+*) ४००० गामो १ [हठि]..... [दखि]ना दि[ना]

12 गावो *[2] सकट' ध'ञगिरितस-...पयुतं...[।*] ***ोवायो** यंञो.....१० (+*)७ [धेनु?].....[*]ो[*]ोवाय ..सतरस

13 .....१० (+*)७ अच...न...लय...पसपको दि[नो].....[दखि]ना दिना सु ...पीनि १० (+*)२ अ(?)सो[3] रुप[ाल']कारो १ दखिना काहाप[ना]१०००...२

14 .....गावो २०००० [।*] [**भगल**]**दसरतो** यंञो यि[ठो] [दखिना] [दि]ना [गावो] १०००० । **गर्गतिरतो** यञो यिठो [दखिना]... ...पसपको पटा ३०० । **गवामयनं** यंञो यिठो [दखिना दिना] गावो १००० (+*)१०० । .....गावो१००० (+*) १०० (?) पसपको काहापना...पटा १०० [।*] **अतुयामो** यंञो.....

15 .....[ग]**वामयनं** य[ञो] दखिना दिना गावो १०००० (+*) १००। **अंगिरस**[ा]-**मयनं** यंञो यिठो [द]खिना गावो १०००(+*) १००। त.....[दखिना दि]ना गावो १००० (+*) १०० । **सतातिरतं** यंञो.....१००...[।*]...[यं]ञो दखिना ग[ा][वो] १००० (+*) १०० [।*] **अंगिरस[ति]रतो** यंञो यिठो [दखि]ना गा[वो]...[।*]...

16 ...[गा]वो १००० (+*) २ [।*] **छन्दोमप[व]मा[नतिरत]** दखिना गावो १०००। **अं[गि]र[सतिर]तो** यं[ञो] [यि]ठो द[खिना]...[।*]...**रतो** यिठो यञो दखिना दिना...[।*]...**तो** यंञो यिठो दखिना...[।*]...यञो यिठो दखिना दिना गावो १०००।

17 .. ..न स सयं.....दखिना दिना गावो.....त...[।*] [**अं**]**गि[रसा]मयनं** छवस.....[दखि]ना दिना गाव १०००...[।*]...[दखिना] दिना गावो १०००। **तेरस**.....अ...[।*]

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1 यंञो has been omitted in Bühler's transcript

2 Indraji read the figure after गावो as 6000.

3 Bühler: तेस

18 .....[।*]**तेरसरतो** स...छ...[अ]ग-दखिना दिना गावो...[।*]...**दसरतो** म... [दि]ना गावो १०००० । उ.....१०००० । द.....

19 .....[यं]ञो दखिना दि[ना].....

20 .....[द]खिना दिना .....[1]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—सिद्धम् ॥ [प्रजापतये] धर्माय नमः, इन्द्राय नमः, सङ्कर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां, चन्द्रसूराभ्यां (=०सूर्याभ्यां) महिमवद्भ्यां, चतुर्भ्यः च लोकपालेभ्यः यम-वरुण-कुबेर-वासवेभ्यः नमः ॥ कुमार-वरस्य स्कन्दश्रियः, राज्ञः.....वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपते..... [शिमुकशातवाहनस्य वंशवर्द्धनस्य माता नागया] .....बालया (=कन्यया) महारथिनः अङ्गिक-कुल-वर्द्धनस्य, सागर-गिरिवर-वलयायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमवीरस्य.....[शातकर्णि]-श्रियः भार्यया देवस्य पुवदस्य वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य, स्कन्दश्री-माता, शक्तेः श्रीमतः (=शक्तिश्रियः) च माता.....नागवर-दायिन्या, मासोपवासिन्या, गृहतापस्या, चरित-ब्रह्मचर्यया, दीर्घ-व्रत-यज्ञ शौण्डया यज्ञाः हुताः धूपन-सुगन्धाः (=सुगन्ध-द्रव्यहुत्या सुगन्धीकृताः)...राजस्य...यज्ञैः इष्टम् । [तेषां] वर्णः (=वर्णना=विवरणम्)—अग्न्याधेयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२, अश्वः च [एकः] १ । अनारम्भणीयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा .....।.....दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १७००, हस्तिनः १०.....वंश-यष्टयः २८६, कुम्भ्यः रौप्यमय्यः १७...।...०रिकः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०००, अश्वाः १०००, प्रसर्पकः (=यज्ञ-दर्शकादिजनाः=तेभ्यः दानम्).....[यज्ञः...दक्षिणा दत्ता]...१२, ग्रामवरः १२, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि, ४४००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि ६००० । राजसूयः यज्ञः.....शकट[2]

II—धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्त[3] (=विशालधान्यस्तूपस्य वहन-मोचन-विनियुक्त), सत्पद्म् १, अश्वः १, अश्वरथः १, गवीना [शतं] १०० । अश्वमेधः यज्ञः द्वितीयः[4] इष्टः,

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1 It is not certain if this was the last line. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa in the Early Sātavāhana court. The great wealth paid as *dakshiṇā* proves not only the opulence of the family but also the acquired complexity of the simpler Vedic sacrificial tradition. For the sacrifices consult Bühler, *l.c.*, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

2 Bühler: 'the presents to the spectators and menials"; cf. Pet. Dict., s. v.

3 Bühler: "the cart for conveying a mountain of grain."

4 Two Aśvamedhas were performed; but the account of the first is lost.

दक्षिणा दत्ता.....अश्वः, रौप्यालङ्कारः १, सुवर्णालङ्काराः १२, दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्षापणानि १४०००, ग्रामः १, हस्ती...।...[यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः [६०००], शकटं धान्यगिरि-तंसप्रयुक्तं.....।.....ोवायः(?) यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता.....१७.....। सप्तदशातिरात्रः यज्ञः [दक्षिणा दत्ता].....१७.....प्रसर्पकः दत्तः.....।.....[यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता.....१२, अश्वः ,रौप्यालङ्कारः १, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि १००००.....गावः २०००० । भगाल-दशरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । गर्गातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा.....प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३०० । गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० ।...गावः ११००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि * पट्टानि १०० । आप्तोर्यामः यज्ञः... ... । गवामयनं यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । अङ्गिरसामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः, ११०० ।.....दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । शतातिरात्रः यज्ञः.....१००...।...यज्ञः, दक्षिणा गावः ११०० । आङ्गिरसातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः...।...गावः १००२ । छन्दोमपवमानातिरात्रः [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा गावः १००० । आङ्गिरसातिरात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा ...।...०रात्रः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता...।...०अतिरात्रः इष्टः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा...।...यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० .....।...[यज्ञः इष्टः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः.....। ...अङ्गिरसामयनं षड्वर्षं (?) .....दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० ।...[यज्ञः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००...।...त्रयोदशरात्रः [यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता].....। त्रयोदशरात्रः ..अग्रथदक्षिणा दत्ता गावः.....।...दशरात्रः.....दत्ता गावः१०००.....१००० ।.....यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता.....।...दक्षिणा दत्ता..... ॥[1]

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1 The sacrifices may have been performed when the queen-mother was possibly the regent and Skandaśrī was a minor. But the word *rāyasa* may suggest that Sātakarṇi was the performer. Saktiśrī has been identified with Saktikumāra son of Śālivāhana, mentioned in Jain literature. The identification of this prince with Hakusiri of *supra*, No. 80 (see p. 184, n. 3) suggests that the queen referred to in this inscription is Nāyanikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I. As regards हकु=शक्ति, note हिरु-यञ-हातकणि=श्रीयज्ञ-शातकर्णि on some coins (Rapson, *Cat.*, p. 45). According to the Purāṇas, Simuka who defeated the Kāṇvas and Suṅgas was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (No. 75) and the latter by his son Sātakarṇi (No. 77). The order of succession seems to be alright, but the terms of relationship should possibly be transposed. Possibly both Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi were sons of Simuka.

No. 83—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamī-putra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A. D.)—Regnal Year 18 (= c. A.D. 124)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 558ff ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 104f., No. 13; SENART, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 71, No. 4; LÜDERS, List, No. 1125 (for references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सि[धं][2] [॥*] सेनाये [वे]जयं[ति]ये[3] विजय-खधावारा [गो]वधनस वेनाकटक-स्वामि[4] गोतमि-पुतो सिरि-सदकणि

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1 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record was copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth ; cf. पटिका in l. 6.

2 सिद्धं=सिद्धिः अस्तु

3 Senart takes Vaijayantī to be a city (mod. Banavāsi in North Kanara?) To me it seems to be an epithet of सेना apparently referring to some expedition led by the king, very probably the one against Ṛishabhadatta (cf. l.2).

4 Some read ०कटका. This reading suggests that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter "from Benākaṭaka" (वेनाकटकात्), which place was evidently situated on a river called Beṇvā. In records however the epithet स्वामिन् is found after the metronymic and close to the name of the king. It is therefore better to take वेनाकटक-स्वामिन् as an instance of *śākapārthivādi samāsa* to indicate "the lord now residing at Benākaṭaka." This Benākaṭaka (as well as the river Benā) was situated in the Nāsik district. The Benā therefore can hardly be identified with the Pengaṅgā or the Waingaṅgā. Note that this interpretation alone explains why only in two cases the Śātavāhana king is referred to as lord of a particular place. Records were usually issued from the capital which was not mentioned. These two are unusual cases and that is why the places were mentioned. For the *sāpeksha samāsa*, see *supra*, p. 175, n. 6.

2 आनपयति **गोवधने** अमच वि[ण्हु]पालितं[।*] गामे **अपर-कखडि[ये]** [य] खेतं अजकालकियं **उसभदातेन** भुतं निवतन-[1]

3 सतानि वे २०० एत अम्ह-खेत निवतण-सतानि वे २०० इमेस पवजितान **तेकिरसिण**[2] वितराम [।*] एतस चस खेतस परिहार

4 वितराम अपावेसं अनोमस अलोण-खा[दकं] अरठसविनयिकं सवजातपारि-हारिक च [।*] ए[ते]हि नं परिहारेहि परिह[र]हि [।*]

5 एते चस खेत-परिहा[रे] च एथ निबधापेहि [।*] अवियेन[3] आणतं [।*] अमचेन सिवगुतेन छतो [।*] महासामियेहि उपरखितो [।*]

6 दता पटिका **सवछरे १०** (+*)८[4] वास-पखे २ दिवसे १ [।*] तापसेन कटा [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिः [अस्तु]) ॥ सेनायाः [कस्मिंश्चित् अभियाने] विजयमानायाः विजय-स्कन्धा-वारात् (=०कटकात्) गोवर्द्धनस्य (=नासिकहारान्तर्गत०) वेनाकटक-स्वामी (=०कटक-स्थित०) गौतमीपुत्रः श्रीशातकर्णिः आज्ञपयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं (=गोवर्धनस्थं गोवर्धनाहार-शासकं) विष्णुपालितम् ।—"ग्रामे अपर-कखड्यां यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयम् (=अद्यतनसमयं यावत् ; यद्वा, आर्यकालकीयाख्यम्)[5] ऋषभदत्तेन भुक्तं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २००, एतत् अस्मत्-क्षेत्रं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २०० एभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः (=त्रिरश्मिपर्वतवासिभ्यः) वितरामः [वयम्]। एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं (=क्षेत्रसम्बन्धीयराजाधिकारविशेषेभ्यः विमुक्तिं) वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यं (=भटादिप्रवेश-प्रतिषेधः) अनावमर्श्यं (=राजपुरुषादिजनित-बाधायाः निषेधः), अ-लवण-खातक[6] (=क्षेत्रात् लवणखनन परिहारः), अ-राष्ट्र-

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1 One *nivarttana* of land was 240×240 sq. cubits (2·975 acres) or 120×120 sq. cubits (·743 acre). See *Suc. Sātavā.*, p. 330 n.

2 तेकिरसिनं has been supposed to be a mistake for तेरसिकानं (=त्रैरश्मिकानां, of those residing on the Triraśmi hill). Read एतस च.

3 अविय means भणित or उक्त ; see *Deśīnāmamālā*, I, 10.

4 This date falls very near the last known date of Nahapāna ; cf. the Jogal-tembhī hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Sātakarṇi, and *infra*, p. 197, n. 5.

5 One of the Barhut inscriptions mentions a Yaksha named Ajakālaka (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 67). The field may have been named after a similar spirit. For Rishabhadatta, see *supra*, Nos. 58-61

6 All produce of the mines belonged to the king ; cf. आकरेभ्यः सर्वमादद्यात् (*Vishṇusamhitā*, III, 35) ; cf. also आकरे लवणे शुल्के तरे नागबले तथा । न्यसेदमात्या-न्नृपतिः स्वाप्तान् वा पुरुषान् हितान् ॥ महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व ।६६।२६

संविनयिकं[1] सव्वेजातिपारिहारिकं च। एतैः एनं (=एतत् क्षेत्रं) परिहारैः परिहर। एतत् च अस्य क्षेत्रपरिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धय (=शासने उल्लेखय)।" उक्तेन (=वचनमात्रेण) आज्ञप्तम्। अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन क्षतं (=लिखितं शासनम्)। महास्वामिकैः उपलक्षितं (=राज्ञा परीक्षितम्)। दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ वर्षा-पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=श्रावण-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रथमदिवसे)। तापसेन कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)॥

No. 84—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—Regnal Year 24 (=c. A.D. 130)

Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 83 from which it is separated only by a स्वस्तिक

Bühler, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 105 ff; Indraji, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 560 ff; Senart, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73; Lüders, List, No. 1126 (for other references)

Language : Prakrit.

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [3]सिद्धं [॥*] **गोवधने** अम[च]स सामकस[4] [दे]यो [रा]जाणितो [।*]

2 रञो **गोतमिपुतस सातकणि[स]** म[हा]देवीय च जीवसुताय राज-मातुय वचनेन **गोवधने** [अम*]चो सामको अरोग वतव[5] [।*] ततो एव च

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1 विनी or संविनी means "to govern, control;" संविनय is therefore "government, control (by punishment)." As regards government, the land was thus separated from other parts of the kingdom; cf. सदण्डदशापराध of later records referring to the power of punishing minor offences transferred to the donee. Senart translates "not to be interfered with by the district police."

2 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. This is also copied from a charter on plates. The latter part is carelessly engraved.

3 This line is a continuation of l. 6 of No. 83. सिद्ध° = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

4 Some read समक.

5 Some read सत°. The word जीवसुता suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured against his death. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gatamīputra.

3 वतवो [।*] एथ अम्हेहि पवते **तिरण्हुम्हि** अम्ह-धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितान भिखून गा[मे] **कखडीसु**[1] पुव खेतं दत [।*] त च खेत

4 [न][2] कसते[।*] सो च गामो न वसति [।*] एवं सति य दानि एथ नगर-सीमे राजकं खेतं अम्ह-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखूनं **तेरण्हुकानं** दद[म]

5 खेतस निवतण-सतं १०० [।*] तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अ-लोण-खादक अ-रठ-सविनयिक सव-जात-पारिहारिक च [।*]

6 एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ [।*] एत चस खेतपरीहा[रे] च एथ निबधापेथ [।*] अवियेन आणत [।*] पटिहा(र*)-रखिय लोटाय छतो लेखो [।*][3] **सवछरे** २०(+*)४

7 वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ [।*] सुजिविना[4] कटा [।*] निवधो[5] निबधो **सवछरे** २०(+*)४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमात्याय श्यामकाय देयं राजाज्ञप्तं (=राजाज्ञापत्रम्) । राज्ञः गौतमी-पुत्रस्य शातकर्णेः महादेव्याः च जीवत्सुतायाः राजमातुः वचनेन गोवर्धने अमात्यः श्यामकः अरोगं (=आरोग्यं) वक्तव्यः । ततः एव च [सः] वक्तव्यः—"अत्र अस्माभिः पर्वते त्रिरश्मौ अस्मद्धर्मदाने लयने प्रतिवसद्भ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखट्यां पूर्वं (=भूतकाले) क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तत् च क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते ; स च ग्रामः न उष्यते (= अध्युष्यते)। एवं सति, यत् इदानीम् (=अधुना) अत्र नगरसीम्नि राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्-स्वत्वकं (=राजमातृ-स्वत्व-विशिष्टं क्षेत्रं [अस्ति]), ततः एतेभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः दद्मः क्षेत्रस्य निवर्त्तनशतं १०० । तस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अ-लवण-

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1 Apparently this village stood on the eastern borders of Western Kakhaḍi mentioned in *supra*, No. 83. Apara-Kakhaḍi may also have been the western part of Kakhaḍi. But the smaller area of the land in this case and reference to the queen-mother's ownership appear to suggest that the grant referred to is different from that in No. 83

2 The letter which is indistinct is read by some as **व**.

3 Drafting of a document by a female official is interesting. Read **दता पटिका संवछरे**

4 Some read **पुजितिना**.

5 **निबधो** seems to be engraved twice owing to the engraver's inadvertence.

खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्र-संविनयिकं (=राष्ट्रस्य साधारणदण्डविधेः बहिर्भूतत्वम् = विशिष्ट-शासन-वत्त्वं ?), सर्व्वजातिपारिहारिकं च। एतैः एनं [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहरत। एतं च अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धयत।" उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम्। प्रतीहार-[र]क्ष्या (= द्वार-रक्षिण्या = अन्तःपुर-प्रतीहाराध्यक्षया) लोटया क्षतः (=लिखितः) लेखः। [दत्ता पट्टिका] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ (=भाद्र-शुद्ध-पञ्चम-दिवसे)। सुजीविना कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)। निबद्धः [लेखः(=राजकीयलेखशालायां रक्षितप्रतिलिपिकीकृतः)] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे दशमे १० (=चैत्रशुद्धदशमदिवसे)॥

No. 85—Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhī-putra Puḷumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) —Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 137)

KĀRLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 107, No. 17; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 61f, No. 14; LÜDERS, List, No. 1100 (for references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 रञो वासिठिपुतस सामि-सिरि-[**पुळुमाविस***]सवछरे सतमे ७ गिम्ह-पखे पचमे ५

2 दिवसे पथमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखळकियानं महार[थि]स कोसिकि-पुतस मित-देवस पुतेन

3 [म*]हारथिना वासिठिपुतेन सोमदेवेन गामो दतो **वळुरक**-संघस **वळुरक**-लेनस स-करुकरो स-देय-मेयो[॥*][2]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ ग्रीष्मपक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे १(=ज्यैष्ठ-कृष्ण-प्रथमदिवसे)—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (=पूर्वोक्ते दिवसे) औत्खलकीयानां (= ०कीय-वंशजस्य) महारथिनः कौशिकीपुत्रस्य मित्रदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण सोमदेवेन

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1 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV and *Ep. Ind.*, VII.

2 Some read **वळुरकासघस, वळूरक** and **सकराकरोर**. For Valūraka, see *supra*, No. 61, n. Mahārathī seems to be a feudatory title like Mahāsenāpati.

ग्रामः दत्तः वलूरक-सङ्घाय वलूरक-लयनस्य (=०गुहासु वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां सङ्घाय) स-करोत-करः (यद्वा, सकराकरः) स-देय-मेयः (=बलिशुल्कादिसहितः राजभागादिसहितः च) ॥

No. 86—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi—Regnal Year 19 (=c. A.D. 149).

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 550ff, No. 2; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 180f, No. 18; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 60 ff. No. 2; LÜDERS, List, No. 1123 (for references)

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धं [॥*] रञो वासिठीपुतस सिरि-**पुळुमायिस सवछरे**[2] **एकुनवीसे** १० (+*) ९ गीम्हाणं पखे वितीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १०(+*)३ राजरञो **गोतमी-पुतस हिमव[त]-मेरु**

2 **मंदर-पवत-सम-सारस असिक-असक-मुळक-सुरठ-कुकुरापरंत**[3]**-अनुप-विदभ-आकरावंति-राजस विझ-छवत-पारिचात-सह्(ह्य)-कण्हगिरि-मचसिरि-टन-मलय-महिद-**

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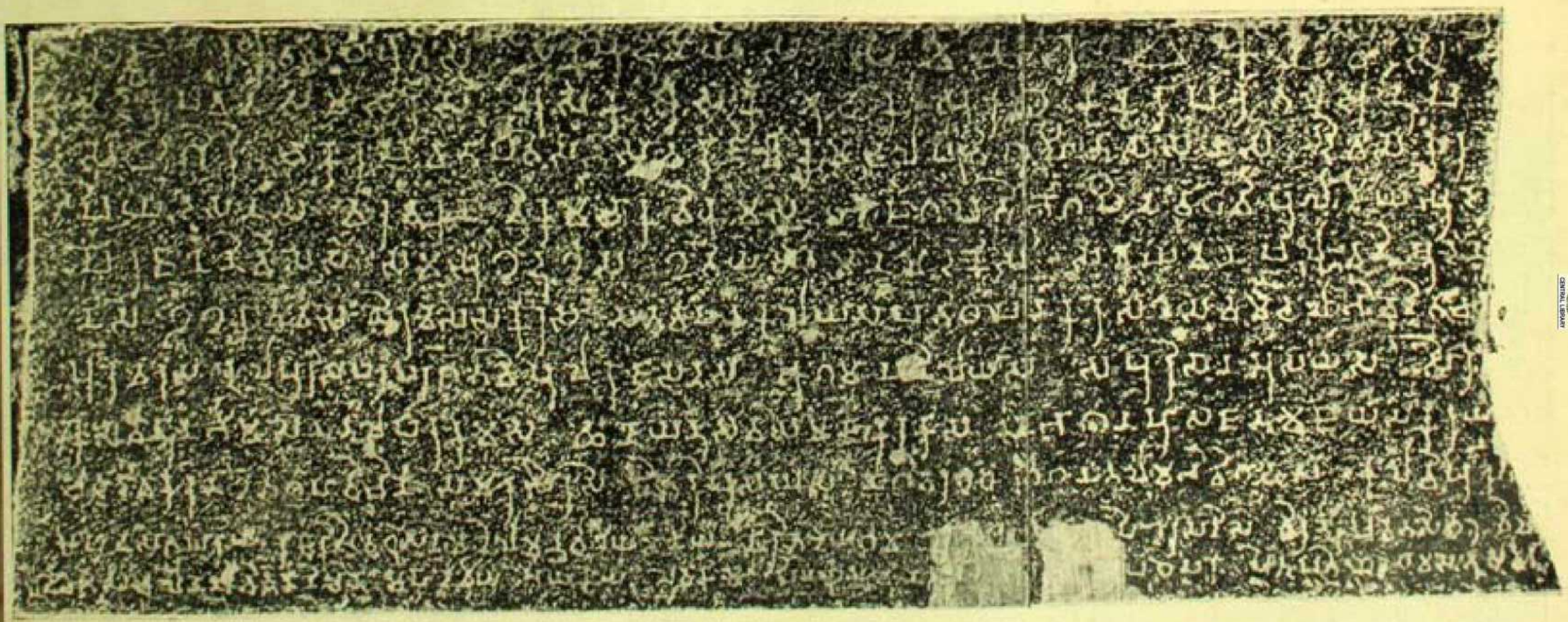
1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* VIII. This record also may have been copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth. The gift of the cave to a new sect of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it. The unusual eulogy of the dead king is possibly due to the fact that the queen-mother wanted to recapitulate the family's glory at a time when much of his son's conquests were reconquered by the Śakas. There is no proof that Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi ruled conjointly.

2 The marks above व do not appear to be any part of the letter

3 Vindhya = Eastern Vindhyas; Ṛikshavat = Vindhyas to the south of Mālwā; Pāriyātra = Aravelly and Western Vindhyas; Sahya = Western Ghāṭs; Kṛishṇagiri = Kanheri. See also p. 172, n. 1; p. 197, n. 1; 198, n. 5.

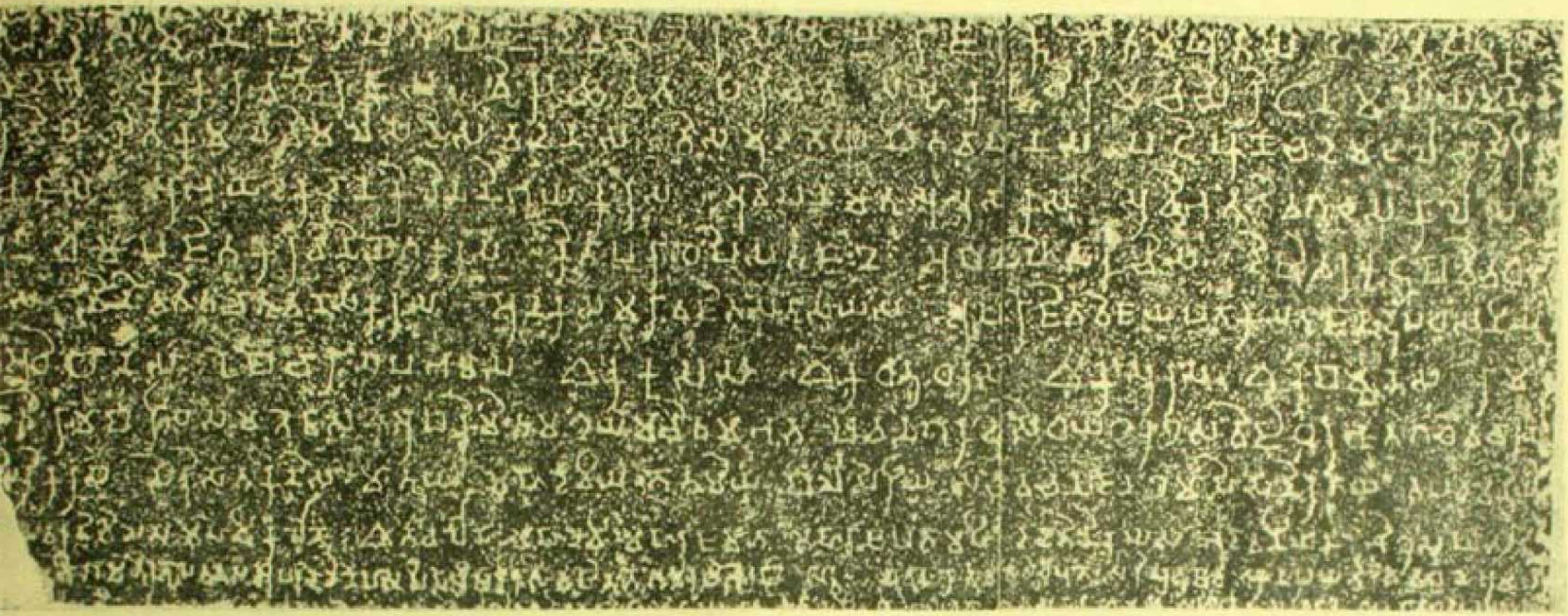
4 A letter was originally inscribed here, but was afterwards erased

5 Some read वात०.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Näsik Inscription of Puḷumāvi (Bk. II, No. 86). Section I.



rtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Näsik Inscription of Puḷumāvi (Bk. II, No. 86). Section II.

3 **सेटगिरि-चकोर**-पवत-पतिस[1] सवराज[लोक]म[ ]डल-पतिगहीत-सासनस दिवसकर-[क]र-विबोधित-कमलविमल- सदिस-वदनस तिसमुद-तोय-पीत-वाहनस पटिपू[ ]ण[2]
-चद-मडल-ससिरीक-

4 पियदसनस वर-वारण-विकम-चारु-विकमस भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वाट-विपुल-दीघ-सुद[र*]-भुजस अभयोदकदान-किलिन-निभय-करस[3] अविपन-मातु-सुसूसाकस सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालस

5 पोरजन-निविसेस-सम-सुख-दुखस[4] खतिय-दप-मान-मदनस **सक-यवन-पल्हव**-[5] निसूदनस धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करस कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाणहिसा-रुचिस दिजावर-कुटुब-विवध-

6 नस **खखरात**-वस-निरवसेस-करस **सातवाहनकुल**-यस-पतिथापन-करस सव-मंडला-भिवादित-च[र*]णस विनिवतित-चातुवण-संकरस[6] अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-सघस अपराजित-विजयपताक-सतुजन-दुपधसनीय-

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1 Cf. the list of countries with that in *supra*, No. 67. What Gautamīputra gained from Nahapāna, he lost to Chashṭana and Rudradāman. The reference to Malaya (Western Ghāṭs to the south of Nilgiri) and Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭs) points to a vague claim of suzerainty over the Deccan Penninsula possibly based on a *digvijaya* (cf. ति-समुद-तोय-पीत-वाहन).

2 Senart : पटिपुण.

3 Cf. सर्वदानाधिक्यमभयप्रदानम् , Vishṇu, 92. 1.

4 Cf. प्रजासुखे सुखो राजा तदुःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकोऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विष्णुसंहिता ।३।७०

5 The Sakas have again been referred to as Khakharāta (=Kshaharāta, cf. *supra*, No. 58f.). Their success was responsible for the insignificance of the Sātavāhana kingdom for many years before Gautamīputra who reestablished his family's fortune. The Yavanas (Greek) and Pahlavas (Perso-Parthians) ruled in the Panjāb-N.W.F.P.-Sind region. For their existence in Western India, see *supra*, p. 171, n. 5. Some take Kshatriya in the sense of the Khatri tribe; but cf. *eka-bamhaṇa* and the tradition referring to the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.

6 Senart reads चातुवण-सकरस. Cf. चातुर्वर्ण्यं स्वकर्मस्थे मर्यादानामसङ्करे । दण्डनीतिकृते क्षेमे प्रजानामकुतोभये ॥ etc. महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व ।६६।७७

7 पुरवरस कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदस आगमान [नि]लयस सपुरिसानं असयस सिरी[ये] अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एक-धनुधरस एक-सूरस एक-बम्हणस राम-

8 केसवाजुन-भीमसेन-तुल-परकमस छण-धनुसव-समाज-कारकस[1] नाभाग-नहुस-जनमेजय-सकर-य[या]ति-रामाबरीस-सम-तेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवन-गरुळ-सिध-यख-राखस-विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-

9 चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समरसिरसि जित-रिपु-सघस नागवर-खधा गगनतल-मभिविगाढस कुल-विपु[लसि]रि-करस सिरि-**सातकणिस** मातुय महादेवीय **गोतमीय बलसिरीय** सचवचन-दान-खमाहिसा-निरताय तप-दम-निय-

10 मोपवास-तपराय राजरिसिवधु-सदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित देयधम [केलासपवत*]-सिखर-सदिसे [**ति**]**रण्हु**-पवत-सिखरे विम[ान*]वर-निविसेस-महि-ढीकं लेण[।*] एत च लेण महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज-[पि]तामही ददाति निकायस **भदावनीयान** भिखु-सघस [।*]

11 एतस च लेण[स] चितण-निमित महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो पियकामो च ण[ता] * * * * [**दखिणा***]**पथेसरो** पितु-पतियो धमसेतुस [ददा]ति गामं **तिरण्हु**-पवतस अपर-दखिण-पसे **पिसाजिपदक** सव-जात-भोग-निरठि[2][॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिः अस्तु) ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे १९ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (=चैत्रशुद्ध-त्रयोदश-दिवसे) राजराजस्य गौतमी-पुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरु-मन्दरपर्वतसम-सारस्य, ऋषिकाश्मकमूलक-सुराष्ट्र-कुकुरापरान्तानूप-विदर्भाकरावन्ति-राजस्य[3] विन्ध्यर्क्षवत्-पारियात्र-सह्य-कृष्णगिरि-मत्स्यश्री-स्तन-मलय-महेन्द्र-श्रेष्ठगिरि-चकोर-

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1 The first word may also be छणा

2 The absence of the usual formulae of charters proves that some passages of the original have been omitted here. Read निरठं.

3 Cf. विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 11). As a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela would suggest, the Asika=Ṛishika country possibly lay between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī, and to the south of Aśmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the Kṛishṇā. Aśmaka was on the Godāvarī near Mūlaka which was the district round Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paiṭhān), the Śatavāhana capital. Vidarbha is mod. Berar. For the other countries, see *supra*, p. 172, n. 1.

पर्वत-पतेः, सर्व-राजलोकमण्डल-प्रतिगृहीत-शासनस्य, दिवसकर-कर-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदृश-वदनस्य, तिसमुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहनस्य[1], परिपूर्ण-चन्द्रमण्डल-सश्रीक-प्रियदर्शनस्य, वर-वारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस्य भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वृत्त-विपुल-दीर्घ-सुन्दर-भुजस्य, अभयोदक-दान-क्लिन्न-निर्भयकरस्य अविपन्न-मातृ-शुश्रूषकस्य[2] सुविभक्त-त्रिवर्ग-देश-कालस्य (=धर्मार्थकाम-लाभाय स्थान-कालव्यवहारकस्य), पौरजन-निर्विशेष-सम-सुख-दुःखस्य, क्षत्रिय-दर्पमान-मर्दनस्य, शक-यवन-पल्हव-निसूदनस्य, धर्मोपचित-कर-विनियोगकरस्य (=धर्मशास्त्रसमर्थित०) कृतापराधे अपि शत्रुजने अ-प्राणहिंसा-रुचेः, द्विजावर-कुटुम्ब-विवर्द्धनस्य (=द्विजाद्विज-कुल-वर्द्धकस्य), क्षहरात-वंश-निरवशेष-करस्य, शातवाहनकुल-यशः-प्रतिष्ठापनकरस्य, सर्वमण्डला-भिवादित-चरणस्य, विनिवर्त्तित-चातुर्वर्ण्य-सङ्करस्य, अनेकसमरावजित-शत्रुसङ्घस्य (= ०समरेषु विजितशत्रुवृन्दस्य), अपराजित-विजयपताक-शत्रुजनदुष्प्रधर्षणीयपुरवरस्य, कुलपुरुषपरम्परा-गत-विपुलराजशब्दस्य, आगमानां निलयस्य (=वेदादिशास्त्रज्ञानस्य आधारस्य), सत्पुरुषाणाम् आश्रयस्य, श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य, उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य (=सदाचाराणाम् उद्भवस्य), एकाङ्कुशस्य, एकशूरस्य, एकब्राह्मणस्य (यद्वा, ०ब्रह्मण्यस्य), राम-केशवार्ज्जुन-भीमसेन-तुल्य-पराक्रमस्य, क्षण-धनोत्सव-समाज (=शुभदिवसेषु महोत्सवादि०)-कारकस्य, नाभाग-नहुष-जनमेजय-सगर-ययाति-रामाम्बरीष-सम-तेजसः अपरिमितम् अक्षयम् अचिन्त्यम् अद्भुतं पवन-गरुड-सिद्ध-यक्षराक्षस-विद्याधर-भूत-गन्धर्व-चारण(=खर्गीय-गायक०, किन्नर०)-चन्द्र-दिवाकर-नक्षत्र-ग्रह-विचीर्ण-(=जुष्ट०, ईक्षित०)-समर-शिरसि जित-रिपुसङ्घस्य[3], नागवर-स्कन्धात् गगनतलम् अभिविगाढस्य, कुल-विपुलश्री-करस्य, श्रीशातकर्णेः माता महादेव्या गौतम्या बलश्रिया सत्यवचन-दान-क्षमाहिंसा-निरतया (=०क्षमाशीलया अहिंसापरया च) तपो-दम-नियमोपवास-तत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दम् अखिलम् अनुविदधत्या (=०धारयन्त्या) कारितः देयधर्मः कैलास-पर्वत-शिखर-सदृशे त्रिरश्मि-पर्वत-शिखरे विमानवर-निर्विशेषं महर्द्धिकं (=पर्वतशिखरस्थ-पुष्पक-सदृशं महासमृद्धियुक्तं) लयनम् । एतत् च लयनं महादेवी (=महाराजपत्नी) महाराज-माता महाराज-पितामही ददाति निकायाय भद्रायणीयानां (भद्रयानीयानां, महायानीयानां?) भिक्षु-सङ्घाय । एतस्य च लयनस्य चिरण-निमित्तं (=उत्कर्षाय) महादेव्याः आर्यकायाः (पितामह्याः) सेवाकामः प्रियकामः च नप्ता...दक्षिणापथेश्वरः (=पुलुमाविः) पितृ-प्रीतये (=स्वर्गत-पितृ-प्रीण-

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1 Cf. तिसमुद्रान्तर्वर्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वर of Chalukya records and तिसमुद्राधिपति of the *Harshacharita*, VII. *Mayuravyamsaka samāsas* like *kamala-vimala* are common in early records.

2 अविपन्न = unobstructedly ; or, not ill. 3 For चारण see *Sākuntala*, II, 14.

नाय) धर्मसेतवे (=द्युलोक-भूलोकान्तरे सेतुरूपाय धर्म्मदानाय लयनाय) ददाति ग्रामं विरश्मिपर्वत-स्य अपरदक्षिणपार्श्वे [स्थितं] पिशाचीपद्रकं सर्वजात-भोगनिरस्तं (=राजभोगादिपरिहृतम्) ॥

No. 87—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 22 (=c. A.D. 152)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 86.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 555, No. 3; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. p. 110, No. 19; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 65ff., No. 3; LÜDERS, List, No. 1124 (for references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] । **नवनर**-स्वामी **वासिठी-पुतो** सिरि-**पुळुमवि** [आ]नपयति **गोवधने** आमच

2 सिवखदिल य अ[म्हेहि] **सव** १० (+*)९ गि प २ दिव १० (+*) ३ **धनकट**-समनेहि यो[3] एथ [पवते] तिर[ग्रहुम्हि*]...न धं[म]सेतुस [ले]णस पटिसंथरणे[4] [दत[5]] अखय[नीवि*]-हेतु एथ **गोवधनाहारे** दखिण-मगे गामो **सुदिसणा** भिखुहि देवि-लेण-वासीहि[6] निकायेन भदायनियेहि [प]तिगय दतो [।*] एतस दान-गामस सुदिसन[स][7] परिवटके एथ **गोवधन**[हारे] पुव-मगे

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 This line is a continuation of l. 11 of the preceding grant which is separated from the present record by a *svastika* followed by another symbol. Navanara (=Navanagara; cf. Kusinārā=Kuśinagara) may have been a new city near the old capital Pratishṭhāna. See *supra*, p. 191, n. 4

3 Dhānyakaṭa was the old name of Amarāvati. Senart : य. Read तिरग्रहुम्हि पतिवसतान भिखुन

4 Senart : ०सथरणे. 5 The letters are indistinct.

6 Others read वासेहि. Note that in this record ०भ्यः has been Prakritized into ०हि. For the 3rd case-ending instead of the 4th, see *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 38-43.

7 Senart read सदसनान.

3 गाम **समलिपद** ददाम [।*] एत त मह-अइरकेन ओदेन धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरणे[1] अखय-निवि-हेतु गाम सामलिप[द] [भिखुहि देवि][2]-लेण-[वासीहि*] [निका]येन भदायनियेहि पति[ग]ह्ह[3] [ओ]थप[पे]हि [।*] एतस च गामस **सामलि-[पदस** भिखुहल-परिहार][4]

4 वितराम अपा[वे]स अनोमस अ[लो]णखादक अरठसविनविक सवजात-पारिहारिक च [।*] एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेहि [।*] एत च गाम-**समलिपद**-प[रि]हारे च एथ निवधापेहि **सु[दिसन]** गामस च [।*] सुदिसना[स][5] विनिव[ध*]कारेहि[6] अणता [।*] महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन.....ना छतो [।*] वटि[का]..... केहि[7] ..... तो[8] [।*] दता पटिका **सव २२** गि पखे * दिव ७ [।*] * तकणिना कटा [।*] **गोवधन**-वाथवान फा[सुकाये] विणहुपालेन स्वामि-वणन णत [।*] नम भगत-सपति-पतपस जिनवरस बुधस [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी (= नवनगरस्थ-नृपः) वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्रीपुळुमाविः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिलं यत्—"अस्माभिः संव[त्सरे एकोनविंशे]१९ ग्रीष्मपक्षे [द्वितीये]२ दिव[से त्रयोदशे]१३ (= चैत्र-शुक्लपक्षस्य-त्रयोदशदिवसे) धान्यकट-श्रमणेभ्यः यः अत्र पर्वते

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1 It is compared with Pāli पटिसन्थारो and translated "repairs" (Bühler or "care" (Senart).

2 Upper portions of these letters are lost.

3 Bühler: पटिखय "to be administered" (= पटिखेयं from क्षि, to govern, or पटिखाय from प्रतीक्षा); Senart: प्रतिगृह्यः or प्रतिगृह्यं, "to be owned". These intrepretations suit the third case-ending in भदायनियेहि.

4 हल originally means land that can be annually ploughed by one ploughman, and secondarily, ploughable land dedicated to monks, gods, etc. Here भिक्षुहल means the property of the monks. भिक्षुहल occurs also in a Kārle cave inscription. Cf. देवहल and देवभोगहल in *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 94-95.

5 Others who read सुदसनान here and also in l. 2, may be right. The plural number may refer to the fact that the village had divisions like East Sudisana and West Sudisana.

6 Senart suggests: निबधापेहि सुदिनने ; गामस च सुदसनानं विनि० etc.

7 Some read ०तो विनिकटवासकहि or ०तो पटिका *वासकेहि ; but that is hardly possible. The intended reading is possibly पटिकापालकेहि.

8 Some read हथछता or हथिछता. Probably the reading intended is उपरखितो.

9 Some restore [सा]तकनिना. 10 Some read फासुकायं.

लिरश्मौ [प्रतिवसतां भिक्षूणां] धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय (=संस्ताराय=वर्द्धनाय, प्रतिसंस्करणाय ?) दत्तः अक्षयनीवि-हेतोः अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे (=गोवर्द्धनाख्यप्रदेशस्य विभागविशेषे) दक्षिणमार्गे (=दक्षिणभागे ; यद्वा, दक्षिणराजपथपार्श्वे [स्थितः]) ग्रामः सुदर्शनः, भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः (=पुलुमावि-महिषी-लयन० ; यद्वा, गौतमीलयन०) निकायेन (=सम्प्रदायेन) भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य (=प्रतिग्रहणं कृत्वा) दत्तः [सः ग्रामः]। एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्त्तके अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं दद्मः [वयम् भद्रायनीयेभ्यः]। एतं तु महार्यकेण (=राज्ञः प्रमातामहेन ?) औदेन (=तदाख्यद्वारा) धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतुं ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयनवासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं] प्रतिगृह्य [एतं नवं दान-ग्रामं] अवोपप्रापय। एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शाल्मलीपद्रस्य भिक्षुहल-परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अलवणखातकम्, अराष्ट्र-सांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-पारिहारिकं (=सर्व्वविधपरिहारवर्गं) च। एतैः एनत [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहर। एतं च ग्राम-शाल्मलीपद्र-परिहारम् अत्र (=शासने) निबन्धय, सुदर्शनग्रामस्य [परिहारं] च।"[1] सुदर्शनस्य [पूर्वदानस्य] विनिबन्धकारैः (=दान-निबन्धापसारकैः राजपुरुषैः) आज्ञप्तम्।[2] महासेनापतिना मैथुनेन .....न क्षतः (=लिखितः लेखः)। पट्टिका-पालकैः (=पुस्तपालराजपुरुषैः) उपलक्षितः (=परीक्षितः)[3]. [दत्ता] पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२ग्रीष्मपक्षे* दिवसे सप्तमे७। तक्षणिना (?) कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका)। गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां [दानप्राप्तानां भिक्षूणां] स्पार्हकाय (=सुखाय) विष्णुपालेन स्वामिवर्णनं (=राज-शासनं) [राजधानीतः भिक्षूणां समीपे] नीतम्। नमः अभ्युद्गत-संपत्ति-प्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय ॥[4]

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1 It seems that Sudisana had been granted to the Śramaṇas of Dhāṇyakaṭa during the temporary absence of the Bhadrāyanīyas, but no charter was prepared recording the transfer. The difficulty was felt only when the Bhadrāyanīyas came back. Some take ओयपपेहिं, निबधापेहिं, परिहरेहिं as first person singular aorist of causatives with the Prakrit suffix ०आपयामि (e.g., परिहारयामि).

2 *Ājñā* or *Ājñapti* of later South Indian inscriptions (corresponding to *Dūtaka* of North Indian records) was possibly entrusted with the execution of the grant made by the charter. In these records however the word *ājñapta* refers to an order (usually written?) to prepare a document. The business of the *Dūtaka* seems to have been done in this case by Vishṇupāla.

3 If महास्वामिक in *supra*, No.83, may indicate a class of officials, it may also mean "marked" (cf. लाञ्छित of later records which is a Prakrito-Sans. form of लक्षित)

4 For a number of Kadamba charters ending with similar adorations, see *Suc. Sātavā.*, pp. 256, 271, 276, 278, 297, etc. Senart: "with a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Viṇhupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha." He suggests सम्प्राप्ति-प्रताप. Bühler: भग(व*)तस०

No. 88—Karle Cave Inscription of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi—Regnal Year 24 (= c. A. D. 154)

KARLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

BURGESS and INDRAJI, *Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.*, p. 361, No.26; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 113, SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p.71, No. 20; LÜDERS, List, No. 1106 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिध [।*] रञो वासिठिपुतस सिरि-**पुळुमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे** २०(+*)४ हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वि-

2 तिये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण-पुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य **अबुलामाय** वथवस्य इम देयधम मडपो

3 नव-गभ माहासघियानं परिगहो[2] सघे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा(ये*) सव-सतानं हित-सूघ-स्थतये [।*] **एक[वि]से**[3] **सं-**

4 **वछरे** निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य दि[4]...उपासिकाय [।*] बुधरखितस मातु देयधंम पिठो[5] अनो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ (=पौषकृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयदिवसे)—उपासकस्य हरपर्णस्य श्वेतपर्ण-पुत्रस्य सोवासिकस्य (=सुवासितद्रव्य-विक्रयिणः ; यद्वा, सुवास्याख्यदेश-जातस्य) अम्बुरामायां वास्तव्यस्य अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः नवगर्भः (=नवापवारकयुक्तः) माहासाङ्घिकानां (=बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां) परिग्रहः, सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (=अखिलदेशवर्त्तिनं सङ्घम् उद्दिस्य) दत्तः मातापित्रोः पूजायै, सर्व-सत्त्वानां [च] हित-सुख-स्थितये । एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः (=समाप्तः) मण्डपः सहितं (=सह) मया च हरपर्णेन, पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन, माता च अस्य...उपासिकया । बुद्धरक्षितस्य मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः (=तस्याः स्वकीयं अपरं निजस्वं दानं पीठः अपि अस्ति) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. Note the looped त and developed medial u; also words like पुत्तस्य. They are due to Setapharana being a foreigner.

2 Some read परिगहे

3 Some read एकतिसे

4 Some read मातरखिय

5 Some read पाठो or पाठो

No. 89—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi

(c. A.D. 174-202)—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 181)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the back wall of the Veranda in Cave No. 20.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 596f., No. 24; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 114, No. 22; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94, No. 24; LÜDERS, List, No. 1146 (for other references)

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं [।*] रञो **गोतमिपुतस** सामि-सिरि-**यञ-सातकणिस संवछरे सातमे ७** हेमताण पखे ततिये ३

2 दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस **महासे[णा]पतिस**[2] [भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणिय वासुय लेण

3 बोपकि-यति-सुजमाने अपयवसित-समाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो चातुदि-

4 सस च भिखु-सघस आवसो[3] दतो ति ॥[4]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १(=पौषकृष्णपक्षस्य प्रथमदिवसे) कौशिकस्य (= कौशिकसगोत्रस्य) महासेनापतेः भवगोपस्य भार्य्यया महासेनापत्न्या (=महासेनापति-गृहिण्या) वास्वा लयनं बोपकि-यति-सूज्यमानम् अपर्य्यवसित-समानं (=असमाप्तप्रायं) बहुकानि वर्षाणि अवकृतम् (=बहुवर्षपर्यन्तम अवहेलितं) पर्य्यवसानं (=समाप्तिं) नीतं, चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः (= वासार्थं) दत्तः इति ॥

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 *Mahāsenāpati* and similar other official designations sometimes indicate feudatory chiefs. This refers to the custom of appointing military chiefs as governors of provinces. The forming of feminine forms from masculine official titles is interesting.

3 Others read आवासो.

5 The full stop is indicated by a short slightly curved horizontal stroke.

No. 90—Myākadoni Rock Inscription of Puḷumāvi (c. A. D. 217-25)[1]

—Regnal Year 8 (=c. 225 A. D.)

The inscribed rock lies midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary Dist., Madras Pres.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT[2]

1 [सि]ध[ं] [॥*] रञो **सातव[ा]हनानं** [सि]रि-**पुळुमाविस सव** ८ हेम २ दिव १

2 [मस][3] महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे[3] **स[ा]तव[ा]हणिहारे**

3 [गा]मिकस[4] कुमारदतस गामे **वेपुरके** वथवेन गहपतिकेन [कों]तानं [संबे]न

4 तळाकं खानितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः शातवाहनानां (=शातवाहनकुलजस्य) श्रीपुळुमावेः संव[त्सरे अष्टमे] ८ हेम[न्त-पक्षे द्वितीये] २ दिव[से प्रथमे] १ (=मार्गशीर्ष-शुक्लपक्षस्य प्रथमदिवसे)—स्वामिनः (=राज्ञः पुलुमावेः) महासेनापतेः स्कन्दनागस्य जनपदे शातवाहनीयाहारे ग्रामिकस्य (यद्वा, गौल्मिकस्य) कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन (=गृहस्थेन) कौन्तानां (=कौन्तवंशीयेन) साम्बेन तडागः खानितः ॥

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1 He is different from the earlier Puḷumāvi and seems to be the same as Pulomā, the last king of the main line according to the Purāṇas. The base of न is curved and has a loop at the left side. The difference between त and न is only in the former's right foot which is curved towards the left, as in the case of त and न of the Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa ins. For Later Sātavāhana chronology from Gautamīputra to this king, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 161-64.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 Possibly the word intended is स्वामिस (i. e. of the lord, Śri-Puḷumāvi).

4 Sukthankar: जनपादे. Cf. साताहनिरट्ठ of the Hirahaḍagalli grant.

5 Sukthankar suggests गुमिक (=गौल्मिक) ; but गामिक is better. The महासेनापति ruled the जनपद, while affairs of the ग्राम were conducted by the ग्रामिक.

B—EASTERN DECCAN

(i) Inscriptions of the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana-Chedis of Kaliṅga

No. 91—Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, near Bhubaneśwar, Purī Dist., Orissa

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, pp. 1075-91; CUNNINGHAM, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 27f.; 98-101; 132ff.; R. L. MITRA, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 16ff; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du Sixieme Cougres international des Orientalistes*, pt. III, sec 2, pp.152-77; BÜHLER, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, 242ff; 824; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1345; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, p. 425ff; IV, p. 364f; XIII, p. 221ff; XIV. p. 150ff; STEN KONOW, *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 12ff; F. W. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 83f; K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 72f; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 261ff.

Language : Prakrit resembling Pāli

Script : Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 [Crown] [Svastika][3] नमो अरहंतानं [।*] नमो सव-सिधानं [॥*] ऐरेण

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1 Earlier scholars identified Sātakarṇi mentioned in l. 4 of this record with the Sātavāhana king of that name in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, and placed Khāravela about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. As has been noticed above (p. 185 n.) the Nānāghāṭ records are later than the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. The angular forms and straight bases of letters like व, म, प, ह and य, which are usually found in the Hāthīgumphā record suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (cf. ड). On grounds of palaeography, it is to be placed later probably than the Nānāghāṭ records and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros. The development of the Kāvya style exhibited by the *ojo-guṇa* of its composition also points to a late date. It is interesting in this connection to note that authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of the Mañchapurī cave (in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen) "are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut" (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 639ff.). S. K. Chatterji and Pzryluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravela. Their views are not satisfactory.

2 From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, 1917. 3 In the margin of ll. 2, 4-5.

महाराजेन **महामेघवाहनेन**[1] **चेति**-राज-व[ं]स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन[2] चतुरंत
-लुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन[3] **कलिंगाधिपतिना** सिरि-**खारवेलेन**

2 **[पं]दरस-वसानि** सीरि-[कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका [॥*] ततो लेख-
रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजावदातेन **नव-वसानि** योवरज [प]सा-
सितं [॥*]संपुंण-**चतुवीसति-वसो** तदानि वधमानसेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो[4] ततिये

3 **कलिंग**-राज-वसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं[5] पापुनाति [॥*] अभिसितमतो च
पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति **कलिंगनगरि-**
खिवी[र][6] [।*] सितल-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सवुयान-प[टि]संथपनं च

4 कारयति पनति(सि?)साहि सत-सहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति [॥*] **दुतिये** च **वसे**
अचितयिता **सातकंनिं**[7] पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [।*]
कन्हवेंणा-गताय[8] च सेनाय वितासिति[9] **असिकनगरं**[10] [॥*] **ततिये** पुन **वसे**

5 गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति

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1 Mahāmeghavāhana is a family name like Sātavāhana. Some read चेत, चेति=चेदि and चेत=चैद्य. Apparently Khāravela claimed connection with the Chedis mentioned in anceint Indian literature; cf. l. 17, *infra*.

2 Barua: लखणेन.

3 Barua: °गुण-उपेतेन ; Jayaswal: °लुठितगुणोपहितेन.

4 Barua: वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो.

5 Jayaswal माहा°.

6 Jayaswal and Banerji separate खिवीर from कलिंगनगरि and read खिवीर-इसि-ताल-तडाग.

7 This king seems to be the Sātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically the Hāthigumphā record is slightly later than the Nānāghāṭ record. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi (plate in *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1917) resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Sātakarṇi II. Of course, if this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both these Sātakarṇis with Sātakarṇi I. But it should be remembered that the big Nānāghāṭ record was possibly engraved after the death of that king.

8 Jayaswal and Banerji: कन्ह°.

9 Jayaswal: वितासितं.

10 Jayaswal and Banerji: मुसिक°. For the Asika country, see *supra*, No. 86. The chief city of the country thus appears to have been situated on the Kṛishṇā.

नगरि [॥*] तथा **चवुथे वसे** विञाधराधिवासं अहतपुवं **कलिंग**(?-)पुव-राज-[निवेसितं].....वितथ-म[कु]ट[1].....च निखित-छत(?)-

6 भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-**रठिक-भोजके** पादे वंदापयति [॥*] **पंचमे** च दानी **वसे नंद-राज-ति-वस-सत**-ओ[घा]टितं **तनसुलिय-वाटा** पणाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति सो.....[।*] [अ*]भिसितो च [**छठे वसे***] राजसेयं[2] संदंसयंतो सवकर-वण-[3]

7 अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं [॥*] **सतमं**[4] च **वसं** [पसा]सतो वजिरघर.....[5] स मतुक पद.....[कु]म.....[6][।*].....**अठमे** च **वसे** महता सेन[ा].....**गोरधगिरिं**

8 घातापयिता **राजगहं**[7] उपपीडपयति [।*] एतिन[ा] च कंमपदान-स[ं]नादेन .....सेन-वाहने[8] विपमुचितुं **मधुरं** अपयातो **यवनरा[ज]** [डिमित ?][9] .....यछति.....पलव...

9 कपरुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति[10] सव-घरावास .....[11] सव-गहणं च कारयितु ब्रह्मणानं ज[य]-परिहारं[12] ददाति [।*] अरहत...[**नवमे** च **वसे***]...

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1 Barua: मकुटे. The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal and Banerji: सविलंडिते and by Barua: सविप्रवजिते.

2 Jayaswal: राजसुयं which is improbable for a Jain king like Khāravela.

3 The reading and interpretation of the closing part of these lines are doubtful.

4 Barua: सतमे च वसे (अ)स-सतो.

5 Barua: वजिरघर-खतिय सत-घटनि-समतक-पदपंन संतिपद...; Jayaswal: ०घरवति-घुसित-घरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंग.....The readings are doubtful and the theory of Khāravela's wife of the Vajiraghara family is problematical.

6 Prinsep and Cunnihgham: सवत-कहदपन-नरप. All the readings are problematical. The account of the achievements of the 7th year is thus doubtful.

7 Prinsep: राजगभं उपपीडयति; Cunningham: राजगंभुउपपीडयति; Indraji: राजगहनपं पीडापयति which Sten Konow thinks not impossible.

8 Prinsep: पंवात; Jayaswal: संवित; Barua: पवंत.

9 Sten Konow: डिमित. The reading यवनराज is clear, but दिमित or डिमित is doubtful. Even if the reading be correct, this दिमित cannot be identified with Demetrios son of Euthedemos, who lived in the first half of the 2nd century B. C.

10 Barua: यं[ति]; Indraji: सह-यत; Jayaswal: सह-यंते.

11 Prinsep: घरवसप; Cunningham: घरवसय-अनतिकगवय; Indraji: घरवसधं; Jayaswal: घरावास-परिवेसने अगिणथिया.

12 Prinsep: जत; Jayaswal: जाति परिहारं

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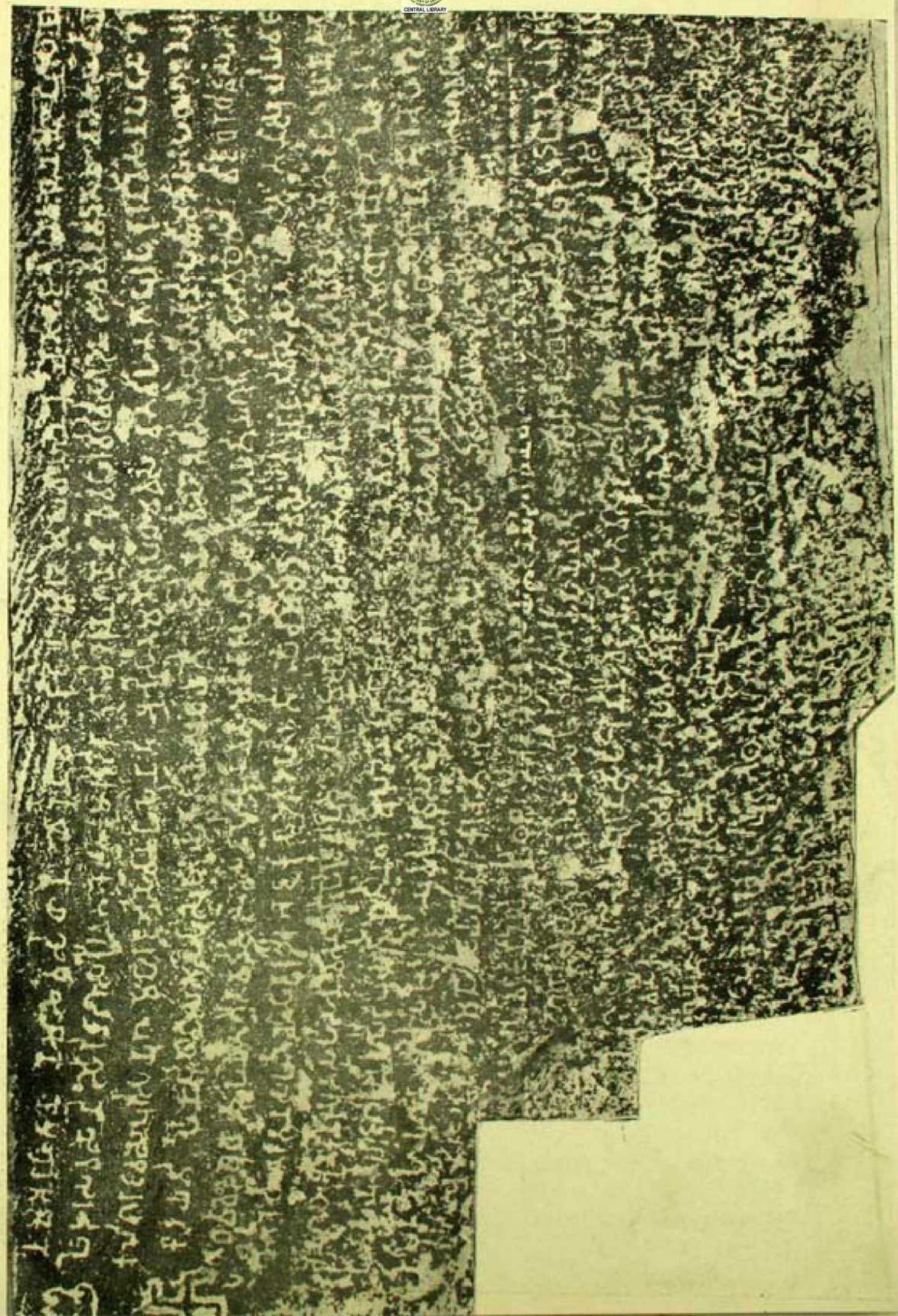

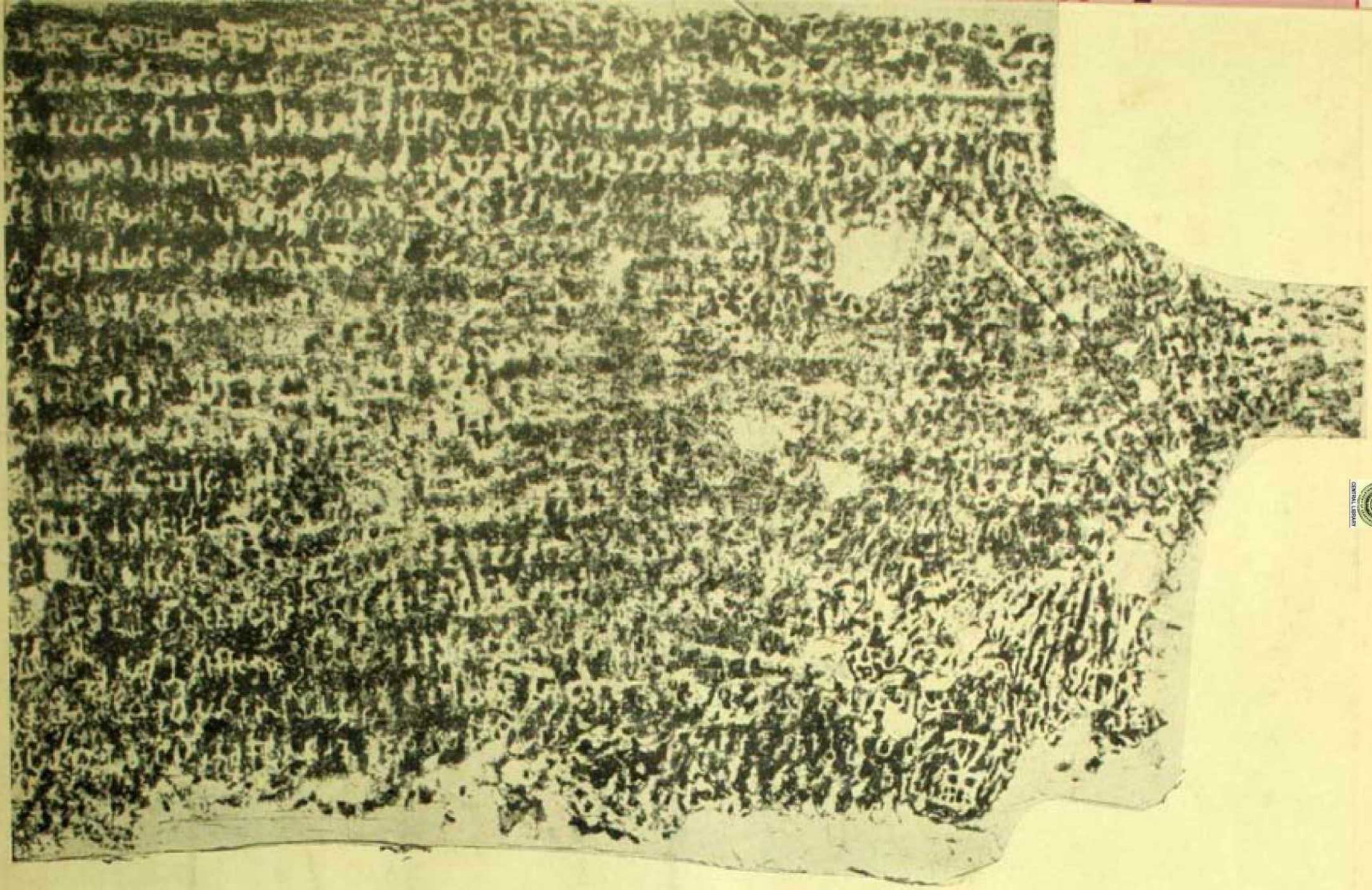

Courtesy: B. O. R. S. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, III).

Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela (Bk. II, No. 91). Section II.

10 .....[1]**महाविजय**-पासादं[2] कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि [॥*] **दसमे** च **वसे** दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](?)[3] **भरधवस**-पठा(?)नं मह[ा]जयनं(?)[4] .....कारापयति[5] [॥*] [**एकादसमे** च **वसे***].....प[ा]यातानं च म[नि]-रतनानि उपलभते(?)

11 .....पुवं राज-निवेसितं[6] **पीथुंडं** गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति [।*] जन[प]द-भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं[7] भि[ि]दति **त्रमिर**-दह(?)-संघातं[8] [।*] **बारसमे** च वसे.....[9][सह]सेहि वितासयति **उतरापध**-राजानो.....

12 **म[ा]गधानं** च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं **गंगाय**[10] पाययति [।*] **म[ग]ध[ि]** च राजानं **बहसतिमितं**[11] पादे वंदापयति [।*] **नंदराज**-नीतं च **का[लि]**ंग-जिनं[12] संनिवेस.....[13]**अंग-मगध**-वसु च नयति [॥*]...

13 .....[क]तु[ि] जठर-[लखिल-[गोपु]राणि सिहराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रि-हारेहि [।*] अभुतमछरियं च हथी-निवा[स][14] परिहर.....हय-हथि-रतन-[मानिकं] **पंडराजा**.....[मु]त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहसानि]

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1 Barua: वसुविजय [I. 9] ते उभय प्रचि तटे राजनिवासं ; Jayaswal: मानतिराज-संनिवासं. 2 Jayswal: महाविजयं.

3 Reading is doubtful. Cunningham read दतिभिसरः.

4 Cunningham: महयन.

5 The record of the 10th year cannot be made out.

6 Jayaswal: मं डं अवराज-निवेसितं; Barua: पुवराज-निवेसितं पिथुडग-दभ नगले नेकासययि, "caused the grassy overgrowth of Prithudaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāṅgala (river)".

7 Jayaswal: सतिकं अभि॰ We have possibly the round number 1300 and not 113.

8 Indraji: तमर-देह-संघातं ; Jayaswal: त्रमिरदेपसंघातं "confederacy of the Tamil countries." 9 Barua suggests सिवकानं.

10 Jayaswal: हथी सुगंगोय[ि] पाययति and finds a reference to the Maurya palace सुगांग mentioned in the मुद्राराक्षस.

11 The name may be बृहस्पतिमित्र ; but his identification with Pushyamitra on the ground that बृहस्पति is the lord of the पुष्य constellation is utterly fantastic. Moreover palaegraphically and stylistically this record should be placed about a century and a half after Pushyamitra Suṅga. See *supra*, p. 97, n. 3.

12 Barua: नंदराज-जितं च कलिंगजन-संनिवेसं

13 Indraji: गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal: ०पडीहारेहि ; Barua: कितव-नय-निपुनेहि.

14 Prinsep: हथिनवुन ; Cunningham: हथि-नवेन ; Barua: हथि-नाव[तं].

14 .....सिनो वसीकरोति [।*] **तेरसमे च वसे** सुपवत-विजय-चके **कुमारीपवते** अरहते(हि*) पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि **कायनिसीदियाय**[1] यापूजावकेहि[2] राज-भितिनि[3] चिन-वतानि[4] वास[ा][सि]तानि[5] पूजानुरत-उवा[सग-खा]**रवेल**सिरिना[6] जीवदेह[सयि]का[7] परिखाता[8] [॥*]

15 .....सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सव-दिसान'[9] अ[नि]नं[?] तपसि-इ[सि]न[10] संघियनं **अरहतनिसीदिया**-समीपे पाभारे वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजना-हिताहि.....सिलाहि[11] ...[12] .....[13]

16 .....[14] चतरे च वेडुरिय-गभे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि [।*] मु[खि]य[15]-कल[16]-वोछिन'[17] च चोय[ठि]-अंग[18] संतिक[']['][19] तुरियं

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1 Barua: कय्य=Sanskrit: कल्य=Pāli कल्ल.

2 Prinsep: यापुहवकेहि ; Cunningham: यापुजकेहि ; Jayaswal: यापव्वकेहि.

3 Barua suggests भीतिनं.

4 Barua correctly connects the word with Pāli चिन्नवतानं.

5 Barua suggests वसासितानं.

6 Barua : पूजाय रत.

7 Prinsep: जि...देत ; Cunningham: जिविमक ; Jayaswal: सिरिका ; Barua suggests सयिका for सिरिका.

8 Prinsep and Cunningham: रिखित. Barua suggests पनिखाता.

9 Jayaswal: सत

10 Cunningham: सिमपुस ; Barua: [सम]पसि[नं].

11 Barua: पक्क सिसेहि सत[सहसा]हि सिलाहि

12 Prinsep: सपप ; Cunningham: भगप ; Jayaswal : सिंहपथ ; Barua: सिपज.

13 Prinsep :सपपथ-धरसि धनस्य ; Jayaswal : ०रञो-सिंधुळाय निसयानि ; Barua: अभ[नि]वधसयाना[स]नानि.

14 Prinsep: पठलके ; Cunningham and Indraji पटालके ; Jayaswal : पटलको.

15 Prinsep:...रिय ; Cunningham:...य ; Indraji and Sten Konow :मुरिय ; Barua: [म]खिय. There seems to be no reference to any Maurya-kāla or Maurya era.

16 Fleet and Indraji: काल ; Cunningham कल which is supported by Barua.

17 Barua: वाछिने.

18 Prinsep: च चोयथ अगि ; Cunningham: च चेयठ अगे ; Indraji: च चोयथ अगे ; Barua: च चोयठ अंगे.

19 Painsep and Cunningham: सतिक ; Indraji: सतिकु ; Sten Konow :सतिकं.

उपादयति [।*] खेम-राजा स वढ-राजा[1] स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं-[तो] अनुभव[तो] कलानानि

17 .....गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे[वाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहनबलो[2] चकधरो[3] गुतचको पवतचको राजसि**वसू** कुल-विनिश्रितो[4] महाविजयो राजा **खारवेलसिरि** [॥*] [Branched tree within railing]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हद्भ्यः। नमः सर्व-सिद्धेभ्यः[5]। आर्येण महाराजेन माहामेघवाहनेन[6] चेदि-राजवंश-वर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणेन चतुरन्त-लुण्ठन-गुणोपेतेन (=सकलभुवनव्यापिगुणगणालङ्कृतेन) कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदशवर्षाणि श्रीकडार-शरीरवता (=श्रीमत्-पिङ्गलदेहभाजा) क्रीडिता कुमारकीडिका (=बालक्रीडा)। ततः लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन (=लेखनविद्यायां मुद्रापरिचये गणिते विवाद-मीमांसाविद्यायां प्रवर्त्तना-निवर्त्तनात्मकशास्त्रेषु च निष्णातेन), सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि यौवराज्यं (=युवराजत्वेन) प्रशिष्टम् (=शासितम्)। सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः तदानीं वर्द्धमानाशैशव-वैण्याभिविजयः (=वेणतनयस्य राजर्षेः पृथोः इव यस्य जयश्रीः शिशोः कालात् प्रभृति प्रचीयमाना आसीत् सः) तृतीये कलिङ्गराजवंशे पुरुषयुगे (=कलिङ्गराजान्वयस्य तृतीयपुरुषे) महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्णोति (=प्राप्णोत्); अभिषिक्तवान् (=अभिषेकवान्=अभिषिक्तः) च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रतिसंस्कारयति (=प्रतिसमस्कारयत्) कलिङ्गनगरीं खिबीरम्; शीतलतडाग-पाल्यः (=०पारान्) च बन्धयति (=अबन्धयत्); सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति (=अकारयत्); पञ्चत्रिंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणां=कार्षापणानां ?] प्रकृतीः च रञ्जयति (=अरञ्जयत्)। द्वितीये च वर्षे अचिन्तयित्वा (=अगणयित्वा) शातकर्णिं पश्चिमदिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं (=सेनादलं) प्रस्था-

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1 Barua: **वध.**

2 Jayaswal: **चकि.**

3 Jayaswal: **चकधुर०.**

4 Barua: **राजिसि-वंस-कुल.** Cunningham: **विनिगत.** It is possible that here is a reference to Khāravela's claim to have descended from the ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

5 For an *arhat*, see *supra*, p. 118, n. 2. The Jain saints are sometimes called Buddha, Kevalin, Siddha, Tathāgata and Arhat. Khāravela was a Jain by faith.

6 This seems to be the name of a family like Sātavāhana. *Aira* is found also in *infra*, No. 93. It is tempting to connect it with Aila = belonging to the lunar dynasty; but that is problematical.

पयति (=प्रास्थापयत्) ; कृष्णवेणवा-गतया (= कृष्णानदीतीरगतया) च सेनया विलास-यति ऋषिकनगरम्। तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधः दर्पनृत्यगीतवादित्र-सन्दर्शनैः[1] उत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिः च क्रीडयति (=अक्रीडयत्) नगरीम् (=राजधानीम्) ✓ तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासम् अहत-पूर्वं कलिङ्गपूर्वराजनिवेशितं.....वितथ-मुकुट.....च निक्षिप्तच्छत्रभृङ्गारं हृतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं[2] पादौ वन्दयति। पञ्चमे च इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-खिवर्षशतोद्घाटितां (= त्रिशतवर्षो०) तन-सुलिय (=तृण-सूर्य ?)-वर्त्मनः प्रणाळीं नगरं (= राजधानीं) प्रवेशयति.....। अभिषिक्तः च षष्ठे वर्षे राजैश्वर्यं सन्दर्शयन् सर्वाकारवर्णानुग्रहानुकानि शतसहस्राणि [मुद्राणां] विसृजति पौर-जानपदम् [उद्दिश्य]। सप्तमं च वर्षं प्रशासत्...। अष्टमे च वर्षे महता सेनया...गोरथ-गिरिं घातयित्वा)=धर्षणानन्तरं) राजगृहम् उपपीडयति (=उपापीडयत्) ; एतेन कर्मापदान-संनादेन (=दुष्कर-कर्मसम्पादनशब्देन) सेनावाहनं विप्रमोक्षुं [भयात्] मधुरां (=मथुराम्) अपयातः (=पलायितः) यवनराजः डिमितः(?)...यच्छति...पल्लव...कल्प-वृक्षः हयगज-रथैः सह यतिः [खारवेलः] सर्व-गृहावास.....सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति (=अददात)।... .....[नवमे च वर्षे].....राज-सन्निवासं महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्ट-त्रिंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणाम्]। दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साम[मयः खारवेलः] भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानं.....कारयति (=अकारयत्)। एकादशे च वर्षे.....अपयातानां (=पलायितशत्रूणां) च मणिरत्नानि उपलभते (=उपालभत)...पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं पीथुण्डं गर्दभ-लाङ्गलेन कर्षयति (=अकर्षयत्) ; जनपदभावनं च त्रयोदशवर्षशतकृतं (=वर्षत्रयो-दशशत कृतं) भिनत्ति (=अभिनत्) तिमिर-हद-सङ्घातं (यद्वा, त्रमिरदेश-सङ्घातम्?)। द्वादशे च वर्षे.....सहस्रैः विलासयति उत्तरपथ-राजान्...मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं गङ्गायां पाययति ; मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति ; नन्दराज-नीतं च कलिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश.....अङ्ग-मगध-वसुं च नयति[3] ;.....कर्तुं जठर-लघुमोल-गोपुराणि (= दृढसुन्दरतोरणसमन्वितानि) शिखराणि निवेशयति मुद्राणां शत-विंशकानां

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1 दप = दर्प-क्रीडा =मल्लयुद्ध-विशेषः (अर्थशास्त्र, II, 3, 58) or =दवकम्म or comics *Mahāniddesa*, p. 379).

2 राष्ट्रिक = provincial governer; भोजक = jāgīrdār. For the Raṭhika and Bhojaka tribes of Western India, see *supra*, pp. 23, 37.

3 Rājagṛiha (Rājgīr), ancient cap. of Magadha (South Bihār). Bhāratavarsha =N. India? Uttarāpatha = N. W. India. Aṅga = East Bihār. Pithtundra near Masulipatam (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 48f). Note the retaliation of the conquest of Kaliṅga by Nanda and Aśoka.

परिहारैः ; अद्भुतम् आश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं (=०वस्तसज्जां) प्रतिहरति ;...हयहस्तिरत्नमाणिक्यं ; पाण्ड्यराजात्...मुक्ता-मणिरत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि...वासिनः वशीकरोति । त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्तविजयचक्रे कुमारीपर्वते (Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri Hills) अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः (= क्षीणाश्रयेभ्य) काय-निषद्यायै (=वर्षासु विश्राम-लाभाय) यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां चीर्णव्रतानां (= राजपुष्टानां व्रताचरकाणां) वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासकखारवेलश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः (= आश्रयगृहाणि) परिखानिताः ।...सत्कृतश्रमणः सुविहितानां च सर्वदिशानां ज्ञानिनां तपस्वृषीणां संङ्घीयानाम् अर्हन्निषद्य-समीपे पाभारे (=पाभाराख्ये स्थाने) वराकारसमुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहिताभि...वैदूर्यगर्भान् स्तम्भान् प्रतिष्ठापयति पञ्चोत्तर-शत-सहस्रैः [मुद्राणां] ; मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं (= गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं) चतुःषष्ट्यङ्गं (= चतुःषष्टिप्रकारवाद्यविशिष्टं) शान्तिकं तौर्यं (= रणरहितकालोपयोगितौर्यत्रिकम्) उत्पादयति । क्षेमराजः सः वृद्धिराजः सः भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् शृण्वन् अनुभवन् कल्याणानि...गुणविशेष-कुशलः सर्वपाषंद-पूजकः[1] सर्वदेवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहतचक्रवाहिनीबलः चक्रधरः गुप्त-चक्रः प्रवृत्तचक्रः राजर्षि-वसु(चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०)-कुलविनिःसृतः महाविजयः[2] राजा खारवेलश्रीः (= श्रीमान् खारवेलः) ॥

No. 92—Mañchapurī[3] Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Khāravela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī Dist., Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes 6 me Congres Or. à Leide*, part III, sec. ii, p. 152 ff; R. D. BANERJI; *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 159; BARUA, *O. Br. Ins.*, p. 55f; LÜDERS, List, No. 1346 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.

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1 *Pāshaṇḍa* in the sense of a religious sect is found in Jain literature and also in Aśoka's inscriptions. See *supra*, pp. 27, 33f, 66f. I am now informed that its derivation from Sanskrit *Pārshada* has been suggested by Schubring. He seems to be right.

2 The name of his palace in l. 10 possibly suggests that Mahāvijaya was Khāravela's *viruda*.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. In the upper story (also called Svargapurī) of the cave.

TEXT

1 अरहंत पसादाय[1] **कलिंगा**[न]' [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं [।*] राजिनो **ललाक**[स]

2 **हथि**[सि]**हस**[2] पपोतस धु[तु]ना(या?) **कलिंग**-च[क्कवतिनो सिरि-**खार**े]**वेलस**

3 अगमहिसि[य?]ा [कारितं] [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अर्हत्-प्रसादाय (= अर्हताम् अनुग्रहलाभाय) कालिङ्गेभ्यः (= कलिङ्ग-देशीयेभ्यः) श्रमणेभ्यः (= जैनभिक्षुभ्यः [=तेषां वासार्थं]) लयनं कारितम्। राज्ञः लालार्कस्य (=ललार्क-पुत्रस्य?) हस्तिसिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहिता कलिङ्ग-चक्रवर्त्तिनः (= कलिङ्गाधिराजस्य) श्रीखारवेलस्य अग्रमहिष्या [लयनं] कारितम्।

No. 93—Mañchapurī Cave Inscription of Vakradeva[3] (?)

Udayagiri Hills, Purī Dist., Orissa

Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes 6 me Congres Or. à Leide*, III, iii, p. 152 ff.; R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 160; Barua, *O. Br. Ins.*, p. 63f; Lüders, List, No. 1347 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.

TEXT[4]

1 ऐरस[5] महाराजस **कलि**[ं]**गा**धिपतिनो **माहा**[**मेघ**]**वाह**[**नस**] [व?]**कदेप**-सोरीनो लेन [ं] [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

आर्य्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः माहामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः (= श्रीमता वक्रदेवेन [कारितं]) लयनम्॥

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1 **प** was read by Indraji as **न**

2 Indraji read **०साहानं** ; Banerji: **साहस.**

3 The king's name is sometimes read Kūḍepa or Kadampa. He may have been a successor of Khāravela. Another record in the cave refers to a Kumāra called Vaḍukha (Lüders, No. 1348).

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII.

5 Some read: **वेरस** ; Banerji: **खरस.** The use of the same word in l. 1 of *supra*, No. 91, suggests that it is connected with the name of the family.

(ii) INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRADEŚA

(a) Records From Bhattiprolu

No. 94-97—Bhaṭṭiprolu Casket Inscriptions of the time ot Kuberaka

BHATTIPROLU Stūpa, Kistna Dist., Madras Pres.

G. BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 323 ff.; LÜDERS, List, Nos. 1329-39 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* end of the 2nd century B. C.[1]

TEXT[2]

Casket No. 1.

(On the rim of the lower stone.)

A कुर-पितुनो च कुर-मा[तु] च कुरष सिव[ष] च मजुसं पणति फालिग-धमुग' च

1 Bühler says, "If one does this and places on the one side the alphabets of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāṭ, Hāthīgumphā and Bhārhut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B. C., but may be somewhat earlier" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). According to him, क, ख, छ, ञ, ट, ठ, ण, त, थ, ध, न, प, फ, ब, य, र, व, स and ह agree exactly with those of the southern variety of the Maurya alphabet. But in some cases, the belly of व is vertically elongated and the neck is very short. ग has both the angular form and that with rounded top; च has the vertical a little prolonged downwards; ड has slanting strokes instead of straight ones; द is open to the right; and भ is written upside down. घ is expressed by the sign for ग with a curve to the right; ज has the angular form without the central horizontal bar; म is turned topsy-turvy; ल has a long slanting line to the right of the vertical stroke: ष looks like क; ळ looks like प with a short horizontal bar to the right of the vertical stroke; the sign of medial *a* is marked by an ordinary medial *ā* like horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant (except when an *anusvāra* follows); medial *ā* is shown by a horizontal stroke with a vertical hanging from its end. Some letters are turned to left or right and some downwards. This is reminiscent of an age when Brāhmī was witten from right to left (cf. *infra*, No. 106). Forms of व, ड, ज and medial *ā* suggest that the records are not much earlier than B. C. 100.

2 From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II. No. 4 is prepared from Bühler's eye-copy.

बुध-सरिराणं निखेतु [॥*] B: बनव-पुतष कुरष षपोतुकष मजुष [॥] C: उतरो पिगह-पुतो काणीठो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

A: कुर-पितुः च कुर-मातुः च कुरस्य शिवस्य च मञ्जूषा प्रणीता (=उत्सृष्टा; यद्वा, निर्मिता), स्फाटिक-समुद्गः च बुद्ध-शरीराणि (=०देहावशेषान्) निक्षेप्तुम् ॥ B: बनव-पुत्रस्य कुरस्य सपितृकस्य मञ्जूषा (=पाषाणपिटकः) ॥ C: [शिल्पी] उत्तरः विग्रह-पुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

TEXT

Casket No. 2.

(On the centre of the lid)

A. (Centre) 1 गोठि
2 हिरजवघवा
3 [वु]गाळको काळहो
4 विसको थोरसिसि
5 समणो ओदलो
6 अपक[ठो?] षमुदो
7 अनुग[हो] कुरो
8 सतुघो जेतको [जे]तो आळिनक
9 वरुणो पिग[ल]को कोषको
10 सुतो पापो कमेर[खो] [गाळे]को
11 समन[दा]घो भरदो
(Left) 12 ओडालो(?) थोरतिसो तिसो
13 गीलाणो जंभो
(Right) 14 पुडर(?) [आ]वो
15 गालवत * * जनको
16 गोसालकानं कूरो
17 उपोषथपुतो उतरो
18 कारहपुतो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

गोष्ठी—हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात्, उद्धारकः, कालहः, विश्वकः, स्थौलशीर्षी, श्रमणः, औदलः, अपकरः, समुद्रः, अनुग्रहः, कुरः, शत्रुघ्नः, जयन्तकः, जयन्तः, आलीणकः, वरुणः, पिङ्गलकः, कोपकः (कौशिकः ?), श्रुतः, पापः, कुम्भीरकः (?), गालेकः, श्रमणदासः, भरतः, औदलः (औदारः ?), स्थौलतिष्यः, तिष्यः, ग्लानः, जम्भः, * * *, आम्रः, * * *, जनकः गोशालकानां (=गोशालकवंशजः), कूरः उपोसथपुत्रः, उत्तरः कारह-पुत्रः [एतेषां जनानाम्] ॥

B On the rim, to the left

सम[णदा]स[तोहित] * * * बुधस सरिरानि महियानु पंमाप

(=श्रमणदासतः हितानि [नीतानि ?] बुद्धस्य शरीराणि महनीयानि (=पूज्यानि) शर्मणे ।

C On the outer rim, to the right

1 गोठि-समनो कुबो [।*]

2 हिरणकार-गामणी-पुतो बूबो [।*]

(=गोष्ठी-श्रमणः कुम्भः । हिरण्यकारः (=स्वर्णकारः) ग्रामणी-पुत्रः बूबः ।)

D On the rim of the lower stone.

ष गठि निगम-पुतानं राजपामुखा [।*] पारिरप पुतो **खुविरको** राजा पीहगोठिया पामुखो [।*] तेषं अंनं म[जूषं] फालिग-पमुगो च पाषाण-पमुगो च ॥

(=सा गोष्ठी निगम-पुत्राणां राज-प्रमुखाणां । शबीरस्य पुत्रः राजा कुबेरकः सिंह-गोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः (=प्रधानः) । तेषां (=सिंहगोष्ठीय-जनानां) अन्या मंजूषा, स्फाटिक-समुद्रः च पाषाण-समुद्रः च ॥)

E On the rim of the lower stone outside D.

समणो चघञ (खो ?)-पुतो उतरो आरामु तर [पू ?] त [।*]

(=श्रमणः जघन्य-पुत्रः उत्तरः, आरामः तर-पुत्रः ।

Casket No. 3.

A On the upper stone.

1 नेगमा

2 वछो चघो

3 जेतो जंभो तिसो

4 रेतो अचिनो पभिको

5 अखघो केलो केसो माहो

6 सेटो छदिको [घ] खबूलो

7 सोणुतरो समणो

8 समणदासो सामको

9 कामुको चीतको [॥*]

(=नैगमाः—वत्सः, चक्रः, जयन्तः, जम्भः, तिष्यः, रैवतः, अचोर्णः, सभिकः, अक्षघ्नः, केलः, केशः, माघः, श्रेष्ठः, छदिकोघः, खबूलः, सुवर्णोत्तरः, श्रमणः, श्रमणदासः, श्यामकः, कामुकः, चित्तकः ॥)

B On the rim of the lower stone.

अरहदिनानं गोठिया मजूस च पमुगो च [।*] तेन कम- येन **कुबिरको** राजा अं[कि] [॥*] (=अर्हद्दत्तानां गोष्ठयाः मञ्जुषा च समुद्गः च । तस्य कर्म, येन कुबेरकः राजा अङ्कितः [=राज्ञः कुबेरकस्य प्रतिमा अङ्किता] ।)

No. 4.

On a Hexagonal piece of crystal found inside one of the boxes.

1 मातुगामस [नं]दपुराहि

2 सुवणमाहा

3 शमनुदेशानं च

4 गिलानकेरस अयसक-

5 [स]ठिय

6 गोहिया अ*ग दानं [॥*]

(=मातृग्रामस्य नन्दपुरात्हि, सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमणोद्देशानां(?) च, ग्लनकार्यस्य आयसक-श्रेष्ठिनः गोहिका (=गृहम्) अत्यग्र-दानम् ।)

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF THE KISṬNA-GUṆṬŪR REGION

No. 98—Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa Inscriptions of Vīrapurushadatta[1]—Regnal year 6

Remains of a Stūpa in the valley of the NĀGĀRJUNĪKOṆḌA Hill, Guṇṭūr Dist., Madras Pres.

Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 16, 19f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A. D.

No. 1

TEXT[2]

1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-बाधिनो सवंञुनो

2 सव-सतानुकंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विपमुतस महागणि-वसभ-

3 [गं]धहधिस **संम-सं[बुध]स** धातुवर-परिगहितस [।*] महाचेतिये[4] महाराजस

4 विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस[5] हिरण[6] कोटि-गोसतसहस हलस-

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1 Bühler suggested that Purushadatta is the king's name and *vīra* is only an epithet. But here the epithet seems to form a part of the name.

2 From the facsimile in Ep. Ind., XX. Āyaka pillar inscription C. 3.

3 According to Buddhist works the qualifications of a *bhagavā* are *issarīya* (*animā*, etc.), *dhamma* (transcendental virtues), *yasa* (pure fame of universal recognition), *sirī* (all-round accomplishment), *kāma* (all objects of desire) and *payatana* (supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all). See also *supra*, p. 92, n. 2.

4 Some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records read **इमम्हि** or **इमंम्हि** before **महाचेतिये.**

5 Some records read **अगिहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयासमेधयाजिस** after **परिगहितस.** Aśvamedha is usually seen to have been performed by kings to celebrate their victory over other kings, especially the former overlords of their families. Sāntamūla apparently ousted the Sātavāhanas from their suzerainty over the Kisṭṇā-Guṇṭūr region.

6 Some records read **हिरंण**

5 तसह[स]-दायिस सवधेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासिठिपुतस **इखाकुस**

6 सिरि-**चातमूलस**[1] सोदरा भगिनि रंञो माढरीपुतस सिरि-**विरपुरिसदतस**

7 पितुछा महासेनापतिस महातलवरस वासिधी-पुतस[2] **पूकीयानं** कंदसिरि[स][3]

8 भरिया समण-बमण[4]-कवण-वनिजक-दीनानुगह-वेलामिक[5]-दान-पटिभागवो-

9 छिंन-धार-पदायिनि सव-साधु-वछला महादानपतिनि महातलवरि खंदसागरंनक-माता

10 च[ा]तिसिरि[6] अपनो उभयकुलस अतिछितमनागतवटमानकानं[7] परिनामेतुनं[8]

11 उभय-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय[9] च अतनो च निवाण-संपति-संपादके

12 सव-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय च इमं खंभं पतिथपितं ति [।*]

13 रंञो सिरि-**वीरपुरिसदतस सव** ६ वा प ६ दि १०[10] [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय जितरागदोषमोह(= ०आसक्तिघृणाज्ञान०)-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभगन्धहस्तिने (=बहुसङ्ख्यकशिष्य-महाचार्येषु प्रधानः) सम्यक्-संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय (=निर्वाण-प्राप्ताय)। महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य[11] हिरण्यकोटि-

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1 Some records read चांतमूलस. For the change of श in to च, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 17, n. 1.

2 Some records have वासिठोपुतस which is the correct expression.

3 Some records have खंदसिरि

4 Read बम्हण

5 One record has वैलामिक and two others वेलामि. Velāma was a person celebrated for charity in Buddhist mythology (*Jātaka*, vol., I, p. 228; *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, p. 414; *Ang. N.*, IV, 394f; *Ep. Ind.*, *XX*, p. 33); cf. reference to Karṇa in later records.

6 Some records have चांतिसिरि

7 Some records read वटमानके

8 Some records have परिनामेतुन

9 Some records have ०सुखनिवाणथनाय

10 वा प ६ is written under the line.

11 *Virupāksha* is supposed to have been the *gaṇa* of which Skanda was the leader. The Kadambas of Banavāsī and, imitating them, the Chalukyas of Bādāmi also claimed to have been protected by Mahāsena.

गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-दायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (=इक्ष्वाकुवंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरा भगिनी, राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य ।पतृष्वसा, महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य (=राजप्रदत्तपट्टबन्धभूषित-राजस्थानीयस्य) वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य पूकीयानां (=पूकीयवंशजस्य) स्कन्दश्रियः भार्य्या, श्रमण-ब्राह्मण-वणिजक (=दुर्गत।-कृपण (=कृपाई)-दीनानुग्रह-वैलामिक (=वेलामाख्य-दानशौण्ड-सम्बन्धि) दान-प्रतिभागा-नवच्छिन्न-(=दानविसर्जनस्य निरवच्छिन्न०)-धारा-प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला महादानपत्नी (=महादान-पत्युपाधिकस्य पत्नी) महातलवरी (=महातलवर-पत्नी) स्कन्दसागर-माता[1] शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः उभयकुलस्य (=माता-पितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा, स्वामि-पितृ-कुलस्य) अत्याच्छिता-नागतवर्त्तमानकानि (=अतीत०) [कल्याणानि] परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) उभयलोक-हित-सुखा-वाहार्थनाय (०सुखानयनं प्रार्थयितुं) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकं[2] सर्वलोक-हित-सुखावाहार्थनाय च इमं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे षष्ठे ६ वर्षापक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० (=आश्विनशुक्लपक्षस्य दशमदिवसे) ॥

No. 2

TEXT[3]

1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-बोधिनो सवंञ्ञुनो सवसत[नु*]-

2 कंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विपमुतस महागणि-वसभ-गंधहथिस[4]

3 **संम-संबुधस** धातुवर-परिगहितस [।*] महाचेतिये **उजनिका**-महार-बलिका[5]

4 महादेवि **रुद्रधरभटरिका** इमं सेल-खंभं अपनो हित-सुख-निवाणधनाय[6] पतिठपितं [।*]

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1 See *supra*, p. 185, n. 3.

2 According to Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *Nibbāṇo*) the expression निब्बाण-सम्पत्ति in the *Khuddakapāṭha* means "the enjoyment of Arhatship."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Ayaka-pillar inscription B 5

4 Other records have ग'धहथिस

5 We may accept Vogel's correction ०महाराज-बालिका. Many Saka kings of Ujjain had *rudra* at the beginning of their names; see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 22f.

6 Vogel likes to correct it to निवाणाथनाय.

5 महातलवरिहि च पूकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महाविहारस महाचेतियं

6 समुथपियमाने महातलवरीय उभयिता **दिनारि-मासका**[1] सतरि-सतं १००(+*)७० खंभो च [।*]

7 रंञो सिरि-**विरपुरिसदतस संव** ६ वा प ६ दिव १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्वानुकम्पकाय जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभ-गन्धहस्तिने सम्यक्-संबुद्धाय धातुवरपरिगृहीताय। महाचैत्ये उज्जयिनिका-महाराज-वालिका (=उज्जयिन्याः शकराजकन्या) महादेवी (=वीरपुरुषदत्त-महिषी) रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैलस्तम्भम् आत्मनः हित-सुख-निर्वाण-धनाय (यद्वा, निर्वाणार्थनाय) प्रतिष्ठापित[वती]। महातलवरीभिः च पूकीयानां शान्तिश्रीभिः (=महातलवर्य्या च पूकीयानां शान्तिश्रिया) अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचैत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने [रुद्रधरभट्टारिकया] महातलवरीभ्यः (=महातलवर्यै शान्तिश्रियै) ऊर्द्धिताः (यद्वा, उद्धाविताः=दत्ताः) दिनार-मापकान् (=मापकाणां) सप्तति-शतं (=सप्तत्यधिकं शतम्) १७०, स्तम्भः च। राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 3

TEXT[2]

1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस **संम-संम-संबुधस**[3] धातुवर-

2 परिगहितस [।*] महाचेतिये महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस

3 **अगिहोतागिठोगिठोम**[4]**-वाजपेयासमेध**-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसत-

4 सहस-हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस

5 वासिठी-पुतस **इखाकुस** सिरि-**चातमूलस** सोदराय भगिनिय हंम-

6 सिरिणिकाय वालिका रंञो सिरि-**विरपुरिसदतस** भया महादेवि **वपिसिरिणिका**

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1 Cf. दीनार of later records, derived from the Roman *denarius*. Possibly दिनारि refers to actual Roman coins (imported in South India) and not to their Kushāna imitations. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 27 n.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Ayaka pillar inscription C 2.

3 Read संम-संबुधस

4 Read अगिहोतागिठोम.

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7 अपनो मातरं हंमसिरिणिकं परिनमतुन अतने च निवाण-संपति-सपादके

8 इमं सेलथंभं पतिठपितं [।*] अचरि[या]नं **अपरमहाविनसेलियानं** सुपरिगहित[*]

9 इमं महाचेतिय-नवकमं [।*] पंणगाम-वथवानं दीघ-मझिम-पंद-म[।]तुक-देस[क-वा*]-चकानं[1]

10 अ(च*)रयान अयिर-हघान अंतेवासिकेन दीघ-म(झिम*)-निगय-धरेन भदंतानं-देन

11 निठपित[ं] इम[ं] नवकम[ं] महाचेतियं[2] खंभा च ठपिता ति [।*] रञो सरि-**विरिपुरिसदतस**

12 **संव** ६ वा प ६ दिव १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय। महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसंकल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (=इक्ष्वाकुवंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः हर्म्य-श्रियाः बालिका (=तनया) राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्य्या[3] महादेवी बप्पीश्रीः आत्मनः मातरं हर्म्यश्रियं परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) आत्मनः च निर्वाणसम्प्राप्तिसम्पादकम् इमं शैलस्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती]। आचार्य्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयैः[4] सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचैत्य-नवकर्म (= महाचैत्यस्य संस्कृतांशः ; यद्वा, वर्द्धितांशः)। पर्णग्रामवास्तव्यानां दीर्घ-मध्यम-पञ्च-मातृका[5]-देशक-वाचकानां (=दीघनिकाय-मज्झिमनिकायादि-पञ्चग्रन्थानां व्याख्यातृपाठकानाम्)[6] आचार्य्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् (= आर्य्यसङ्घीयानाम्) अन्तेवासिकेन (=शिष्येण) दीर्घ-

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1 Read पंच

2 The same thing seems to be twinmentioned in the same sentence through over sight.

3 For the cross-cousin marriage, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

4 See *ibid*, p. 25f.

5 **मातुका** = matrices, i. e. texts on original, basic or fundamental doctrines. The word here seems to refer to the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*, viz. **दीघ-निकाय, मज्झिम०, संयुत्त०, अङ्गुत्तर०, खुद्दक०.**

6 See *supra*, p. 80, n, 1. Some scholars believe that **भदन्त** is derived from **भद्रं ते**, the blessing always in the mouth of the monks.

मध्यम-निकायधरेण तत्रभवता आनन्देन निष्ठापितं (=समाप्तिं नीतम्) इदं नवकर्म महाचैत्यम्, स्तम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति। राज्ञः श्रीवीर-पुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 101—Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal Year 14

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो **इखाक**राज-पवररिसिसतपभव-बंस-संभवस देव-मनुस-सव-सत-हित-सुख-मग-देसिकस जित-काम-कोध-भय-हरिस-तरिस-मोह-दोसस[2] दपित-मार-बल-दप-मान-पसमन-करस दसबल-महबलस अठग-मग[3]-धमचक पवतकस चक-लखण-सुकुमार-सुजात-चरणस तरुण-दिवसकर-पभस सरद-ससि-सोम-दरिसनस सव-लोक-चित-महितस **बुधस** [।*] रंञो मा[ढ]रिपु[त*][स][4] [**संवछरं***] **चोदं** १० (+*) ४ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० (+*) ३ [।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

2 H. Sastri's suggestion is better than Vogel's दोस-सद[।*]पितमार०.

3 The "noble eight-fold path" consists of **सम्मा दिट्ठि** (right views), **सम्मा संकप्पो** (right resolution), **सम्मा वाचा** (right speech), **सम्मा कम्मन्तो** (right action), **सम्मा आजिवो** (right living), **सम्मा वायाम** (right exertion), **सम्मा सति** (right recollection), and **सम्मा समाधि** (right meditation). Daśabala is a name of Buddha derived from his knowledge of ten kinds. The story of Māra's defeat by Buddha is famous in Buddhist mythology. The inauguration of the Buddhist doctrine is technically known to the Buddhists as Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law.

4 **विरपुरिसदतस** seems to have been omitted owing to inadvertence.

[भ*][दं]त-[रा]जाचरोयानं[1] **कस्मीर-गंधार-चीन-चिलात-तोसलि-अवरंत-वंग-वनवासी-[यवन] [दमिल]-[प]ल्लूर-तंबपंणिदीप**-पसदकानं थेरियनं **तंबपं-णकानं** सुपरिगहे

2 **सिरिपवते विजयपुरोय** पुव-दिसा-भागे विहारे **चुल-धंमगिरीयं** चेतिय-घरं सपट-संथरं स-चेतीयं सव-नियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय बोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो बुधि[']नकस पितुनो च से **गोवगाम**-वथवस रेवत-गहपतिस मातुय च स बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस करुंबुधिनस हघंनस भगिनीय च रेवतिंनिकाय भातु-पुतानं च महाचंदमुख-चुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च महामूल-चुलमूलानं अपनो च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानिकि[नाय] मातुलक.....[2]कोठ[ा]-कारिकस भदस बोधिसंमस चंदस बोधिक[स] महामातुकाय भदि[ला]य बोधिय च अपनो [पितुनो] बुधि[वा]नियस मा[तुय].....

3 भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधंनिकाय मूलंनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय धूतुय वीरंनिकाय पुतानं नागंनस वीरंनस च सुंन्हानं च भदसिरि-मिसीनं [।*] एवमेव च **कुलह-विहारे** चेतियघरं **सीहळ**-विहारे बोधि-रुख-पासादो **महाधंमगिरीयं** ओवरको १ महावि(हा*)रे मंडव-खंभो[१?] **देवगिरियं** पधान-साला **पुवसेले** तळाक[']ं अळ[']दा-मडवो च **कंटकसोले** महाचेतियस पुव-दारे सेल-मंडवो **हिरुमुठुवे** ओवरका तिंणि ३ **पपिलायं** ओवरका सत ७ **पुफगिरीय**[']ं सेल-मंडवो **धं**[3].....विहारे सेल-मंडवो[१?] [।*] एतं च सवं उपरि-वंणि[तं*] .....[सा*]धुवगस अचत-हित-सुखाय थवितं सव[स] च लोकस [।*] इमं नवकंमं तिंहि नवक[']मिकेहि कारितं चंदमुख-थेरेन च

4 [4]धंमनंदि-थेरेन च नाग-थेरेन च [।*] सेल वडाकिस विधिकस कंमं ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते इक्ष्वाकुराज-प्रवरपिंशतप्रभव-वंश-संभवाय (=इक्ष्वाकुराज-वरस्य राजर्षिंशतजनयितरि वंशे जाताय) देव-मनुष्य-सर्वसत्त्व-हित-सुख-मार्ग-देशिकाय

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1 For **भदंत** see *supra*, p. 80 n. 1. It is also suggested that the word is derived from the benediction **भद्रं ते**.

2 The reading seems to be **मातुलकनां** (or, ०कनं च) **अंक-कोठाकरिकस**.

3 Some ten *aksharas* are lost after **धं**.

4 The line begins from below **इमं** of l. 3.

(=०निर्देशकाय) जित-काम-क्रोध-भय-हर्ष-तर्ष(= तृष्णा)-मोह-दोषाय (=०अज्ञानघृणाय) दर्पित-मार-बल-दर्प-मान-प्रशमनकराय दशबल-महाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्गधर्मचक्र-प्रवर्त्तकाय चक्र-लक्षण-सुकुमार-सुजात(= सुगठित)-चरणाय तरुण-दिवसकर-प्रभाय शारदशशि-सौम्यदर्शनाय सर्वलोक-चित्त-महिताय (= ०पूजिताय) बुद्धाय। राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य [वीरपुरुष-दत्तस्य] संवत्सरः चतुर्दशः १४ हेमन्तपक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः त्रयोदशः १३ (=माघशुक्ल-पक्षस्य त्रयोदशदिवसे)। तत्रभवतोनां राजाचार्य्याणां काश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-किरात-तोसल्यपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-दमिल-पलूर-ताम्रपर्णीद्वीप-प्रसादकानां[1] (= परिव्रजनेन धर्म-प्रचारेण च तोषकाणां) स्थविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां (=सिंहलकीयानां) सुपरिग्रहे (= पोषणाय ; यद्वा, ग्रहणाय) श्रीपर्वते विजयपूर्य्याः[2] पूर्वदिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्ट-संस्तरं सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं (=सर्वावश्यकद्रव्यसंयुक्तं) कारितम् उपासिकया बोधश्रिया—आत्मनः, भ्रातुः बुद्धेः, पितुः च अस्याः गोपग्राम-वास्तव्यस्य रैवत-गृहपतेः, मातुः च अस्याः बुद्धायाः, भ्रातॄणां च अस्याः चन्द्रमुखस्य कडम्बुद्धेः सङ्घस्य, भगिन्याः च रेवत्याः, भ्रातुष्पुत्रयोः च महाचन्द्रमुख-क्षुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः, भागिनेययोः च महामूल-क्षुद्रमूलयोः, आत्मनः च आर्य्यकस्य (=पितामहस्य) मूलवाणीकस्य, आर्य्यिकायाः (=पितामह्याः) बुद्धवाणीकायाः, मातुलकानां... कोष्ठागारिकस्य भद्रस्य, बोधिशर्मणः, चन्द्रस्य, बोधिकस्य [च], महामातृकायाः (=मातामह्याः) भद्रिलायाः;—बोध्या च [कारितम्]—आत्मनः, पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य मातुः...भ्रातुः मूलस्य, भगिनीनां बुद्धायाः मूलायाः नागबोधेः च, दुहितुः वीरायाः, पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च, स्नुषयोः च भद्रश्री-मित्र्योः [एतेषां सर्वेषां कल्याणाय]। [3]एवम् एव च [कारितं] कुलह-विहारे (=कुलहक-वंशीयैः स्थापिते विहारे) चैत्य-गृहं, सिंहल-विहारे (=सिंहलीय-भिक्षूणां वासाय निर्मिते विहारे) बोधिवृक्ष-प्रासादः, महाधर्मगिरौ अपवरकः (=गुहागृहं) १, महाविहारे मण्डप-स्तम्भः १, देवगिरौ प्रधानशाला, पूर्व्वशैले तडागम् आलिन्द-मण्डपः च, कण्टक-शैले (यद्वा ; ०शैले) महाचैत्यस्य

1 Kāśmīra to the north of the Panjāb; Gandhāra=Rawalpiṇḍi and Peshāwar Districts of the Panjāb; Kirāta in the Himalayas, possibly Tibet; China in China beyond Kirāta. Tosali=Dhauli in Puri Dist. Aparānta=North Konkan. Vaṅga=parts of Central, Eastern and Southern Bengal. Vanavāsi=Banavasi in North Kanara Dist. Damila=Tamil country. Yavana=Greek colony of North West or South India or Southern Anam. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 28-32.

2 Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was possibly the capital of the Ikshvākus. Śrīparvata was the name of the Nallamalur range. The old name is represented by mod. Śrīśaila which is only a point in the range. Cf. Mahendragiri (=Eastern Ghāṭs) and Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam and Tinnevelly Dists.

पूर्वद्वारे शैल-मण्डपः, हिरुमुस्तूपे (?) अपवरकाः त्रयः ३, पपिलायाम् अपवरकाः सप्त ७, पुष्पगिरौ शैलमण्डपः, ध.....विहारे शैलमण्डपः १—एतत् च सर्व्वम् उपरिवर्णितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय]। इदं नवकर्म (=निर्माण-वर्द्धन-संस्कारादि-कर्म) त्रिभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितं—चन्द्रमुख-स्थविरेण च धर्म-नन्दिस्थविरेण च नाग-स्थविरेण च। शैलवर्द्धकेः (=शिला-तक्षणः) विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

No. 102—Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal year 18.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 21

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिधम्। नमो भगवतो बुधस[।*] चेतिय-घर[2] महारजस विरूपखपति-**महासेन**-परिगहितस **अगिहोत**[ा]**गिठोम-वाजपेयासमेध**-याजिस अनेक-हिरन-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हलसतस(हस*)-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासेठिपुतस इखाकुलस[3] सिरि-**चातमूलस** सहोदार भगिनि महातलवरस वासेठिपुतस पुगियान खंदसिरिस भरिय महातलवरि खंदसागरंनग-म[ा]ता चातिसिरि अपनो जामतुकस रञो मठरिपुतस **इखकुनं** सिरि-**विरपुरिसदतस** अयु-वधनिके वेजयिके

2 अपनो च उभय-[लोक] हित-सुख-[निवाणथनाय]...[संम-संबुधस] [धा]तुपरिगहितस महाचेतिय-पादमूले[4] पवजितानं **नाना-देश**-समनागतानं[5] सव-साधूनं महा-

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

2 Vogel prefers a fullstop here. I am inclined to suggest ०घरे.

3 Read **इखाकुस** which is the reading of the other records.

4 हा is written under the line.

5 Cf. Kura Inscription of Toramāna and *supra*, No. 101, l. 1. Records at Sāñchi and Barhut show that pious people from all parts of the country visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage and offered pillars, etc., with a view to acquire merit.

भिखु-स[ं]घस अप[नो] [च] [उ]भय-कुलस अतिछित[म]नागत-वटमानके निकपनिके (तिकपतिके ?) च परिनामेतुनं **अपरमहाविनसेलियानं** परिगहे सव-नियुत चातुसल-परिगहितं सेल-मंटव पतिठ[ा]पित [।*] रंनो सिरि-**वीरपुरिसदतस संवछरं अठार सं १०(+*)८** हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं पंचमं ५ [।*] सवसतानं हित [ा]य सुखाय होतु ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय । चैत्यगृहे—महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य (=०अनुगृहीतस्य) अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः[1] सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी, महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पुकीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः भार्य्या महातलवरो स्कन्दसागर-माता शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातृकस्य[2] राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्द्धनिकं वैजयिकम् (=आयुर्वृद्धये विजयाय च) आत्मनः च उभयलोकहितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय (=०निर्वाणलाभार्थं)···सम्यक्-सम्बुद्धस्य धातुपरिगृहीतस्य (=लब्धनिर्वाणस्य) महाचैत्यपादमूले प्रव्रजितानां नानादेश-समन्वागतानां सर्वसाधूनां महाभिक्षुसङ्घस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य (=मातापितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा, पतिपितृकुलस्य) अत्यर्च्छितम् (=अतीतं कालम्) अनागतवर्त्तमानकं (=भावि-वर्त्तमानकालं) त्रिकल्पान्तिकं (=त्रिकल्पपर्यन्तं) च परिणमय्य (=उद्दिश्य) अपर-महावन-शैलीयानां [आचार्याणां] परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय ; यद्वा, पोषणाय) सर्वनियुक्तं (=सर्व्वावश्यकवस्तुसनाथं) चतुःशालपरिगृहीतं (=चतुःशालावेष्टितं) शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती*] । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरः अष्टादशः सं १८ हेमन्तपक्षः षष्ठः ६, दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (=माघ-शुक्लपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय [च] भवतु इति ॥

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1 For हल, see *supra*, p. 201, n. 4.

2 Note that *supra*, No. 100 refers to the lady simply as the king's paternal aunt. Here is another reference to cross-cousin marriage.

No. 103—Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II—Regnal year 2.

NĀGĀRJUNĪKONDA, Guṇṭūr Dist., Madras Pres.

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the end of the 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् [॥*] नमो भगवतो **बुद्धस** [॥*] महाराजस
2 विरूपक्खपत्ति-**महासेन**-परिगहितस **अगिहोतागिठोमवाजपे**-
3 **यसमेध**-याजिस अनेक-हिरंणकोटि-गोसतसहस-हलसतसह-
4 [स-पदायि*]स सवथेषु अ-पतिहत-संकप्पस वासिठी-पुत्तस **इक्खा[कुनं*]**
5 सिरि-**चंतमूलस** सुन्हाय महारजस[2] मा[ठ]रीपुत्तस सिरि-**वीरपुरि**-
6 **सदत्तस** भय्याय महादेवीय [भट्टिदेवाय] देयधंम इमं सव-जात-नियुतो
7 विहारो अचरियानं **बहुसुतियानं** पतिट्ठपितो [॥*] रञो वासिठी-पुत्तस **इक्ख[ा]कून**
8 सिरि-**एहुवुल-चंतमूलस**[2] **संवछरं चितियं** गिम्ह-पक्खं छठं ६ दिवसं दसमं १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय ॥ महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटी-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य स्नुषायाः महाराजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्य्यायाः महादेव्याः भर्तृदेवायाः देयधर्मः (=धर्मार्थं दानम्) अयं सर्वजातनियुक्तः (=सर्वावश्यक-द्रव्यसनाथः) विहारः आचार्य्येभ्यः बहुश्रुतिकेभ्यः (=तेषां बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां व्यवहाराय) प्रतिष्ठापितः । राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः द्वितीयः ग्रीष्मपक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः दशमः १० (=ज्यैष्ठशुक्लपक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Ayaka pillar Ins. G 2. This is the only record (but cf. नत्तिय, No. 104, l. 8). of the Ikshvākus in which conjuncts are employed as in the case with the Mayidavolu grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman, *infra*. Ehuvula Śāntamūla therefore appears to have ruled about the time of Śivaskandavarman's father.

2 In his own records Vīrapurushadatta calls himself *rājā*.

No. 104—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II—Regnal year 11

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.* XX, p. 24

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the end of the 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो **समा-सं-**

2 **बुधस** [।*] महाराजस वासेठिपुतस

3 **इखाकुनं** सिरि-**एहुवल-चा**[त*]**मूलस**[2] **सव** १०(+*)१

4 [गि प[3] ?] १ दिव ७ [।*] महाराजस **अगिहातागधेम-वाजवेज**[4]-

5 **असमध**-यायिस[5] [अनेक]-हिरण्कोटि-गोसतसहस-

6 हलसतसहस-पद[ायि]स सवथेसु अपतिहत-

7 सं कपस वासेठिपुतस **इखाकुन** सिरि-**चतमुल**[स*]

8 नत्तिय महाराजस माठरिपुतस सिरि-**विरपुरिस**-

9 **दतस** धूतुय महाराजस वासेठिपुतस इखाकुनं

10 सिरि-**एहुवल-चतमुल**[स] भगिनिय **वानवासक**[6]-महाराज-

11 महादेविय कोद[ब]लिसिरिय इमं खनियं विहारो च

12 अचरियानं **महि**[सा]**सकनं** सुपरिगहे चातुदिस

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Detached Pillar inscription H.

2 In another record the name appears to be एहुवुळ-चा[*]तमूल. Cf. the name हिगुणवुळ-देवन of a Darsi ins. of the 7th century (*An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

3 Not noticed by Vogel. गि seems to be clear.

4 Read ०होतागिठोम-वाजपेय.

5 Read ०मेध-याजिस. Usually Śāntamūla I is called *mahārāja* and his son *rājā*. But here all the kings are styled *mahārāja*.

6 Better read वनवासक. Here is possibly a reference to the Chuṭu kings

13 संघं उदिसाय सव-सतानं हित-सुखथं ठापितं [।*] अचरिये-

14 ना महा-धंमकथिकन धंम[घो]स-थेरेन अनुथितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्म-पक्षः प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७ (= चैत्रकृष्णपक्षस्य सप्तमदिवसे) महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य नप्त्रया, महाराजस्य माठरीपुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहित्रा, महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वनवासक-महाराज-महादेव्या (= °महिष्या) कोदबलिश्रिया इयं खनिका (=गुहा) विहारः च आचार्याणां महीशासकानां (= बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) सुपरिग्रहे (=ग्रहणाय ; यद्वा, पोषणाय) चातुर्दिशं सङ्घम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं स्थापितौ । आचार्येण महा-धर्मकथकेन (= धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्याता) धर्मघोष-स्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ (=निर्वाहितौ) इति ॥

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTION OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

No. 105—Āṇḍiyā-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (=Tishya Abhaya)

RITEGAL Hill-range, 25 miles south-east of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Don Martino de Zilva WICKREMASINGE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 144

Language : Prakrit influenced by the local language

Script : Brāhmī of the second-first century B. C.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 देवनपिय-महरक[3]-**गमिणि-तिसह** पुत[स*] देवनपिय-**तिस-अ[वय]**ह लेने अगत-अनगत-च[तु-दि]दश[4]-शगश[5] [दि*][ने] [॥*]

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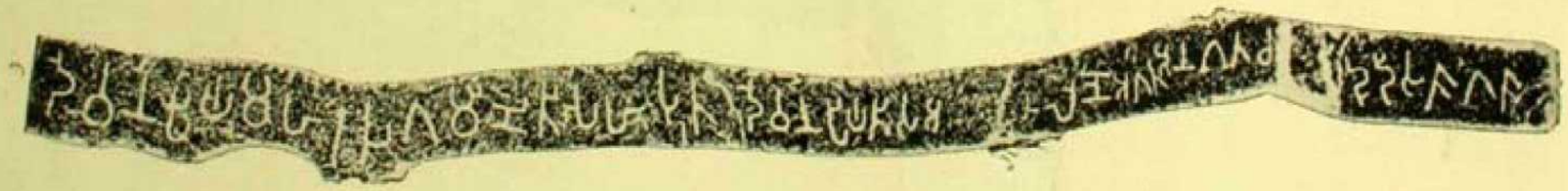
1 Gamini Tissa has been identified by Wickremasinghe with Saddha-Tissa [Abhaya] who reigned at A'pura in c. 77-59 B.C. and his son Tissa Abaya with Lajji-Tissa or Lämäṇi-Tissa who ruled in c. 59-49 B.C.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Zel.*, I. and a photo print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

3 Read °रज. The use of the word महाराज is interesting. In India, the Indo-Greek king Eukratides (*circa* 175-155 B.C.) is the earliest ruler who has been called महरज (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 12) on his coins. The title possibly indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the northwestern part of India, because royal titles like महाराज, राजातिराज, महाराजाधिराज etc. were popularised by foreigners who settled in that region.

4 Read दिस. The photo-print reads चदु-दिस. The *aksharas* in brackets cannot be read in the print.

5 Read सगस.



Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

Aṇḍiyā-Kanda Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 105 .

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

Duwé Gala Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 106).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्र[स्य] देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभयस्य लयनम् आगता-नागत-चातुर्दिश-संघाय (= °सर्वदेशीयाय भिक्षुसङ्घाय) दत्तम् ॥

No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7

DUWE GALA Cave, Ceylon.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, III, p. 104, Plate XX

Language : Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script : Brāhmī (to be read from right to left)[1] of about the 1st century B. C.

TEXT[2]

1 णाले शतमिदिग शतदव [=वदतश गदिमित्रश लेणां][3]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भवतः (=तत्रभवतः) गतिमित्रस्य लयनम् (=गुहा) ॥

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1 This peculiar characteristic of the record which appears to belong to about the first century B. C. suggests that either the Brāhmī script was introduced in Ceylon before Aśoka (c. 273-32 B. C.) who writes it from left to right or less probably that it was influenced by an earlier script of the south. Excepting some portions of the barbarously engraved Yerragudi MRE, Aśoka's Brāhmī records are not to be read from right to left. The present epigraph possibly proves that, like Kharoshṭhī, Brāhmī too was originally written from right to left. This fact again connects the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-historic writing of the Indus Valley from which it was undoubtedly derived. द has a much developed form; but other letters have not. Development of Brāhmī characters outside India was not uniform with their development in this country.

2 From a photo-print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

3 There is the figure probably of a ship engraved at the right side of the inscription.

B—CENTRAL ASIA

Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese Turkestān[1]

Language: Prakrit[2] influenced by local languages.

Script: Kharoshṭhī[3] of the 3rd-4th century A.D.

No. I (=BRS No. 14)

Double-wedge Tablet

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1 These records were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestān in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niya River in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. They are described and the circumstances of their discovery are recorded respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, *Serindia*, 1921, and *Innermost Asia*, 1928. The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, part I, 1920, part II, 1927. Part III (1929) of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and P. S. Noble. Their number has been given here in brakets. The results of the researches of T. Burrow have been published in his *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (Cambridge, 1937) and *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (London, 1940). Most of these records are written with ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets; but some are on other materials such as leather. Many documents, a good many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in other languages and scripts, sometimes entire libraries have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of different countries of the world, especially Russia, Germany and Japan.

2 It may be a veriety of what is called the Paiśāchī Prakrit by grammarians. A few records are in Sanskrit and in verse (e.g., BRS Nos. 511, 523). Kharoshṭhī has been made to suit the requirements of Sanskrit.

3 The late date of the records is also responsible for many peculiarities of the script. Interesting is the *visarga* indicated by two dots placed above the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Signs for *e* and length indicate *ai*. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling the subscript *r* (here marked by

TEXT[1]

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

[2]चोभवो-**भिमय** षोठंग[3]-**ल्यिपेस्** च ददवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet.

1 **महनुअव महरय** लिहति चोभवो-**भिमय**-षोठंग-**ल्यिपेय**-

2 स् च मत देति [।*]स् च अहोनो इश षमेक बिञवे्ति यथ एष खोतंनमि दुतियाय गद [।*] **चल्मदनदे**

3 वलग् दितंति याव **सचंमि** गद [।*] **सचदे** वलग् दितंति

Covering-Tablet: Reverse

1 याव **निनंमि** गद [।*] **निनदे** याव **खोतंनमि चड़ोददे**[4] वलग् ददवो होअति [याव] [खो]तं.....[5]

2 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत एशति प्रठ यहि पुविक **निनदे खोतंनंमि** वलग् स् परिक्ेय

3 तेन विधनेन स् ध अयोगे्न ददवो[।*] यथ धर्मेन निथि कर्तवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Reverse

षमेकस् [॥*]

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a dot below the letter); cf. र्, ज्, ड्, व्, etc. The editors of the records have also noticed modified क्त (=क्त ?), ग (=ग्र), ग् (=ग्र्), च (=श्च), म (=र्म), ष (=ष्ण) स (=स्न), ह (=ह्न) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified क (=ख् ?) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like फ् (=ह्व), ठ् (=ट्ठ ?) etc. may be conjuncts. The modified प (subscript) is either य् or व्. *Hasanta* ब्, त् or द् is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign put below the preceding letter. There are also some peculiarities in the numerals.

1 From the transcript of *Khar. Ins.*, I. See Lüders, *Act. Or.*, XVII p. 36.

2 *Cojhbo* is a title of the chief local official. It is possibly of Iranian origin; cf. Av. *cazdahvant*. It is also found in the Maralbashi records as *cazba*.

3 *Shoṭhaṃga* (tax-collector ?) is also an official title; possibly the same as *soshṭānkāṁ* of the Tokhari records. च is superfluous.

4 *Coḍoda* is the ruined establishment on the Niya river. It was the name of the headquarters of Niya. It has been indentified with the chief city of the territory called Ching-chüeh by the Chinese.

5 About 19 letters are lost.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोभ्बोभिमय(= भिमयाख्यः चोभ्बो इति मुख्यकर्मचारिविशेषः)-पोठंग-ल्यिपेयाभ्यां (=पोठंगाख्यमुख्यकर्मचारी ल्यिपेय-नामा)च[द्वाभ्यां] दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोभ्बोभिमय-पोठंगल्यिपेयाभ्यां च मन्त्रं ददाति ।—तत् (=यत्) च—"अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] पमेकः (=पमेकाख्य-जनः) विज्ञापयति—यथा एषः (=सः)खोतम्ने (=खोतन्नाख्ये देशे ; Khotan) दौत्याय गतः । चल्मदानतः (=चल्मदानाख्य-स्थानात् ; Charchan) पालकं (=अश्वयायिनं रक्षिणं) ददाति यावत् साचं (=साचनामकं स्थानम्; Endere?) गतः । साचतः पालकं ददाति यावत् निनं (=निनाख्यं स्थानं ; Niya) गतः । निनतः यावत् खोतम्नं [गमनाय], चडोदतः(= चडोदाख्यात् स्थानात्) पालकः दातव्यः भवति यावत् खोतम्नं गतः···। यदा एष कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्राङ्कित-कीलाकारकाष्ठखण्डलिखितादेशः) अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्ठं(=अविलम्बेन) यथापौर्विकं (=यथापूर्वं निर्दिष्टम्) निनतः खोतम्ने (=यावत् खोतम्नं) पालकस्य परिक्रेयं (=वर्तनं) तेन विधानेन (=यथाविधानं) सार्द्धम् आयोगेन (=वृद्धया ; यद्वा पारितोषिकेन) दातव्यं—यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः (=परिक्रेयायोगयोः अवधारणं) कर्तव्यः" । पमेकस्य (=पमेक-सम्बन्धीया कील-मुद्रा) ॥

No. 2 (=BRS No. 45)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT[1]

Covering-Tablet[2]: Obverse

चोभ्बो-**यितक-तोंग**[2]**-बुक्तोस्** च ददवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Obverse

1 **महनुअव महरय** लिहति चोभ्बो-**यितक**-तोंग-**बुक्तोस्** च मत्र देति [।*]

2 स् च अहोनो इश वसु-**ल्यिपेय** विंवे,ति यथ एदस् दक्षि चिमिकए धितु रुतयस् उनिति गिटए इश रय-द्वरंमि

3 कुठ-क्खिरस् तिर्ष अश्प व्योछिंनिदग् [।*] एद प्रचे द्विति लिति वर किल-मुद्र गछति[।*] यव अजक दिवस् निश्चे न करितु [।*]

4 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत्र एशति प्रठ अत्र समुह अनद प्रोछिदवो यथ रयद्वरंमि

1 From the transcript in *Khar. Ins., I.*

2 *Tonga* may have been a transport-official. Burrow suggests a military rank, 'captain.'

Cover-Tablet: Reverse

1 व्योछिंनिदग, सियति तेन विधनेन अत्र विभशितव्य [।*] यति अंञ विवद किंचि
सियति अत्र यथ-धर्मेन निश्चे कर्त्तवो [।*] अत्र न परिबु-
2 जिशतु हस्तगद रय-द्वरंमि विस,जिदेवो [।*] इशेमि समुह निश्चे भविष्यति [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Reverse

वसु-लिय्पे रुत्रयेन स,ध [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोभ्रवोयितक-तोंगवुक्कोभ्यां च दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोभ्रवोयितक-तोंगवुक्कोभ्यां मन्त्रं ददाति [च] । तत् (=यत्) च—"अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वसु-लियपेयः विज्ञापयति यथा—एतस्य (= लियपेयस्य) दास्याः चिमिकायाः दुहिता रुत्रयस्य उन्नीतिः (=पालनं=पालनार्थं गृहीता कन्या) गृहीतिका [सती] अस्मिन् राज-द्वारे कृष्ट-क्षीराय (=मातृस्तन्य-धारशोधनाय) +तिर्ष अश्वः व्यवच्छिन्नकः (=निर्द्धारितः) ।[1] एतत्-प्रत्यये (= एतद्विषये) द्वितीयं तृतीयं वारं कीलमुद्रा (= लेखः) गच्छति ; यावत् अद्यतनं दिवसम् [त्वया] निश्चयः न कृतः । यदा एतत्-कीलमुद्रा अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्टम् अत्र (=तत्र) सम्मुखं [यथा तथा युवाभ्याम् उभयपक्षः] आज्ञप्तं (=राजाज्ञा) प्रष्टव्यः ; यथा राजद्वारे व्यवच्छिन्नकः स्यात् तेन विधानेन अत्र (=तत्र) विभाषितव्यं (=वक्तव्यं [त्वया]) । यदि अन्यः विवादः कश्चित् स्यात् अत्र (=तत्र) यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः कर्त्तव्यः । [यदि कः अपि] अत्र (=तत्र) न परिबोधिष्यते (=मीमांसां प्रमाणयति), हस्तगतं [कार्यं] राजद्वारे विसर्ज्जयितव्यं (=प्रेरयितव्यम्)। अस्मिन् [स्थाने] सम्मुखः (=साक्षाद्-भावेन) निश्चयः भविष्यति" ॥ वसु-लियपेयः रुत्रयेण सार्द्धम्[2] ॥

No. 3 (=BRS No. 152)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT[3]

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

प्रियदर्शनस् देव-मंनुश-संपुजितस् प्रियव्रतु षोटंघ-लिय्पेयस् वियलिदवो [॥*]

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1 A payment (here, a horse) was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child as a return for having nourished the child in its infancy. तिर्ष=three ?

2 I.e., Vasu-Ly'ipey *versus* Rutraya.

3 From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

Under-Tablet : Obverse

1 प्रियदर्श्यनस् देव-मंनुश-संपुजितस् प्रियभ्रतु **पोठंघ-ल्यिपेयस्**

2 **चोभ्वो-नस्तिंत** नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगियो प्रेषेति वहु अप्रमेय[।*] एवं

3 च स् च अदेहि गदेमि तहि प्रस्देन अरागेमि [।*] [को]लियंमि श्वसु...न[1] ... इदनि...[।*]

4 अहुनो अत्त रयक उटियन विस्जिदेमि [।*] तत्त ले-वर्षग् उट १ [।*] एष भूय रज्यमि

5 अभ्रतु ओढ़िदवो [।*]किलमुंत्त अत्त ह...[2]**सग्मोयस्** वंति [।*] एद किलमुंत्त वज़िति पु

6 नु **सग्मोयस्** ददवो धरंनए अवश[।*] एदे **किल्मेचिये** सर्वभव्ेन भेनिग् सि-

7 यंति [।*] प्रथदे एत लेख अत्त प्रहिदेमि [*।] प्रहुड़ अर्थय न तिमिदवो [।*] अवि एदस् **सुमतस्**

Covering-Tablet : Reverse

1 एष[3] उटियन पिचविदेमि[।*]इतु उवु.तय अचोविन **अचोयदे** तुर निखलिदवो[।*]अवि

2 श्रंमंन **धर्मप्रिय** नम सलुवअए गोठंमि वुच्यति [।*]यहि एष सुमत अत्त एश्यति

3 तपदय एद श्रंमन सुमतस् हस्तंमि अनविदवो पिचवंनए [।*]एष श्रंमंन भरि-मष्ठि-

4 गेय नि **मोक्षेयस्**[4] दभ्र असि [।*] महि वंति पद विक्रित सर्व निश्चेय किड़म [।*] षए श्रमंन

5 अहुनो दहि होतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

प्रियदर्शनस्य देवमनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रियभ्रातुः पोठंग-ल्यिपेयस्य [समीपे] विजालयितव्या (=निर्ग्रन्थीकर्तव्या [एषा कीलमुद्रा]) ॥

प्रियदर्शनाय देवमनुष्यसम्पूजिताय प्रियभ्रात्रे पोठंग-ल्यिपेयाय चोभ्वो-नस्तिन्तः (=चोभ्वो-पदाधिष्ठित-नस्तिन्ताख्यः जनः) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं [च] (=तद्विषयकं आशीर्वचनं) प्रेषयति वहु अप्रमेयम् [च]। एवं च तत (=यत) च—"अतः (=ततः) [आ]गतोऽस्मि, तव प्रसादेन अरोगोऽस्मि। कोलिये (=कालियाख्ये स्थाने) .....इदानीं.....। अधुना अत्त (=तत्त) [यं] राजकं (=राजकीयं) उष्ट्री-गणं

1 According to Rapson's suggestion, the two *aksharas* preceding न may be क्लिमे. 2 Read हेतु.

3 ए was originally omited and subsequently added above ष. 4 Or, मोत्गेयस.

विसर्जितवानस्मि, तत्र (=तन्मध्ये) त्रि-वर्षकः (=त्रिवर्ष-वयस्कः) उष्ट्रः १। एषः भूयः राज्याय (=राष्ट्राय) अध्यातं (=निर्विचारं) उद्दातव्यः (=प्रतिदातव्यः)। कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्राङ्कित-कीलकाकार-काष्ठखण्डस्थः लेखः) अत्र हेतौ सगमोयस्य उपान्ते (=सगमोयं प्रति)। एतत्-कीलमुद्रा वाचयित्वा पुनः सगमोयाय दातव्या धारणाय (=रक्षणार्थं) अवश्यम्॥ एते किल्मेकीयाः (=किल्मे-सम्बन्धिनः जनाः; यद्वा किल्मे-वासिनः) सर्वभावेन [तव] ध्यानिकाः (=ध्यानविषयाः; परिचरणार्हाः) स्युः[1]। प्रथतः (=प्रथनामक स्थानतः; यद्वा, पथितः) एतं लेखं अत्र (=तत्र) प्रहितवान् अस्मि; [अतः] प्राभृतार्थाय (=पुरस्कारार्थाय) न स्तिमितव्यं [इति विचिन्त्य]॥ अपि [च]—एतस्य सुमतस्य (=सुमताह्वयस्य जनस्य [हस्तेन]) एतम् उष्ट्रीगणं प्रत्यर्पितवानस्मि। इतः उपादाय (=वर्तमानात् प्रभृति) +अचोविनाः (=लेखहारक-विशेषाः?) +अचोयतः (=गुल्मात्?) त्वरया निश्चालयितव्याः[2] (=प्रेषयितव्याः)॥ अपि [च]—श्रमणः धर्मप्रियः नाम सलुवयायाः (=सलुवयानाम्न्याः नार्याः) गोष्ठे [अस्ति इति] उच्यते। यदा एषः सुमतः अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति तत् उपादाय (=ततः प्रभृति=तदा) एतस्य श्रमणस्य सुमतस्य हस्ते आज्ञापयितव्यं प्रत्यर्पणाय[3]। एषः श्रमणः भरि-मष्टिगेय-नि (=०मष्टिगेयापरनामा)-मोज्ञेयस्य दासः आसीत्[4]। मां प्रति पादः (+तस्य भृत्यस्य [=भृत्यसम्बन्धिनः श्रमस्य] चतुर्थः भागः) विक्रीतः; सर्वं (=क्रय-विषयकं) निश्चयं कृतवन्तःस्म। एषः श्रमणः अधुना तव भवतु [पादेन?]॥

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1 Were the Kilmeciyas bearing the letter? Kilme=district, according to Burrow. Kilme=estate; Kilmemci=tenant, according to Thomas (*Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 63).

2 The Achovinas were possibly a kind of special messengers to report among other things impending attacks from enemies. Acho may be a kind of frontier outpost. Thomas connects them with *ājava* or *ājuh*. The writer possibly wanted to have informations regarding any attempt to steal the camels on the way.

3 Burrow: "orders must be given for handing over this Śramaṇa into the hands of Sumata".

4 It is interesting to note the degraded condition of the Buddhist monks in this period. नि=*alias*? Burrow makes नि = निज and suggests that often a word like *putra* or *dāsa* is omitted after नि. This interpretation seems to suit some of the cases.

No. 4 (=BRS No. 165)

Rectangular Under-Tablet

TEXT[1]

Under-Tablet: Obverse.

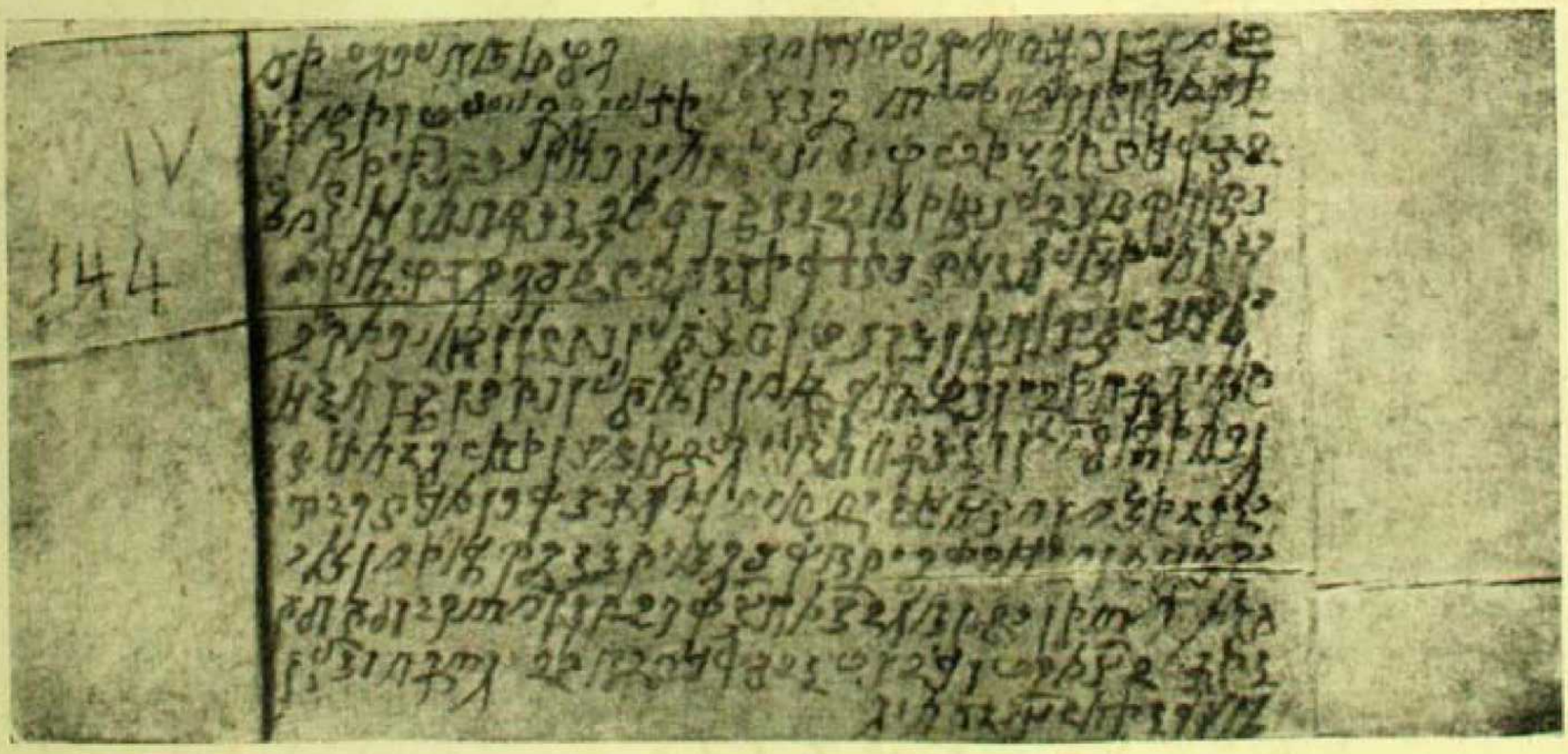
1 प्रियदर्शन **चोम्बो-क्रनय-पोठंघ-ल्यि़पेयस़** च **ओगु-किर्तिशर्म** अरोग्य परि-
2 प्रोछ्रति पुनपुनो बहो अप्रमेयो [।*]एवं च स़ च प्रथमदरो इमदे मगे़न-पग़ोस़ च
3 हस्तंमि लेख प्रहुड़ प्रहिदेमि [।*]तदे अदर्थ भविदवो[।*] अवि-पेत-अव़नंमि पल्यि़ परु-
4 वर्षि शेष यं च इम-वर्षि पल्यि़ तह स़र्व स्व़ोर तोंमिहि[2] स़ध इश विस़जिदवो[।*] यति
5 तदे पुरिम पश्चिम विस़जिष्यतु पंथंमि परस़ भविष्यति तुओ पोठंग ल्यि़पेय
6 तनु गोठदे व्योपिशसि़ नधन भग़ेन [।*] यं च भुम-नवक-अ़ंनेन घ्रिद अतिबहो
7 किनिदवो इश प्रहदवो [।*] वेग़-किलिम-स्रियन पल्यि़ भुम-नवक-अ़ंन स्व़ोर विस़जित-
8 वो[।*] अवि पल्यि़ उट तेनेव स़ध इश विस़जितवो [।*] म इ़ंचि तोंगन परिदे उट
विधिष्यतु [*]
9 तस़ उट-प्रचेय रय-सक्चि लिहिदग़ क्रिदग़ [।*] लिविस्तरंमि अनति-लेख
अल गद [।*]
10 तहि चोम्बो-**क्रनयस़** लिहमि एद कर्यमि तुओ चित कर्तव्य [।*]एष ल्यि़पेय न चित
11 करेति[।*] यो पुन तहि कर्यनि हक्चंति शक्चयमि अहो करंनय[।*] यो अल शुभाशुभ-
12 स़ प्रवृति हक्चति एमेव लेहरग़स हस्तंमि लेख इश प्रहतवो [।*] यो इश वर्तमान
13 ल्यि़म्सुअस़ परिदे अदर्थ भविदवो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शन-चोम्बोक्रणय-पोठंघल्यिपेयौ (=०चोम्बोपदाधिष्ठितक्रणयनामानं पोठंघ-पदाधिष्ठित-ल्यिपेयनामानं च) ओगु-कीर्तिशर्मा (=ओगूपाधिक०) आरोग्यं परिपृच्छति पुनःपुनः बहु अप्रमेयम्। एवं च तत् (=यत्)च—प्रथमतरम् (=प्रथमतः) इतः मगेन-पग्वोः च (=मगे-नाख्यस्य पगुनाम्नः च पुरुषयोः) हस्तेन लेखं प्राभृतं(=उपहारं[च]) प्रहित[वान्]अस्मि[अहम्]। ततः ज्ञातार्थाभ्यां [युवाभ्यां] भवितव्यम्। अविपेत्वापणे (=नानाजातीयमेष-विक्रय-स्थाने; यद्वा, अपि [च]०) [लभ्यः] बलिः (=करः) पूर्ववर्षीय-शेषः (=पूर्ववर्षीयकरस्य अवशिष्टांशः) यः च (=एवं च) एतद्वर्षीयः बलिः तथा सर्वं स्फुरं (=स्फूर्तियुक्तं=त्वरया) तोम्निभिः (=तोम्नि-

1 From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭī Inscriptions*, I.

2 **तोम्मि** is equated by some with **तोमि** (=त्वया) of some records.



Courtesy : Cambridge University Press (*Khar. Ins.*, I).

Central Asian Document (Bk. II, No. 110).

संज्ञैः राजभृत्यैः ?) सार्द्धं अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्ज्जयितव्यम् । यदि ततः पूर्वपश्चिमं (=अग्रतः पश्चात् च=असकृत्) [बलिं] विसर्ज्जयिष्यथः, पथि परस्य (=दस्युतस्करादेः=दस्युतस्करादिहतः) भविष्यति [च], [ततः] त्वं पोठंघ-ल्यिपेयः तनु-गोष्ठतः (=आत्मनः०) व्यवशेत्तसि (=क्षतिपूरणं करिष्यसि) नद्धानां (=बद्धानां पशूनां, यद्वा, शस्यभाराणां) भागेन (=अंशानुसारेण) ॥ यत् च —भूमिनवकान्नेन (=भूमिजात-नवशस्येन) घृतम् अतिबहु (=बहुपरिमाणं) केतव्यम्, अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यं [च]। वेगकिल्विस्त्रीणां (=भारवाहि-घोटक-स्वामिनीनां ?)[1] बलिः भूमिनवकान्नं स्फुरं (=त्वरितं) विसर्ज्जयितव्यः । अपि [च] बलिः उष्ट्रः (=बलिस्वरूपः उष्ट्रः) तैः (=तोम्मिभिः) एव सार्द्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यः । न किञ्चित् [कालं] तोङ्गानां (=राजभृत्यविशेषान्) परितः (=सकाशे) उष्ट्रः वितिष्ठतु (=उष्ट्रः रक्षितव्यः)[2] । तस्य उष्ट्र-प्रत्यये (=उष्ट्रस्य विषये) राज-साक्षि[कं] लिखितकं (=लेखः) कृतकम् (=कृतः) ; लिपि-स्तरे (=लिपिविस्तारेण) आज्ञप्ति-लेखः अत्र (=तत्र) गतः [च] । त्वां चोभव-क्रणयं लिखामि— एतत्-कार्य्ये त्वया चित्तं (=मनोयोगः) कर्तव्यम् । एषः ल्यिपेयः न चित्तं करोति । यानि पुनः तव कार्याणि [अपराणि] सन्ति, शक्ष्यामि अहं करणाय [तेषाम्] । या अत्र शुभाशुभस्य प्रवृत्तिः (=वार्ता) अस्ति, एवम् एव लेखहारकस्य हस्ते[तद्विषयकः] लेखः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यः (=प्रेषयितव्यः) । यः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वर्तमानः-[व्यापारः], ल्यिम्सुयस्य (=ल्यिम्सुय-नामकस्य जनस्य) परितः (=सकाशात्) [तद्विषये] ज्ञातार्थेन भवितव्यम् [त्वया]" ।

No. 5 (=BRS No. 288)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT[3]

Covering-Tablet : Obverse

1 भटरग्.स् चोभवो-**सोंचकस्**

2 पदमुलंमि वियलिदवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet : Obverse

1 भटरग्.स् प्रिय-देव-मंनुशस् देव-मंनुश-संपुजितस् प्रचक्क-बोधिसत्वस् महचोभवो-**सोंचक-**

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1 Burrow explains the passage as widowed district-women. Thomas suggests 'women of the land irrigated by Vega.' Alternatively, भुमन वक अंन=corn paid as rent for the lands (Burrow)

2 Burrow : Do not keep back the camel from the Tongas.

3 From the facsimile in *Kh. Ins*, I.

2 स् पदमुलंमि **चोभ्वो-यिलि नमिल्गअए** स्च नमकेरो करेंति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगिय च

3 प्रेषेंति बहु अप्रमेग्रो[।*]एवं च विञति स्च बहु-चिर-कल हुद न शकिदम तेहि वंति लेख-

4 प्रहुड-प्रेषंनए [।*]तेन करंन सुठ संञवे्यम न इंचिय दिव्यञ अंञत हक्कति[।*][1]एप पमने-

5 र चक्र...[क][2] अल विस्जिद तेहि दिव्यशरिर-अरोगि-प्रेषनए[।*]यो से अल वेधन

Covering-Tablet : Reverse

1 किंचि करिशति अवश मंल श्रुनिदवो [।*] से श्रमंनेर तेहि **भ्रे**निग् स्यति [।*] म इंचि अवो-

2 मत किंचि करेंति[।*]प्रहुड्स् अर्थ येन न दिमिदवो लहुग् प्रहुड् प्रहित[।*]पञ्चदर **धर्मेप्रि-**

3 **यस्** हस्तंमि लेख-प्रहुड् प्रेपिशम यो तेहि पिचर स्यति[।*]यिलियस् परिदे रजु १ नमिल्ग्-

4 अए परिदे लस्तुग् १[।*]अपरिमित-गुनंस् मंन्म(नं?)-गतस् प्रियश्रतु **चोभ्वो-बुधरक्षियस्**

5 पदेभ्यं **धर्मप्रिय** अरोगि संप्रेषेयति बहु [॥*]

Under-Tablet.

समरेन [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भट्टारकस्य चोभ्वो-सोंचकस्य (=चोभ्वोपदाधिष्ठित-सोंचकाख्यस्य) पादमूले विजालयितव्यम् (=उन्नोचयितव्यं) [लिखितकाष्ठ-द्वय-बन्धनम्] ॥

भट्टारकस्य प्रिय-देवमनुष्यस्य देव-मनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रत्यक्ष बोधिसत्त्वस्य महाचोभ्वो-सोंचकस्य पादमूले चोभ्वो-यिलियः नमिल्गययया (=यिलियपत्न्या नमिल्गयाख्यया) +सचा (=सार्द्धं) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं च प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च विज्ञायते तत् (=यत्)च—बहुचिरकालः भूतः न शक्ताः स्मः तव उपान्ते (=सकाशे) लेखप्राभृत-प्रेषणाय । तेन कारणेन सुष्ठु संज्ञापयामः—न किञ्चित् (=न) दिव्याज्ञा (=भवतः आज्ञप्तानि) [अस्माभ्यां] अज्ञाता अस्ति । एषः श्रामणेरः चक्र*कः अल (=तल) विसर्जितः तव दिव्यशरीरा-

1 Burrow : "For that we earnestly beg your indulgence. Nothing should be unknown to your divine knowledge." हक्कति = हच्छति=अच्छइ=Bengali आछे.

2 The alternative suggested is : चक्रमेर. Burrow : चक्वल.

रोग्यप्रेषणाय (=स्वास्थ्यादिज्ञापनाय)। यत् सः अत्र (=तत्र) वैधानं (=विधान-समूहं=कर्मजातं) किंचित् करिष्यति, अवश्यं [तव] मन्त्रः [तेन] श्रोतव्यः। सः श्रामणेरः तव ध्यानिकः (=ध्यान-विषयः) स्यात्। मा किंचित् (=न) अभ्यवमतं (=अनभिप्रेतं त्वया ; यद्वा, अननुज्ञातं त्वया) किंचित् करोतु। प्राभृतस्य अर्थे येन (=यथा) न स्तिमितव्यम् (=विलम्बः न स्यात्), [तत्-कारणात् मया] लघुकं (=किंचिन्मात्रं) प्राभृतं प्रहितम्[1]। पश्चात्तरं (=पश्चात) धर्मप्रियस्य हस्ते लेखप्राभृतं प्रेषयिष्यामः यत् तव प्रत्यर्हं (यद्वा, प्रीत्यर्हं) स्यात्। यिलियस्य परितः (=सकाशात्) रज्जुः १, नमिल्गयायाः परितः लस्तुकः (=बन्धन-विशेषः[2] ; यद्वा, लस्तूकः=धनुर्मध्यम्) १॥" अपरिमितगुणस्य मनोगतस्य (=हृदये दत्त-स्थानस्य=प्रियस्य) प्रियभ्रातुः चोभ्बो-बुद्धरक्षितस्य पदाभ्यां धर्मप्रियः आरोग्यं संप्रेषयति बहु॥[3] श्रामणेरः [इति पत्रवाहकः]॥

No. 6 (=BRS No. 358)

Leather Document

TEXT[4]

Obverse

1 **महनुअव महरय** लिहति चोभ्बो-**सोंजकस्**[5] मंत्र देति[।*] एवं च जनंद भविदव्य यो लिहमि [।*] स्च यहि रज-किचस् कि-

2 देन अनदि दित तह रज-कर्यमि ओसुक अवजिदव्य [।*] अवि स्वस् जिविद-परिचगे न अनद रक्खिदव्य यहि खेम **खोतंनदे** वर्तमन सियति [।*] एम चेव महि महरयस् पदमुल्मि विन्नविदव्य[।*] यो च अदेहि लेहरग्-चडियस् ह-

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1 Burrow: "Whatever communication he makes to you there, by all means his words must be listened to. Let this *Srāmaṇera* be under your care. Let them do nothing in disregard of him. We have sent a small present, so that you need not worry about the present."

2 Cf. Hindi *latṭī* 'the string of a child's top; a cloth tied to the end of a pale to direct the flight of pegions; a fillet.'

3 This sentence appears to bear a message from Dharmapriya in a letter actually from Chojhbo-Yiliy and his wife Namilgyā to the Great Chojhbo Somchaka.

4 From the facsimile in *An. Khot.*, Pl. 93. The record has been translated by F. W. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII (1935), p. 64, and Burrow, *Translation*, p. 69f.

5 Evidently the same as Somchaka of the previous inscription.

3 स्तमि विंञति-लेख प्रहितेसि तह सर्व-अदथों स्मि [।*] अवि च विंञवे्तु कल-**पुर्णबलस्** उट २ न इश थियंति पलयंति [।*] एदे उट अल लंचग. परिपलितव्य [।*] पिवरए होतु शरतंमि [।*] न इंचि इश अनिदवो [।*]

4 आव विंञवे.सि यथ कल-**पुर्नबल** नि चमकस् मनुशन अंञे जन कर्मवे.ति [।*] लिहिदग. सक्ति नस्ति [।*] से मनुश कल-**पुर्णबलस्** नमेन निखलिदवो [।*] येष विवद सियति रय-द्वरंमि गरहिदव्य [।*]

5 अवि च यो इश [अवर]धि हुयंति इशेव तेष मर्तव्य हुअति [।*] इत्यर्थ अल विस्जिदम [।*] श्रुयति **विहरवल** अल दनु-**किलिमचियन** मसु-मंत्सेन सुठ विहेडे ति विन[जे.ति] [।*] [दिवसि.] निसग्[2] विहरवल-

6 स् सुध पुल-परि[वर]स्य च दनु **किलिमयदे** ददवो अट यं च[3] सतु बचरि ४ [।*] यथ-अवरधि-धर्मेन रक्तिदवो न हस्त पददे ओड़िष्यति न बलस्त[3] भविष्यति [।*] अवि **सुदर्शनस्** इमदे कुड

7 [२] विस्जितंति [।*] एदे तस् वंति ओड़िदवो [।*] तेन विधनेन तनु किलमेयदे भत ददव्य एम चेव सुरक्तिद कर्तव्य [।*] अवि अल सदर्शनस् अल किलमेचि गोठ २ [।*] एदे जंन

8 शवथ शवाविदव्य न इमदे पप कर्य मत जलिपदव्य न अदेहि श्रुनिदव्य [।*] वेल-वेलय एदे जंन सुदर्शनस् वंति ओड़िदवो [।*] अवि बहुवर अनदि-लेख गद षोठं-

9 ग-**सलुविंयस्** पलयंने-मनुश-देयंनए [।*] यव अजक न देनसि खंनवटगे.सि [।*] चवल ददवो [।*] यदि अहुनो भुय चवल न दस्यसि मनसंमि हुतु [।*] **सिहधर्मस्** पुल चवल श्रमनेर दनु

10 निखलिदवो [।*] कुतिश-धर्म श्रमन अंञेस दक्ष ददवो [।*] मसे. ४(+*)२ दिवसे. १०(+*)३ [॥*]

Reverse

चोभ्वो- **सोंजकस्** ददवो [॥*]

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1 BRS read यं भ in the text.

2 BRS: विनटे ये दिनसि Burrow connects निसग. with निस्सय.

3 Thomas बलस्त=वा लस्त. Burrow points out the improbability of the change of initial व into ब. He takes it to be an unknown word.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोभ्वो-सोंजकस्य मन्वं ददाति ।—"एवं च जानता भवितव्यं [त्वया] यत् लिखामि । तत् (=यत्) च—यथा राज-कृत्यस्य कृतेन आज्ञप्तिः दत्ता, तथा राजकार्ये औत्सुक्यम् आवर्जयितव्यम् (=विधेयम्) । अपि [च] स्वस्य जीवित-परित्यागेन आज्ञप्तं (=आज्ञा) रक्षितव्यम्, यथा (=येन) क्षेमं (=मङ्गलं) खोतम्नतः (=राजधानीतः= राजसकाशात्) वर्तमानं स्यात् (=आगच्छेत्) । एवं च एव[सर्वं]मम महाराजस्य पादमूले विज्ञापयितव्यम् । यं च अतः (=अमुष्मात स्थानात्) लेख-हारक-चडियस्य हस्ते [त्वं] विज्ञप्ति-लेखं प्रहितवानसि, तथा (=तत्पाठात्) ज्ञातसर्वार्थोऽस्मि । अपिच [त्वया] विज्ञापितं [यत्] कल-पूर्णबलस्य (=कलोपाधिकपूर्णबलस्य) उष्ट्रौ २ न अस्मिन् [स्थाने] तिष्ठतः, [परंतु] पलायेते । एतौ उष्ट्रौ अत्र (=तत्र) रञ्जकं (=रञ्जयित्वा)[1] पालयितव्यौ । पीवरौ भवताम् । शरदि[2] [तौ उष्ट्रौ] न किञ्चित् (=न) अस्मिन् [स्थाने] आनेतव्यौ ॥ अपि [च] [त्वं मां] विज्ञापयसि यथा कल-पूर्णबल-नि (=कल-पूर्णबलापराख्य)-चमकस्य मनुष्येण[3] (=भृत्येन) अन्ये जनाः कर्मयन्ति (=भृत्यकर्म कारयन्ति)। लिखितकं (=स्वामित्वप्रत्यायकं पत्रादि) साक्षी [च] नास्ति । सः मनुष्यः कलपूर्णबलस्य नाम्ना निष्खालयितव्यः (=भृत्यकर्मणः बहिष्कर्त्तव्यः परेषाम्)। येषां विवादः स्यात्, राजद्वारे गर्हयितव्यं (=अभियोक्तव्यं) [तैः] ॥ अपि च 'यैः अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] अपराधिभिः भूयते अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] एव तैः मर्त्तव्यम् भवति' इत्यर्थम् (=त्वया एवं विज्ञापितत्वात्) अत्र (=तत्र) [अपराधिनः] विसर्ज्जितवान् अस्मि । श्रूयते, विहारपालः अत्र (=तत्र) तनु(=आत्मनः)-किल्मे-कीयानां मद्यमांसेन सुष्ठु विहृतयति (=विशेषेण विहारं करोति=अपचिनोति) विनाशयति [च] । दिवसीयः निश्रयः (=दैनिकं खाद्यादिकं) विहार-पालाय सार्द्धं पुत्रपरिवारेण तनु-किल्मियतः (=विहारपालस्य स्व-विषयतः) दातव्यः—अट्टं (=गोधूमचूर्णं)[4], यत् च शक्कु वचरो ४ (=चतुर्वेचरीमानम् अट्टशक्कुकम्)। [सः] यथापराधिधर्मेण रक्षितव्यः ; न हस्त-

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1 Burrow: "properly".

2 Thomas takes शरदि with the previous sentence.

3 I.e., servant; cf. Bengali *munish*. Burrow: "a man belonging to Chamaka of *kala* Purṇabala is doing work there, and not other people; (and that) there are neither written documents nor witnesses".

4 Cf. the Bengali and Hindi word आटा.

पादतः उद्धास्यते (=वञ्चयिष्यते=पाणिपादं न कर्त्तिष्यते) ; न तस्य बलास्तं (=शक्तिक्षयः)[1] भविष्यति ॥ अपि सुदर्शनाय अतः कुटी (=पाले) २ विसर्ज्येते। एतौ तस्य उपान्ते उद्दातव्यौ। तेन विधानेन (=पूर्व्वोक्तविधानेन [सुदर्शनाय]) तनु-किलिमयतः भक्तं (=आहार्य्यं) दातव्यम् ; एवं च एव सुरक्षितः कर्त्तव्यः [सः]। अपि[च] अत्र (=तत्र) सुदर्शनस्य अत्र किल्मकीय-गोष्ठे २। एतैः जनैः (=किल्मेकीयैः) शपथः शापयितव्यः 'न अतः पापं कार्यं, मन्त्रः[च]जल्पितव्यः ; न अमुतः (=कारास्थ-सुदर्शनात्) [मन्त्रः] श्रोतव्यः।' वेलायां वेलायां (=काले काले) एते जनाः सुदर्शनस्य उपान्ते उद्दातव्याः ॥ अपि च बहुवारं आज्ञप्तिलेखः गतः (=प्रेषितः) सोठंग-सलुबियाय पलायन-मनुष्य-दानाय (=पलायित०)। यावत् अद्य न दत्तवान् असि। क्षणवर्त्तकः (=कालक्षेपकः) असि। चपलं दातव्यः [मनुष्यः त्वया]। यदि अधुना भूयः चपलं न दास्यसि, मनसि [ते मनुष्य-दान-कथा] भवतु ॥ सिंहधर्मस्य पुत्रः चपलं श्रामणेरः [त्वया] +तनुः (=स्वयं) निष्खालयितव्यः। [सिंहधर्मपुत्रस्य] कृतीशधर्मः (=प्रभुधर्मा)[2] श्रमणः [अस्ति चेत्, तस्मै] अन्यस्य दासः दातव्यः" ॥ मासि ६, दिवसे १३ ॥ चोभ्वो-सोज्ञकाय दातव्या [कील-मुद्रा] ॥

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1 Burrow: "He is to be kept under the conditions (prescribed) for criminals (in such a way, namely that) he shall not be free either hand or foot and shall not be *balasta*....These people are to be made swear an oath, and no mere scandal is to be talked from here or heard there". Thomas: "Further we have sent to you to the effect that those who are here offenders are to die here. We hear that the monastery-master causes much damage to the vine crops of his own *kilma*-people with flesh, by reason of the corpses (*vinashte*) which you give him. On the part of the monastery-master and from the sons and family (of the condemned man) is to be supplied from their owm *kilmi* flour, and any meal, *vacaris* 4, so that the offender may (during the interval before his execution 'here') be kept properly alive"...

2 कुतिश (from a stem कु?)=कोऽपि, according to some.

No. 7 (=BRS No. 579)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT[1]

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

1 एप प्रवंनग् **मोग़त** नि भुमस् प्रचेय [।*]

2 तिविर-**रमपोत्स**स् अनद धरिदवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Obverse.

1 **संवत्सरे** ४ (+*)४ (+*)१ **महरय-रयतिरयस्** महंतस्, जयंतस्, धर्मियस्, सच-धर्म-स्थिदस्,

2 महनुअव-महरय-**अंकग़**-देवपुत्रस्, क्नुनंमि मसे, ४ (+*)२ तिवसे, १० (+*)४ (+*)१ [।*] अस्ति मंनु-

3 श चर-पुरुष **मोग़त** नम [।*] से, उथिद तिविर-**रंसोत्सस्** वंति अकि-भुम विकिद अड़ि-

4 नि-भिज़-पयति मिलिम १ खि १० गिड़ मुलि तवस्तग् हस्त १० (+*)३ बदश मुलिये-

5 न संम संम सरजितंति [।*] तह एदस् भुमस् वंति तिविर-**रंम्सोत्सस्** एष्वर्य हु-

6 द ववंनए कियंनए अंजस् प्रहुड़ देयंनए सुर्व-बोग्-परिभुञ्जंनए

7 किकम करंनि सियति [।*] एद क्रय-विक्र किटंति पुरठिद महत्वन [।*] सक्ति जनं-

8 ति रज-दरो **कित्सैत्स** पितेय काल-**करंत्स** [।*] स् च सक्ति अप्सुअन **अप्पिय-शांच**[ा] [।*] स, च

9 सक्ति भियो अंज सक्ति तोघ-**कुव्य** सक्ति व्सु-**चढिय** सक्ति

Covering-Tablet: Reverse.

1 अप्सु-**करंत्स** सक्ति चोभ्वो-**च्लुस्तु** सक्ति वुर्यग्-**पिग़त** सक्ति त्सधि[नव्]-**कपोत** सक्ति

2 कोरि-**प्वल्य** यस् वटयग् शिरास सक्ति [।*] को पश्चिम-कलंमि वेतेयति चोतेयति

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1 From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 261, plate XXIII.

3 सजेयति तह रयद्वरंमि मो चोदंति अप्रमनं च सियति [।*] एष प्रवंनग. लिखि-

4 दग. महि दिविर-**तमस्व.**-पुत्रेन दिविर-**मोग.तस.** [।*] त[न] महत्वन अनतेन प्रमन व-

5 र्ष-सहस्रमि [।*] यवजिवो

6[1] सुत-छिनिदं **कित्सत्सस.** वटयग.

7 श्रोङ्ग **कर्सेनव. शोदि(ते?)ङ्गस.** च [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

एतत् प्रपर्णकं[2] (=पत्रं=आज्ञापत्री) मोगत-निज (=मोगतस्य)-भूत्रः प्रत्यये (=सम्पर्के)। दिविर-रमषोत्सस्य (=रमषोत्सेण) आज्ञप्तं धर्तव्यम् ॥[3]

संवत्सरे [नवमे] ९ महाराज-राजातिराजस्य महतः जयतः धार्मिकस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य महानुभावमहाराजांकग-देवपुत्रस्य क्षणे (=शासन-समये) मासे ६ दिवसे १४। अस्ति मनुष्यः चर-गुरुषः (=गूढचारः) मोगतः नाम। सः उत्थाय (=स्वेच्छया) दिविर-रमषोत्सस्य उपान्ते (=रमषोत्सं प्रति) अग्रयभुम्नं (=उत्तम-भूमिं) विक्रीतवान्; [अस्मिन्] अड्डिनिवीजपर्याप्तिः[4] (=अड्डिनिनामकशस्यबीजानां वपनाय पर्याप्तपरिमाणं) मिलिम० १ खि० १०; गृहीतं मूल्यं तापवस्त्रकाणि हस्ताः १३ (=त्रयोदशहस्तपरिमितानि) द्वादश (=द्वादशसंख्यकानि)।[5] मूल्येन सम्यक् सम्यक् संरञ्ज्येते [क्रेताविक्रेतारौ]। तथा एतस्य भूत्रः उपान्ते (=भूमिं प्रति) दिविर-रमषोत्सस्य ऐश्वर्यं (=स्वामित्वं) भूतं वपनाय कर्षणाय अन्यस्मै प्राभृत-दानाय सर्वभोगरभोगाय —किंकर्म (=यत्किमपि कर्म) करणीयं स्यात् [भूम्यां अस्याम्]। [क्रेताविक्रेतारौ] एतत् क्रय-विक्रयं कुरुतः पुरःस्थितौ [सन्तौ] महात्मनोः (=मुख्यराजपुरुषयोः); [महात्मानौ] साक्षिणौ एतत् जानीतः—राज-दारकः कित्सैत्सः, पितृव्यः (=राजपितृव्यः)[6] कल-करंत्सः [च]। तौ च साक्षिणा अप्सूनां (=अप्सुयवंश्यानां?) अप्पीय-शांचौ (=तदाख्यौ)। ते च साक्षिणः भूयः अन्ये—साक्षी तोंघ-कुवयः, साक्षी वसु-चडियः, साक्षी अप्सु-करंत्सः, साक्षी चोभवो-लुस्तुः, साक्षी वुर्यग-ग्गितः,

1 The letters are in the middle of the line.

2 Cf. the Persian word *parwana*.

3 Burrow: "This receipt concerning land of Mogata is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramshotsa." दिविर=कायस्थ.

4 Cf. the word द्रोणवाप, कुल्यवाप etc. मिलिमा and खि (abbreviations?) are names of measures.

5 Burrow: "thirteen hands of carpet valued at twelve."

6 Burrow: "the royal administrator, the *kitsaitsa* Peteya." महात्मा= magistrate.

साक्षी त्सधिनव-कपोतः, साक्षी कोरि-ष्वल्यः यस्य वर्तकः (=स्थलवर्ती=प्रतिनिधिः)[1] शिरासः साक्षी। कः (=यः कश्चित्) पश्चिमकाले विवादयति (यद्वा, वेदयति), चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), सञ्जायते [विवादयितुं] (यद्वा, संजयति भुक्तेतारं), तथा राजद्वारे मुखं चोदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), [तस्य विवाद-चोदना-संजयनादिकं सर्वं] अप्रमाणं (=अयथार्थं=प्रमाणविरुद्धं) स्यात्। एतत् प्रपर्णकं लिखितकं (=लिखितं) मया दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्रेण दिविर-मोगतेन तेषां महात्मनाम् (=साक्षि-भूतानां राजदारक-राजपितृव्यदीनां) आज्ञप्तेन (=आज्ञया)। [अस्य] प्रमाणं (=प्रामाण्यं) वर्ष-सहस्रे (=०सहस्रं व्याप्य) [भविष्यति]। यावच्चोवं (=चिराय) सूत्रचिह्नितं [क्षेत्रं=क्षेत्रसीमा][2] कित्सैत्सस्य वर्तकेन श्रोष्ठेण, कर्पेणव-शोदिष्टेन च॥

No. 8 (=BRS No. 661)

Oblong Tablet

TEXT[3]

Obverse

1 **सवत्सरे १० मसे ३ धिवभ १० (+*) ४ (+*) ४** [।*] इज़ **चुनमि खोतन-महरयरयतिरय-हिनभदेव-विजि**[4]-

2 **दसिंहस्य** [।*] त-कलि अस्ति मनुश(=शे) नग.रग.(=गे.) ख्वर्नसे नम [।*] तथ मद्र(=द्रे)दि [।*] अस्ति मयि उटः [।*] तनुवग.: सो उटः अ-

3 व्हिजनु हरदि धहि-अधि तद्रिजु.[5] बशो [।*] त इदनि सो उटो विकिनामि मुल्य(=ल्ये)न मष(=षे)-सहस्र-अष्टि ४ (+*)

4 ४ (×*) १००० सुलिग.वगि.ति-वधग.स्य सग.जि. [।*] तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) वगितिवधग.(=ग.) निरवशिषो मुल्यो मस.(=से.) धितु ख्व-

5 र्नसस्य ग्रहिदु शुधि उवग.दु [।*] अजि उवदयि सो उटः वगि.ति-वधग.स्य तनुवग.: संव्रितः यथग.म ग.रनीयः [।*]

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1 *I.e.*, साक्षिणः कोरि-ष्वल्यस्य प्रतिनिधिः शिरासः साक्षी। Burrow: "attendant."

2 Burrow: "cut the string."

3 From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 291, plate XXXVIII and *Khar.Ins.*, II, plate XII. See Noble, *BSOS*. V, p. 445f.; Burrow, ib, VI, p. 430f; Konow *Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 231 f. A consonant with a dot above (possibly representing short *e*) is indicated here as in श (=शे), etc.

4 BRS: ०कस्य अवि०

5 BRS: अधित इज. अधि = अङ्गे (Konow); = अङ्ग (Burrow).

6 सर्वेकिच करनीयः [।*] यो पचेम-कलि तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) चुदियदि विदियदि विवदु उथवियदि त(=ते)न तथ

7 धडु धिनदि यथ रजधर्मु स्यदि [।*] मय धलवगु-बहुधिव(=वे) लिखिदु ख्वर्नर्सस्य अजिपनयि पुरदु **स्प श न**[1]

8 **र स**[2]

9 **ननिवधग**(=गे) सक्षि **शशिवक**(=के) सक्षि **स्पनियक**(=के) सक्षि [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८ । अस्मिन् क्षणे खोतन्न(Khotan)-महाराज-राजाति-राज-हीनध्यदेव-विजितसिंहस्य (=हीनध्यदेवनाम्नः विजितसिंहोपनामकस्य)[3] । तत्काले अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः (=नगरवासी) ख्वर्णर्सः नाम । [सः] तथा मन्यते —"अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः । +तनुवकः (=स्वकः) सः उष्ट्रः अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्कं तादृशं "वशो" (=वशो इति दाहाङ्कम्) । तत् इदानों तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि मूल्येन माषसहस्राष्ट-केन ८००० सुलिक-वगिति वधगस्य (=सुलिकजातीय-वगितिनामकस्थानवासि-वधगाख्यस्य ?) सकाशे ।" तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगिति-वधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य-माषः धृतः(=दत्तः), ख्वर्णर्सेन [च] गृहीतः ; [विक्रयसम्बन्धीयाः]शुद्धिः (=परिशोधः) उपगता । अद्य उपादाय(=अद्य प्रभृति) सः उष्ट्रः वगिति-वधगस्य +तनुवकः(=स्वकः) संवृत्तः ; यथाकामं करणीयः (=व्यवहरणीयः [उष्ट्रः वधगेन]) ; सर्व-कृत्यं करणीयम् [अनेन उष्ट्रेण वधगेन] । यः पश्चिम-काले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते चोदयति (= विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), वेदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), विवादम् उत्था-पयति [च], तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत (=तेन विधानेन अर्थदण्डः देयः) यथा राजधर्मः स्यात् । मया धलवगु-बहुधिवेन (= धलवगुग्रामस्य तदाख्यवंशस्य वा बहुधिव-नाम्ना) लिखितः[लेखः] ख्वर्णर्सस्य अध्येषणया (= प्रार्थनया) पुरतः स्प०, श०, न०, र०, स० (=स्प-शादि-नामपूर्वभागानां साक्षिणाम्)[4] । ननि-वधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्पनियकः साक्षी ॥

1 In larger characters with long stems, apparently initials of three witnesses.

2 These two letters are in Brāhmī. They are followed by some letters and symbols which cannot be read. On the reverse there are various isolated aksharas, many of which are Brāhmī.

3 *Hinajha* is connected with Iranian *henaja*, commander of armies. BRS read : हिनभस्य अविजि़द०

4 It is possible that स्प=स्पनियक, श=शशिवक and न=ननिवधग.

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BOOK III

Inscriptions of the Gupta Age from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century.

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on the Coins of Chandragupta I (c. 320-30 A.D.)[1] and Kumāradevī and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 8f.

First Side[2]

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a cresent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object (which on some coins is a ring) to Kumāradevī who stands on left to right wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate; inscription in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters of the northern class[3] :—

(right, on either side of the standard) चं[4] [गु]
द्र [प्त][:*]

(left) कुम[ा*]र[दे]व[ी*][5]

---

1 See *infra*, p. 262 n. 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's theory cannot be regarded as final. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III. Num. Sup., No. 47).

2 From representations in Allan's Catalogue, plate III, No. 1 ff.

3 See *infra*, p. 254, n. 4.

4 On some specimens we have च / न्द्र (i. e., चन्द्र०).

5 On some specimens we have ०देवी-श्रीः.

Second Side

Lakshmī[1], nimbate, wearing long loose robe, seated facing on lion couched to right or left, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of throne on most specimens; border of dots; inscription in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters :—

(right) [लि]च्छवयः[2]

No. 2—Allahābād Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 330-75 A.D.)[3]

In the ALLAHĀBĀD Fort, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 6 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1538 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class[4]

Metre : Verses 1-2, can not be determined; V. 3 स्रग्धरा ;

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1 The lion may possibly indicate that the goddess represents the Annapūrṇā aspect of Ambikā. Gupta gold coins are imitated directly from those of the Kushāṇas and indirectly from those of the Indo-Greeks. The goddess may be an adaptation Pallas Athene.

2 This type of the coins and the claim of Samudragupta to have been a *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, appear to point to the fact that Chandragupta I received the Lichchhavi dominions through the right of his wife. The republican tribe of the Lichchhavis is known to have ruled in North Bihār and later in Nepāl. It is however not impossible that Chandragupta I actually got Magadha from the Lichchhavis who were possibly in possession of that region in the early years of the 4th century A. D. It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule only over Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa (= Ayodhyā) and Magadha.

3 See *infra*, No. 9, n. 1. The pillar also bears two Aśokan records (*supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 33-34).

4 The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan

V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 5 स्रग्धरा ; V. 6 मन्दाक्रान्ता ;
V. 7 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 8 स्रग्धरा ; V. 9 पृथ्वी

TEXT[1]

1[2] ...कुल्यैः(?)...स्वै.....तस.....

2 [यस्य ?].....[॥*] [१*]

3 ...मुं (?) व.....

4 [स्फु]रद्वं (?) .....च्चः स्फुटोद्ध[ ]सित.....प्रवितत.....[॥*] [२*]

5 यस्य प्र[ज्ञानु]षङ्गोचित-सुख-मनसः शास्त्र-त[त्त्व]ार्थ-भर्त्तुः
— —स्तब्धो⌣ — — ⌣ नि⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ —नोच्छ्— —⌣— —[१*]

6 [स*]त्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्बुध-गुणित-गुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा
[वि]द्वल्लोके(ऽ*)वि[ना][शि*] स्फुटबहु-कविता-कीर्त्ति-राज्यं भुनक्ति [॥*] [३]

7 [आ*]र्य्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भाव-पिशुनैरुत्कर्णितैः रोमभिः
सभ्येषूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्य-कुलज-म्लाननोद्वीक्षि[त]ः [१*]

8 [स्ने]ह-व्यालुलितेन बाष्प-गुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो नि[रीक्ष्य] निखि[लां*] [पाह्येव*][मुर्वी]मिति [॥*] [४]

9 [ह*]ष्टा कर्माण्यनेकान्यमनुज-सदृशान्य[द्भु]तोद्भिन्न-हर्षा
भ[ा*]वैराख्यादय[न्तः*] ⌣⌣⌣⌣⌣⌣— — ⌣ — — ⌣[के*]चित् [१*]

10 वीर्योत्सिक्ताश्च केचिच्छरणमुपगता यस्य वृत्ते (ऽ*) प्रणामे-
(ऽ*)प्य[त्ति ?]-[ग्रस्तेषु*?] — — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — ⌣
— — ⌣ — —[॥*] [५*]

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forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of Aśokan Brāhmī and those of Kushāṇa Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record was engraved late in the king's life, but before his performance of the Aśvamedha. See *infra*, p. 267n. 4

2 The first four lines, containing two verses are almost wholly destroyed.

11 संग्रामेषु स्व-भुज-विजिता नित्यमुच्चापकाराः

श्वः-श्वो मान-प्र⏑⏑⏑⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [।*]

12 तोषोत्तुङ्गैः स्फुट-बहु-रस स्नेह-फुल्लै-र्म्मनोभिः

पश्चात्तापं व⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ म[?] स्य[।]द्वसन्त[म्?] [॥*] [६*]

13 उद्वेलोदित-बाहु-वीर्य्य-रभसादेकेन येन क्षणा-

दुन्मूल्याच्युत नागसेन-ग[1] ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [*]

14 दण्डैर्ग्राहयतैव **कोतकुलजं पुष्पाह्वये** क्रीडता[2]

सूर्य्ये(?)नित्य(?)—⏑—तट ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥*] [७*]

15 धर्म्म-प्राचीर-बन्धः शशि-कर-शुचयः कीर्त्तयः स-प्रताना

वैदुष्यं तत्त्व-भेदि प्रशम⏑⏑⏑ ु कु—प— ⏑ मु (सु?) — ⏑तार्थम् ? [।*]

16 [अद्वेषयः] सूक्त-मार्ग्गः कवि-मति-विभवोत्सारणं चापि काव्यं

को नु स्याद्यो(ऽ*)स्य न स्याद्गुण-मति[वि]दुषां ध्यानपात्रं य एकः [॥*] [८]

17 तस्य विविध-समर-शतावतरण-दक्षस्य स्वभुज-बल-पराक्रमैकबन्धोः **पराक्रमाङ्कस्य**

परशु-शर-शङ्कु-शक्ति-प्रासासि-तोमर-

18 भिन्दिपाल-न[।]राच-वैतस्तिकाद्यनेक-प्रहरण-विरूढाकुल-व्रण-शताङ्क-शोभा-समुदयो-

पचित-कान्ततर-वर्ष्मणः

19 **कौसलकमहेन्द्र - माह[।*]कान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-कौराळकमण्टराज - पैष्टपुरक-महेन्द्रगिरि - कौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लकदमन - काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तक-**

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1 ग may be supposed to be the first *akshara* of the name गणपति (cf. l. 21). The lacuna then may be conjecturally filled up by गणपत्यादीन्नृपान् सङ्गरे.

2 A prince of the Kota family appears to have been captured by his army while he was playing at the city of Pushpa (=Pushpa-pura=Pāṭaliputra), which may have been the capital of the king. Cf. the epithet पाटलिपुत्रक of a minister of Chandragupta II in *infra*, No. 11 and the epithets पाटलिपुत्रवराधीश्वर and उज्जयिनी-पुत्रवराधीश्वर both applied to that king in the records of the Guttas of Guttala in South India. After Chandragupta II, the first historical Vikramāditya, had extirpated the Śakas of western India, Ujjayinī possibly became the second capital of the Gupta empire. The Guttas were possibly descended from a Kumāra viceroy of Ujjayini.

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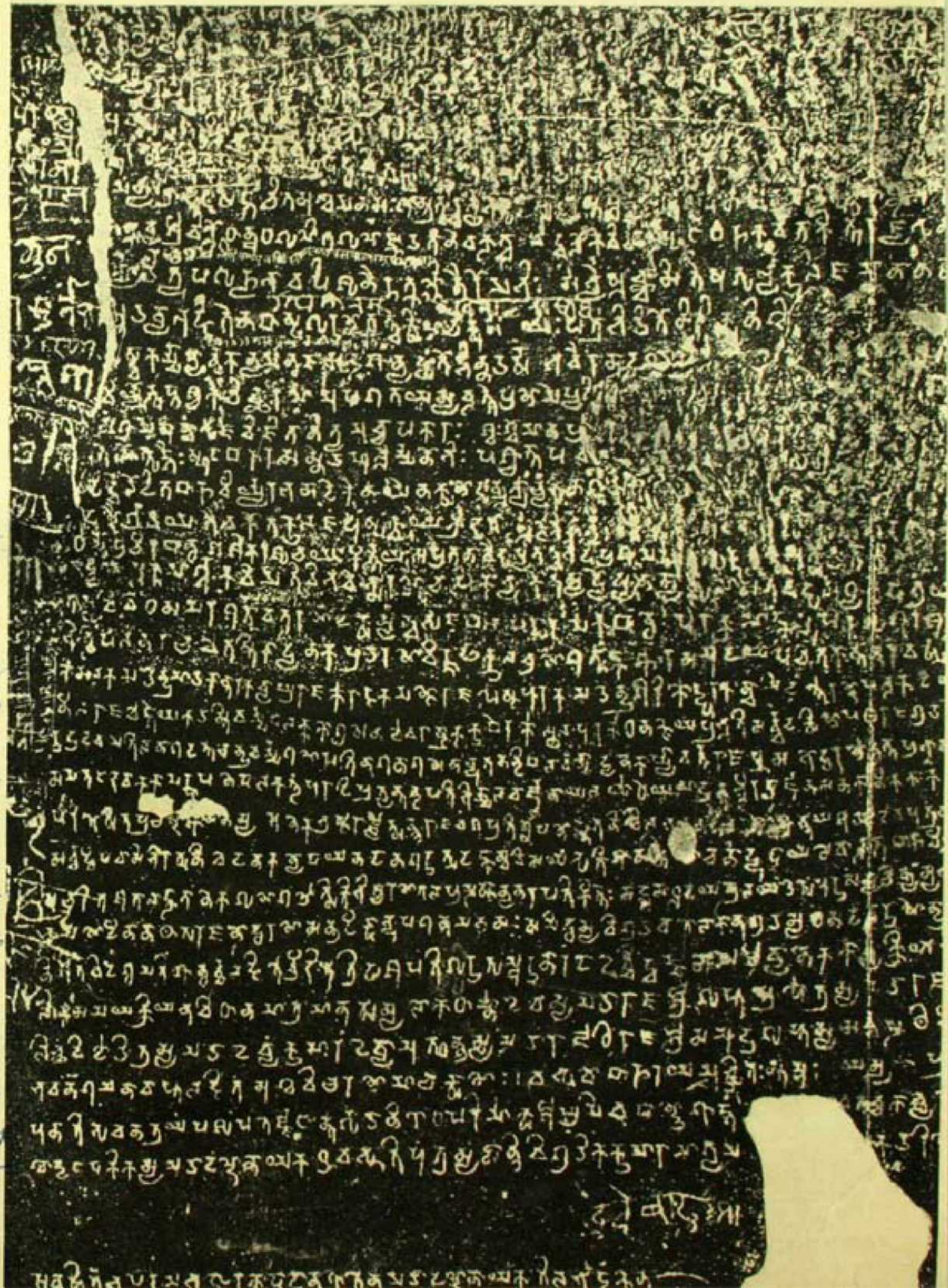

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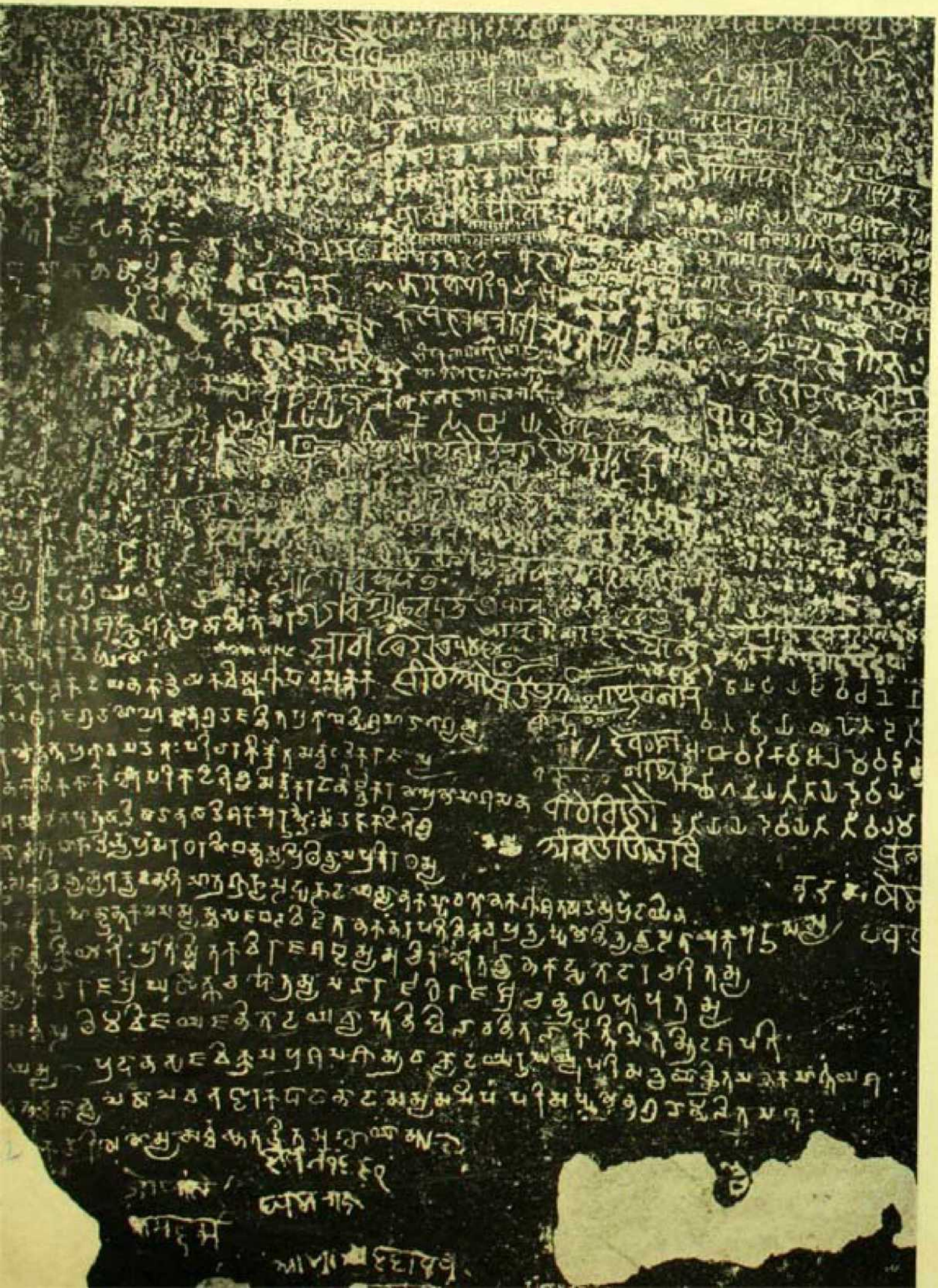

20 नीलराज-वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म्म-पालक्कोग्रसेन-दैवराष्ट्रककुबेर - कौस्थलपुरक-धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज-ग्रहण - मोक्षानुग्रह-जनित - प्रतापोन्मिश्र–माहा-भाग्यस्य[1]

21 रुद्रदेव-मतिल - नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म्म - गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बल-वर्म्माद्यनेकाय्यार्व्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्त-प्रभाव-महतः[2] परिचारकीकृत-सर्व्वाट-विक-राजस्य

22 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्त-नृपतिभिर्म्मालवार्জ্জुनायन-

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1 Kosala=South Kosala, mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilāspur region, old cap. Śrīpura, 40 miles NE of Raipur. Mahākāntāra is a jungly kingdom; Vyāghrarāja is identified with Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīsena, of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. Kaurāla is possibly the "Kaunāla water"=the Kollair Lake near Ellore, Godavarī Dist. Koṭṭūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in Ganjam Dist. Piṣhṭapura, mod. Piṭhāpuram in Godavari Dist. The king's name is apparently Mahendragiri (for names referring to a hill or ending in *giri*, see Lüders, List, Nos. 217, 299, 315, 475, etc.). Vishṇugopa is a Pallava king of Kāñchī and Hastivarman a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veṅgī. Palakka may be Palakkaḍa in the Nellore region. Devarāshṭra is the Yellamanñchili region of the Vizagapatam Dist. Kusthalapura may be Kuttalur in North Arcot Dist. Eraṇḍapalla has been identified with some localities in Ganjam and Vizagapatam Dists. Dakshiṇāpatha is Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhyan range.

2 Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka; but the Vākāṭakas of Berar belonged to Dakshiṇāpatha. Matila may be Mattila of a seal found in Bulandshahr Dist, U. P. Chandravarman may be the king of the Susuniyā inscription (*infra*). Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena were Nāga princes. The coins of the former have been found at Pawāyā=Padam-Pawāyā=ancient Padmāvatī, a centre of Nāga power according to the Purāṇas. The death of the Nāga prince Nāgasena at Padmāvatī is referred to in the *Harshacharita*. If they both belonged to the house of Padmāvatī, the record may refer to more than one expedition of Samudragupta. Coins of a king named Achyu[ta] have been found at ancient Ahichchatrā, mod. Rāmnagar in the Bareilly Dist., U. P. According to Manu, Āryāvartta is the land bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Western sea (Arabian sea).

यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्रार्जुन-सनकानीक-काक-खरपरिकादिभिश्च[1] सर्व्व-कर-दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-

23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूत-निखिल-भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः **दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहळ-**कादिभिश्च

24 **सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभि**रात्मनिवेदन[2]- कन्योपायनदान - गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन[3]-[य]राचनाद्युपाय-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य[4]

25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सिक्तिभिश्चरण-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्त्तेः साद्धु-[5]

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1 Samataṭa was in south-east Bengal with possibly Karmānta (mod. Bad-Kāntā near Comilla, Tipperah Dist.) as capital. The chief city of Ḍavāka has been identified by N. K. Bhattasali with modern Ḍabok in Naogong Dist., Assam. The country thus corresponds to the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā-Kolang rivers (Bhāratbarsha, B. S. 1348, p. 90). Kāmarūpa is the Gauhāṭi region of Assam. Kartṛipura seems to have comprised Katārpur in Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria (Katyur) *rāj* of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. During this peiod, the Mālavas (see *supra*, p. 92, n. 6; 162, n. 6) possibly lived in the Man-Dasor region of Mālwā. For the Yaudheyas, see p. 172, n. 1. The Prārjunas mentioned in the Arthaśāstra are placed in the Narsingpur Dist., C. P. The Sanakānikas lived in East Mālwā (cf. *infra*, No. 10). The Kākas possibly lived in the Kākanāda-boṭa (=Sāñchi) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at mod. Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhīras possibly lived in Aparānta about this time.

2 Possibly the Hindu colonies of the Far East have been indirectly referred to here. For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, p. 109 ff. दैवपुत्र= the title देवपुत्र of the Kushāṇa kings. षाहि=Shāh, and षाहानुषाहि Shāhān Shāh; cf. Kshāyathiya, Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyānam. षाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and षाहानुषाहि their emperor: but the passage दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि appears to indicate the Kushāṇa emperor. मुरुण्ड may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-मुरुण्ड may mean "the Śaka lords".

3 गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates "the request for a charter endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, government) of one's own territory." The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

4 Read पृथिव्या०.

5 Properly साध्वसाधु०

साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य भक्तयवनति-मात्र-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो-
(5*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[:]

26 [कृप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्नदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः[1] समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य[4] स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-प्रत्यर्पणा-नित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य[2]

27 निशितविदग्धमति - गान्धर्व्वललितैर्ब्बोडित-त्रिदशपतिगुरु - तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्व्विद्वज्जनोप[3]-जीव्यानेक-काव्य-क्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य सुचिर-स्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदार-चरितस्य

28 लोकसमय-क्रियानुविधान-मात्र-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य[4] महाराज-श्री-**गुप्त**-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-**घटोत्कच**-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**चन्द्रगुप्त**-पुत्रस्य

29 **लिच्छवि**-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य[5] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**समुद्र-गुप्त**स्य सर्व्व-पृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-

30 भवन-गमनावाप्त-ललित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः [।*] यस्य ।[6]

प्रदान-भुजविक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयैः-
रुपर्य्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्ग्गं यशः [।*]

31 पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गृहा-
निर्ग्गम-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं [पयः*] [।।*] [९*]

एतच्च काव्यमेषोऽस्य[7] भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्प्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

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1 Read **मन्त्र**. Fleet: **दीक्षाद्युप०**.

2 **आयुक्त**=a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates a treasury-officer like the Yukta of Aśoka's inscriptions.

3 **त्रिदशपतिगुरु**=बृहस्पति ; Tumburu a Gandharva; Nārada inventor of the Vīṇā.

4 Note the conception of a divine king; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

5 Read **०मुत्पन्न**. For the importance of the claim. See *supra*, No. 1.

6 This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word **यस्य** from the verse following. Fleet believed that ll. 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead); but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven. Fleet's interpretation has now been given up.

7 A Kāvya may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harishena's work belongs to the third variety which is called *Champū*.

32 खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक-ध्रुवभूति-पुत्रस्य सान्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-
म[हादण्डनाय*]क-हरिषेणस्य[1] सर्व्व-भूत-हित-सुखायास्तु ।

33 अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टेन ।

No. 3—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. (c. 330-76 A.D.)

Eran, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.; now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III., p. 20; Bhandarkar, List, No. 1539.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the southern class[2].

Metre : Verses 1-8 वसन्ततिलका. The first six lines of the record are broken away and lost. They contained probably one verse and a half in the वसन्ततिलका metre in which the existing portion of the record is composed. Line 28 of the record which is broken away contained the second half of V. 8.

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1 खाद्यटपाकिक (=खाद्याट्पाकिक ?) is possibly the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen. महादण्डनायक is possibly chief of the police with power of judging criminal offences. सान्धिविग्रहिक is minister for peace and war. कुमारामात्य seems to be an executive officer (cf. अमात्य, a provincial governor, in the Nāsik inscription) of the same status as the Kumāra (the king's younger brother or son). Different designations may refer to different offices held at the same time or in different periods.

2 The box-headed (square-headed) tops (*mātrā* or *serif*) of *aksharas* are formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square. On stone the block in the centre of the square is usually taken out; but on copper it is usually not. In another variety the tops of *aksharas* are nail-headed or trangular with the apex of the triange downwards. It is sometimes called the Central Indian script; but it has been found outside that area, e.g., in the Kadamba records of the Kanarese country.

TEXT[1]

1 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

2 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

3 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

4 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] [१*]

5 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

6 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

7 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ सुवर्ण्ण-दाने

8 [संवा*]रिता नृपतयः[2] पृथु-राघवाद्याः [॥*] २

9 [पुत्रो*] बभूव धनदान्तक-तुष्टि-कोप-
तुल्यः

10 [पराक्र*]म-नयेन **समुद्रगुप्तः** [।*]

11 [यं प्रा*]प्य पार्त्थिव-गणस्सकलः पृथिव्याम्

12 [पर्य*]स्त राज्य-विभव-द्भ ुतमास्थितो(ऽ*)भूत् [॥*] ३

13 [ताते*]न भक्ति-नय-विक्रम-तोषितेन

14 [यो*] राज-शब्द-विभवैरभिषेचनार्थैः [।*]

15 [सम्ना*]नितः परम-तुष्टि-पुरस्कृतेन

16 [सोऽयं ध्रु*][वो] नृपतिरप्रतिवार्य्य-वीर्य्यः [॥*] ४

17 [**दत्ता***]स्य[3] पौरुष-पराक्रम-दत्त शुल्का

18 [हस्त्य*]श्व-रत्न-धन-धान्य-समृद्धि-युक्ता [।*]

19 [नित्य*]ङ्गृहेषु मुदिता बहु-पुत्र-पौत्र-

20 [स*]ङ्ग्रामिणी कुलवधुः[4] व्रतिनी निविष्टा [॥*] ५

21 [यस्यो*]र्ज्जितं समर-कर्म्म पराक्रमेद्धं

22 [पृथ्व्यां*] यशः सुविपुलम्परिबम्भ्रमीति [।*]

23 [वीर्या*]णि यस्य रिपवश्च रणोर्ज्जितानि

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record may actually have been earlier than *supra*, No. 2.

2 त is written below the line.

3 The *nāmaikadeśa* दत्ता stands for दत्तदेवी; cf. सत्यभामा सत्येति and सत्यभामा भामेति cited in the *Māhābhāshya*.

4 Read ॰वधूर्व्व॰.

24 [ख*]प्रान्तरेष्वपि विचिन्त्य परिवसन्ति [॥*] ६

25 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

[स्त*][म्भ?]: स्वभोगनगरैरिकिण-प्रदेशे[1] [।*]

26 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

[सं*]स्थापितस्स्वयशसः परिबृंहनार्थम्[2] [॥*] ७

27 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — -

— — ⏑ वो नृपतिराह यदा ⏑ — — [।*][3]

28 — — ⏑ —⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] [८*]

No. 4—Nālandā Spurious[4] Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 5.

NĀLANDĀ (Baṛgaon), Pāṭnā Dist., Bihār.

H. SASTRI, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 138; D. R. BHANDARKAR, List, No. 2075. A. GHOSH, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 52f; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid*, XXVI.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 5th century A. D; but some *aksharas* have later forms.

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1 Airikiṇa is the same as mod. Eraṇ. 2 Read ०बृंहणा०.

3 The rest of the record is lost. Lines 1-24 engrave one *pāda* each of the verse, with the exception of l. 9; ll. 24ff. engrave two *pādas* each.

4 The record is certainly spurious. It was forged sometime about the 6th-7th century. The authenticity of this grant of Gupta year 5 would indicate a rather unusually long reign-period for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I. The Aśvamedha is not referred to in the elaborate Allahābād ins.; it could hardly have been celebrated before the 5th year of Samudragupta's reign or of the Gupta era. The indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* cannot be an early characteristic (see *infra*, p. 265, n. 6). Samudragupta never assumed the title *Paramabhāgavata* which was however the title assumed by his successors. The application of this title in the Nālandā and Gayā plates proves that they were forged by persons whose model was a record of a successor of this Gupta king (cf. also the words

TEXT[1]

1 ॥[2] स्वस्ति [।*] महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावार**ानन्दपुर**[3]-वासका[त्स]व्वैरा-
[जोच्छे]त्तु(:*) पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-स लि[लास्वा]-

2 दित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे[न्द्रा]न्त(क*)-समस्य[4] कृतान्त-परशोर्न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-
कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्स[न्ना]-

3 श्वमेधाहर्त्तुर्म्महाराज-श्री-**गु(प्त*)**-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-**घटोत्कच**-पौत्रस्य महारा-
[जाधि]राज-[श्री-**चन्द्रगुप्त**]-पुत्र-

4 स्य **लिच्छवि**-दौ[हि]त्रस्य महादेव्या**ङ्कुमारदेव्या**मुत्पन्न≍परमभा[गवतो महा-
राजाधिराज-**श्रीसमुद्रगु**]प्तः **ताविगुप्य**](?)-

5 वै[षयिक]**भद्रपुष्करक**ग्राम-**क्रिमिला**वैषयिक**पू**[**र्ण्णना**?]**ग**ग्रा[म(योः*)] [ब्राह्मण-
पुरोग*]-ग्राम-व[ल]त्कौशभ्या(?)माह[5] [।*]

6 एव[*] चाह विदितम्बो[6] भवत्वेषौ[7] ग्रा[मौ] [मया] [मा]तापित्रोरा[त्मनश्च]
पु[ण्याभिवृद्ध]ये जयभट्टिस्वामिने

7 * * * * *[8] [सोपरि]करो[द्देशेनाग्र]हा[रत्वे]नातिसृष्टः [।*] तद्युष्मा-
भिर[स्य]

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in the 6th case ending; p. 265, n. 4). If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, *infra*, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta era began from the 1st year of this king. At least the persons responsible for the forgery apparently believed that Samudragupta began to rule earlier than year 5 of the Gupta era. As however the records were forged without the help of any genuine grant of Samudragupta, nothing but the name of the villages granted and of the donees can be taken to be undoubtedly genuine.

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. Note that घ in ll. 3 and 10 approximates the form of the 6th-7th century.

2 Sign for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु, written ॥ in Bengal even now.

3 Sastri reads नूपुर.

4 Ghosh: ०दान्तक.

5 Fleet finds here two officers called Valatkaushan. The word possibly indicates an assemblage of villagers.

6 व and ब have been in indiscriminatly used. Read: चार्थो विदितो वो

7 Read ०त्वेतौ.

8 Ghosh is inclined to fill up the lacuna by some epithets of the donee.

8 त्रैविद्यस्य श्रोत्तव्यमाज्ञा[1] च कर्त्त[व्या] [स]र्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्रा(म*)-प्रत्या-(या*) मेय-हिरण्यादयो देया न चेत≍ प्र-[2]

9 [भू]त्वनेन त्रै[वि]द्येनान्य-ग्रामादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-[कारुक]ादय≍प्रवेश[यित]व्या-[म]न्यथ[ा] नियतमाग्रहाराक्षेपः[3]

10 [स्य]ादिति ॥[4] **सम्वत्** ५ माघ-दि० २ निवद्धः[5] [।*]

11 अनुग्रामाक्षपटलाधि[कृत][6]-महापीलूपति-महाबलाधि[कृ]त[7]-गोपखाम(ख*)ादेश-लि-खितः [।*]

12 [कुमा*]र-श्री-**चन्द्रगुप्तः**[8] [॥*]

No. 5—Gayā Spurious[9] Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9.

GAYĀ, Gayā Dist., Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 256f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1540.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 6th-7th century A.D.

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1 Read श्रोत०. Supply a word like वचनं after श्रोतव्यं

2 Read देयाः । न चैतत्प्र०. 3 Read ०तव्याः । अन्यथा and नियतम०.

4 There are three short horizontal strokes after the usual sign for stop. आक्षेप may indicate violation of the previleges of an *agrahāra*.

5 Read संवत् and निव०. Supply a word like लेखः after निवद्धः

6 The Gayā plate reads अन्य०

7 Read वला०. अक्षपटलाधिकृत=keeper of records, from अक्षपटल=a court of law, a depository of legal decuments. महाबलाधिकृत=Field-marshal. महापीलुपति=Head of the Elephant force. 8 He was possibly the दूतक (executor).

9 The record has the general appearance of being fabricated. Fleet thought that the fabrication was done somewhere about the beginning of the 8th cent. A. D., as he found the enpression महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात् in later inscriptions. But this expression is also found in the inscriptions of Harshavardhana and Bhāskaravarman and palaeographically this record may not be later than the time of Ādityasena. It may have been fabricated in the 6th-7th cent.

TEXT[1]

1 १[2] स्वस्ति [॥*] महानौ-हस्त्यश्व जयस्कन्धावाराज**यो**द्धया[3]-वासकात्सर्व्व-राजो-
च्छेत्तु[4] पृ-

2 थिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादित-यश(सो*) धनद-वरुणेन्द्रा

3 न्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोर्न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोच्छ-

4 न्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः[5] महाराज-श्री-**गुप्त**-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-**घटोत्कच**-पौत्रस्य

5 महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**चन्द्रगुप्त**-पुत्रस्य **लिच्छवि**-दौहित्रस्य[6] महादेव्या(*) कु-

6 **मारदेव्या**मुत्पन्न(:*) परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**समुद्र**-

7 **गुप्तः गया**वैषयिक-**रेवतिका**ग्रामे ब्राह्मण-पुरोग-ग्राम-वल[7]-

8 त्कौषभ्या(?)माह । एव(*) चार्थे विदितम्बो[8] भवत्वेश[9] ग्रामो मया मातापित्रोरा-

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It is not impossible that the record was prepared to replace a lost or damaged record of Samudragupta and the seal of the old record was attached to it. Note that the forgers believed that Samudragupta had a camp at Ayodhyā. See *supra*, p. 262, n. 4. The style may suggest that Nos. 4-5 were forged by the same person.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III

2 Symbol for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु.

3 Read ०वाराद योध्या०.

4 ०च्छेत्तुः is intended; but read ०च्छेत्ता. The sixth case-ending in the epithets of Samudragupta shows that part of the grant was copied from a record of one of his successors. A grant of Samudragupta is required to have सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समः कृतान्तपरशुर्न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्यकोटिप्रदश्चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्ता महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रो महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रो महाराधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रो लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः.

5 Read चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाऽर्त्तुर्म०. 6 Usually लिच्छवि.

7 The record uses व and ब indiscriminately and points to the later characteristic of representing both व and ब by the sign for व. This is possibly due to the fact that the grant was fabricated not earlier than the 5th-6th century, when in North India, the sign for ब was being replaced by that for व. Read ब्राह्मण.

8 Read ०र्थो विदितो वो. 9 Read ०त्वेष.

9 त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय[1] बह्वृचाय[2] स[ब्र]ह्मचा-[3]

10 रिणे ब्राह्मण[4]-गोपदेवस्वामिने सोपरिकरोद्देशेनाग्रहारत्वेनाति-[5]

11 सृष्टः [।*] तद्युष्माभिरस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा च कर्त्तव्या सर्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्राम-प्र-

12 त्यया[6] मेय-हिरण्यादयो देयाः [।*] न चेतत्प्रभृत्येतदाग्रहारिकेणान्यद्वा-[7]

13 मादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-कारुकादयः प्रवेशयितव्यामन्यथा[8] नियतमाग्र-[9]

14 हाराक्षेप(:*) स्यादिति [॥*] **सम्वत्**[10] ९ वैशाख-दि १० [॥*]

15 अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत[11]-**द्यूत-गोपस्वाम्यादेश**-लिखितः[12] [॥*]

No. 6—Inscription on the Lyrist Type of Coins of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 18ff.

First Side[13]

King seated, nimbate, cross-legged to left, wearing waist cloth, close-fitting cap,[14] necklace, ear-rings and armlets, on high-

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1 *I. e.*, भारद्वाजगोत्र-जाताय. 2 Read बह्वृचाय.

3 Read सब्रह्म०. सब्रह्मचारिन्=fellow student =student. 4 Read ब्राह्मण.

5 उपरिकर may mean 'extra cess'; but some scholars suggest 'tax paid by temporary tenants'. उद्देश=assignment, allotment; but possibly 'power of assignment'.

6 प्रत्यय=प्रत्याय (*C. I. I.* III, p. 170, n. 5)=tax, revenue, income.

7 Read चैतत्प्र० and °णान्यग्रा०. 8 Read तव्याः। अन्यथा.

9 Read नियतमग्र०. अग्रहार=गुरुकुलादावृत्तब्रह्मचारिणे देयं· क्षेत्रादि।

10 Read संवत्. See *supra*, p. 262, n. 4.

11 *Supra*, No. 4 reads अनु which may be right. Gopasvāmin's office was possibly connected with the villages. Bhandarkar: नालन्दा.

12 Gopasvāmin's official titles are different in *supra*, No. 4. The occurrence of his name in both the grants may suggest that he is not a fictitious personality. द्यूत may indicate the Head of the department superintending the gambling houses. Supply लेखः अयम् after लिखितः.

13 From representation in Allan's Catalogue, Plate V, No. 3; see also Nos. 1ff. Nos. 6-8 here represent inscriptions on gold coins.

14 Some specimens represent the king bare-headed.

backed couch, playing *Vīṇā* which lies on his knees[1]; beneath couch is a footstool[2]; inscription in Brāhmī characters of the northern class:—

महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः[3]

Second Side

Lakshmī, nimbate, seated to left on a wicker-stool, wearing loose robe, close-fitting cap and jewellery, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopia (the horn of plenty, a classical symbol of abundance like the Indian Kalpavṛiksha) in left arm; inscription on right in Brāhmī characters:—

समुद्रगुप्तः[4]

No. 7—Inscription on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A. D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 21ff.

First Side[5]

Horse for the sacrifice to left before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back[6]; beneath horse the Brāhmī *akshara* सि; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा
दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः [।*][7]

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1 Cf. निशितविदग्धमति-गान्धर्वललितैर्वीडित-त्रिदशपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरुनारदादेः in l. 27 of *supra*, No. 2.

2 On some specimens, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि is found inscribed on the foot-stool. सि may be an indication for the mint.

3 The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

4 On one specimen the name seems to be written सर्मुद्र०.

5 From representation in Allan's Catalogue, Plate V. No. 10; see also Nos. 9-13. Note that the Aśvamedha which is not mentioned in the detailed Allahābād ins. must have been performed very late in the king's life.

6 On some specimens we have a low pedestal below.

7 The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate. Here is a verse in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre of which only two

Second Side

Mahishī Dattadevī standing to left, wearing loose robe and jewellery, holding chowree over right shoulder in right hand; left hand hangs by her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal on which the queen stands a chain of flowers (?) extending round the spear; on some specimens, a gourd (?) at her feet; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

अश्वमेध-पराक्रमः

No. 8—Inscription on the Coins of Kācha[2].

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 15 ff.

First Side[3]

King standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace; holding standard surmounted by wheel (चक्र) in left hand, and sprinkling incense on alter with right hand; inscription on Brāhmī characters of the northern class:—

(beneath left arm) का (i.e., काचः)
च

---

pādas are given. On one specimen the reading is पृथिवीं विजित्य, and on another we have

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्याहत-वाजिमेधः।

See *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., X, p. 256; Banerji, *Prāchīnamudrā* (Bengali), p. 129.

2 Kācha is generally identified with Samudragupta and the identification seems to be reasonable (cf. the title सर्व्वोच्छेत्ता). Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son who was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. Some scholars however take Kācha to be a separate person. Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is known from the *Devīchandragupta* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandra Gupta II. The tradition recorded in the drama has however not been supported by contemporary epigraphic evidence and may not be entirely historical.

3 From representation in Allan's Cat., Plate II, No. 9; see also Nos. 6-13.

(margin in circle) काचो गामवजित्य

दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति[1] [।*]

Second Side

Lakshmī standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding flower in right hand and cornucopia in left arm; border of dots; a symbol on left; on right inscription in Brāhmī characters of the northern class :—सव्वराजोच्छेत्त[।*]

No. 9—Mathurā pillar Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Regnal year 5; Gupta year 61[2] (=380 A.D.)

Chandul Mandul Bagichi at MATHURĀ, Muttra Dist., U. P.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 8f.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī resembling "Kushāna script" of c. 2nd cent.[3]

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1 It is half of a stanza in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre. The superscripts, vowel marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

2 This is the earliest genuine date of the Gupta era. "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March, 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (*Smith, E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). In the 11th century, Al-Bīrūnī accepted this epoch of the era, though he had wrong informations about its relation with the Guptas. "As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Saka-kāla" (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 7). Accordingly, Gupta 1=Saka 242=A.D. 320-21. In view of Albīrūni's statement regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, recent attempts to prove that it began from A.D. 200, 272 or B. C. 57 must be regarded as utterly absurd. See *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 47ff. As the designation "Gupta family" is known to have come into use during the time of the third king with name ending in *gupta*, we are inclined to call him Chandra Gupta (see *infra*, p. 275, n. 1).

3 For a Mathurā record of Kaṇishka's 14th year in "Eastern Gupta script,"

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् [।*] भट्टारक-महाराज-[राजाधि]राज-श्री-**समुद्रगुप्त**-स-

2 [त्पु]त्रस्य भट्टारक-म[हाराज-[रा*जाधि]राज-श्री-**चन्द्रगुप्त**-

3 स्य विज(य*)-राज्य[2]-संवत्स[रे*] [पं]**चमे** [५][3] **कालानुवर्त्तमान-सं-**

4 **वत्सरे एकषष्ठे**[4] ६०(+*)१.....[प्र]थमे शुक्लदिवसे पं-[5]

5 चम्यां [।*] अस्यां पूर्व्वा[यां] [भ]गव[त्कु]शिकाद्दशमेन भगव-

6 त्पराशराबतुर्थेन [भगवत्क*]पि[ल]विमल-शि-

7 ष्य-शिष्येण भगव[दुपमित*]विमल-शिष्येण[6]

8 आर्य्योदि[ता*]चार्य्ये[ण*] [स्व*]-पु[ण्या*]प्यायन-निमित्तं

9 गुरूणां च कीर्त्य[र्थमुपमितेश्व]र-कपिलेश्वरौ

10 गुर्व्वायतने गुरु[7].....प्रतिष्ठापितौ[8] [।*] नै-

11 तत्क्याख्यर्थमभिलि[ख्यते] [।*] [अथ*] माहेश्वराणां वि-

12 ज्ञप्ति×क्रियते सम्बोधनं च [।*] यथाका[ले]नाचार्या-

13 णां परिग्रहमिति[9] मत्वा विशङ्क[ं] [पू]जा-पुर-

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see *E.I.*, XIX, p. 96f. The peculiarity is due to the inclination and locality of the scribe and the existence of a cursive script side by side with the script used in the epigraphs.

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. 2 Bhandarkar : **रज्य**.

3 Bhandarkar reads **गुप्त** before **काला०**. I do not find any trace of *aksharas* like **गुप्त** in the facsimile. Our reading shows that the first regnal year of the king was Gupta year 57=476-77 A.D. 4 Read **एकषष्टितमे**.

5 Bhandarkar fills the lacuna as **आषाढ-मासे**. **प्रथम** indicates the first of the two Āshāḍhas including the intercalary one. There were two Āshāḍhas in A.D. 380. Read **पंचमे**.

6 The names of the teachers end in *vimala*. Bhandarkar's translation makes a confusion between Upamita° and Kapila.°

7 Bhandarkar suggests the restoration **गुरुप्रतिमायुतौ**. Apparently the representations showed as if Upamita° and Kapila° were standing each with a Linga on the head. 8 Read **०तौ**.

9 Read **परिग्रहः इति (=परिग्रहः भविष्यति इति)**. Bhandarkar who prefers full-stop after **क्रियते** (l. 11) and **आचार्य्याणां** (ll. 11-12) and translates **यथाकालेनाचार्याणां** as "the *ächāryas* for the time being," seems to have misunderstood the meaning of ll. 10-14. **यथाकालेन=यथाकालं**, in proper time. **आचार्य्याणां=गुरूणाम्** !

14 स्कार[ं] परिग्रह-पारिपाल्य[ं] [कुर्य्या]दिति[1] विज्ञप्तिरिति [।*]

15 यश्च कौर्ल्यभिद्रोहं कुर्य्या[।]द्य[श्चा]भिलिखित[मुप]र्य्यधो

16 वा[2] [स] पंचभिर्महा[।*]पातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्स्यात् [।*]

17 जयति च भगवा[ण्डरण्डः][3] रुद्रदण्डो(ऽ*)ग्र[ना]यको नित्य[ं] [॥७]

Nos. 10-11—Udayagiri Cave Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 82 (=A.D. 401)

Udayagiri Hill, near Bhilsā, Isāgarh Dist., Gwalior State.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 (for No. 10); p. 35 (for No. 11) Bühler, *V. Or. Journ.*, V, p. 226 ff.; Bhandarkar, List, No. 1260, 1541 (for other references).

No. 1

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धम् ॥ **संवत्सरे** ८० (+*) २ आषाढ़-मास-शुक्लैकादश्याम्[5] परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधि(राज*)-श्री-**चन्द्र[गु]प्त**-पादानुद्ध्यातस्य ।[6]

2 महाराज-**छगलग**-पौत्रस्य महाराज-**विष्णुदास**-पुत्रस्य **सनकानिकस्य** महा[राज*]

* * लस्यायं[7] दे[यधर्म्मः] ।

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1 Read कुर्युः इति (=कुर्युः माहेश्वराः इति).

2 Bhandarkar wants to read उच्छिन्द्यात् or some such word after वा.

3 Bhandarkar suggests the correction भगवान्दण्डः स. Here is half of a stanza in the Āryā or Gīti metre.

4 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

5 Read शुक्लैकादश्यां. Fleet reads a stop after म्.

6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. The word अनुध्यात is usually taken to mean "meditating on..." But in many cases it certainly means "favoured." See the Tālagunda inscription (*infra*); also my note in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, 1937, p. 229; *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, p. 239.

7 There is space for two letters of which the latter may be ड्ड according to Fleet. May the name be सोड्डल ?

No. 2

Language : Sanskrit.
Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Metre : Verses 1-5, अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

सिद्धम् [॥*][2]

1 यद[']तज्ज्योतिरर्कोभमुर्व्व्यां[म्भा][3] * * ⌣ — ⌣ * [।*]
* * * * ⌣ — व्यापि **चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम्** [॥*] [१]

2 विक्रमावकयकीता दास्य-न्यग्भूत-पार्त्थिव[।] [।*]
* * * [स]न[4]-संरक्ता धर्म्म * * ⌣ — ⌣ * [॥*] [२]

3 तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचि[न्त्यो][ज्ज्वल-क*][र्म्म]णः [।*]
अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्यो व्या[पृत-सन्धि-वि*]ग्रह[ः] [॥*] ३

4 कौत्सइशाव इति ख्यातो **वीरसेनः** कुलाख्यया [।*]
शब्दार्थ-न्याय-लोकज्ञ×कवि≍**पाटलीपुत्रकः** [॥*] ४

5 कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयार्त्थेन[5] राज्ञैवेह सहागतः [।*]
भक्त्या भगवतश्शम्भोर्ग्गुहामेतामकारयत् [॥*] ५

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 In the left margin on the level of l. 3.

3 The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as

°मुर्व्वीं भाति निरन्तरम् ।
दिवा-विभावरी-व्याप्ति° ॥

4 For स, Fleet reads मा; but the *ā*-sign is not clear and the *akshara* may be read as a partially preserved स. The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as यस्य शासन-संरक्ता धर्मज्ञस्य वसुन्धरा.

5 Chandra Gupta II was a *digvijayin*. This claim apparently refers to his expedition against the Sakas of western India.

No. 12—Sāñchī Stone Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 93 (=A.D. 412).

SĀÑCHĪ, Bhopāl State, Central India.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 31 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1262 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT[1]

[सिद्धम् ॥*][2]

1 का[कना*]दबोट-श्रीमहाविहारे[3] शील-समाधि-प्रज्ञा-[4]गुण-भावितेन्द्रियाय परम-पुरुष-

2 चे[ल][ग*]ताय[5] चतुर्दिग्भ्यागताय श्रमण-पुङ्गवावसथायार्य्य-सङ्घाय महाराजाधि-

3 रा[ज-श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त-पाद-प्रसादाप्यायित-जीवित-साधनः अनुजीवि-सत्पुरुष-सद्भाव-

4 व्[त्यर्थं *] जगति प्रख्यापयन् अनेक-समरावाप्त-विजय-यशस्पताकः सुकुलिदेश-न

5 ष्टी * * * वास्तव्य उन्दान-पुत्राम्रकार्दवो मज-शरभङ्गाम्ररात-राजकुल-मूल्य-की-

6 त[म] * * * * ईश्वरवासकं पञ्च-मण्डल्या[*] प्रणिपत्य ददाति पञ्चविंशतिञ्च[6] दीना-

7 रान् [॥*] * * * * * * * [7]यादद्भेन महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज इति प्रि-

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Above the beginning of line 1.

3 Kākanādaboṭa was apparently the old name of the Sāñchī region.

4 Originally व was engraved instead of प.

5 Fleet reads कु...ताय ; but the first *akshara* is clearly चे and traces of ल still remain.

6 Read विंशतिञ्च.

7 Fleet: त[द्]त्त.....Pañchamaṇḍalī is supposed to be the mod. Pañchāyet, the village jury of five (or more) persons. राजकुल=(a person belonging to) the royal family; cf. mod. Rāwal. It seems that half of the money and the price of the *vāsaka* (house-site?) was paid by Āmrakārdava and the other half by his friends.

8 य-ना[म्नः*][1] * * * * * रितस्य सर्व्व-गुण-संपत्तये यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पञ्च भिक्षवो भुंज-

9 तां र[ङ्ग*]-गृ[हे*] [च*] [दी*][प]को ज्वलतु [।*] मम चापरार्द्धात्पञ्च वै भिक्षवो भुंजतां रङ्ग-गृहे च

10 दीपक इ[ति] [॥*] [त]देतत्प्रवृत्तं य उच्छिन्द्यात्स गो-ब्रह्म-हत्यया संयुक्तो भवे-त्पञ्चभिश्चान-[2]

11 न्तर्य्यैरिति [॥*] सं ९० (+*) ३ भाद्रपद-दि ४ [॥*]

No. 13—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 90+x (=490-10+x)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 49 ff., No. 133 ff.

First Side[3]

Bust of king Chandra Gupta to right with traces of Greek letters[4]; on left:—

व ६० (+*) [x][5] (=[गुप्त]-वर्षे ६०+x)

---

1 Fleet fills up the lacuna by प्रियनामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य, and takes देवराज to be the name of an officer of Chandra Gupta II. देवराज or देवगुप्त was however another name of this king. The grants of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II mentions Chandra Gupta II, his maternal grandfather, as देवगुप्त.

2 The पञ्चानन्तर्य्यकर्म or ०धर्म are the five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. They are five of the six *abhiṭhānas* (*supra*, p. 73), viz. *mātughāto* (matricide), *pitughāto* (parricide), *arahantaghāto* (killing an Arhat), *lohituppādo* (shedding the blood of a Buddha), *saṅghabhedo* (causing divisions among the priesthood), *aññasatthuddeso* (following other teachers)—with the exception of the last or the last but one.

3 From representation in Allan's Catalogue, Plate X, No. 15.

4 The silver issues of Chandra Gupta II were meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Saka Satraps. The introduction of the king's bust, traces of Greek characters and the date are all due to the influence of the Satrapal coins.

5 There is a small sign after the figure for 90. We cannot be definite regarding its value. The date shows that western India was conquered before 409-10+x A.D. Cf. *supra*, p. 182, n. 2, and the provenance of *supra*, Nos. 3 and 10-11.

Second Side

Garuḍa, standing, facing, with outspread wings; border of dots; above on right cluster of dots; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

परमभाग[व*]त-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त- विक्रमादित्य[:*][1]

No. 14—Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra[2]

MEHARAULĪ or Memharaulī, near Dehli

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1243 (for earlier references); *J. A. H. R. S.*, X, p. 86ff; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, v, p. 407ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th century A. D[3].

Metre : Verses 1-3 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

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1 The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the plate. On another variety of these coins we have the legend :—श्री-गुप्त-कुलस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-विक्रमाङ्कस्य.

2 He should probably be identified with Chandra Gupta II. The facts (1) that his name was Chandra (cf. the name on the copper coins of Chandra Gupta II), (2) that he went on a *digvijaya* (cf. *supra*, No. 11, l. 5), (3) that he was lord of an empire (cf. l. 5.), (4) that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and (5) that he was a Vaishṇava, suggest a monarch like Chandra Gupta II. His identification with Chandragupta I, the Nāga Chandrāṃśa, or Chandravarman of Mālwā or of the Susuniyā record, etc., is less convincing. The identification with Maurya Chandragupta is absurd.

3 As has been pointed out by Fleet, allowing for "the stiffness resulting from engraving" on iron, the characters approximate in many respects the Allahābād inscription (*supra*, No. 1), supposed by that scholar to be later than Samudragupta; but with the "very marked *mātrās* or horizontal top-strokes", the letters resemble most closely those used in the Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumāra Gupta (No. 15, *infra*). The record must therefore be assigned to the 5th century. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.

TEXT[1]

1 य[स्यो]द्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमु[र]सा शत्रून्समेत्यागता-
न्वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो(ऽ॰)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्ति[र्भु]जे [।*]

2 तीर्त्वा सप्त **मुखानि**[2] येन [स]म[रे] **सिन्धो**र्ज्जिता [व]**ाह्लिका**[3]
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते **जलनिधि**र्व्वीर्य्यानिलैर्द्दक्षिणः [॥*] **1**[4]

3 [खि]न्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्ग्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या[5] कर्म्म-जितावनिं[6] गतवतः कीर्त्या[7] स्थितस्य क्षितौ [।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. This pillar was brought here from some hill near the Beas by some energetic ruler of Delhi (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 401). Cf. Aśoka's pillars transferrred to Delhi by Ferūz Shāh (*supra*, p. 55, n. 1).

2 For the seven mouths of the Indus, see *Periplus*, § 38, and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, § 2.

3 Bhau Daji reads वाल्हिका. The right arm of the triangle of व is not preserved. ह्लि is however quite clear. Bhandarkar places this Vālhika (=Balkh) on the Vipāśā (Beas) on the strength of the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse quoted at p. 277 n. 5, *infra*. There however the reading वाह्लिकान् is certainly a mistake for वाहिकान् or वाही॰. For the well-known Vāhīka country (=the Panjāb) on the Beas and other rivers, cf. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः। तान्धर्म्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाह्लीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ .....वह्लिश्चनाम ह्लीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ। तयोरपत्यं वाह्लीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥ *Mbh.*, VIII, 44, vv. 7 and 41; also see *P. V. Kane Volume*, Poona, Art. No. 64.

4 The verse simply refers to the four limits of the territory claimed to have been traversed by the king in course of his *digvijaya*. The eastern limit was वङ्ग; the southern limit दक्षिण-जलनिधि; the western limit मुखानि सिन्धोः and the northern limit वाह्लिक. The conventional claim is on a par with that of later kings, *e.g.*, Yaśodharman who boasts of conquering the whole country to the west of the लौहित्य, to the south of the तुहिन-शिखरिन्, to the east of the पश्चिमपयोधि and to the north of the महेन्द्र (cf. Mahendrāchala in the Tinnevelly Dist.). It is a प्रशस्ति which may have germs of truth, but may not be entirely historical.

5 Read मूर्त्या.

6 Read जितावनि which is the reading of Fleet. 7 Read कीर्त्या.

4 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
त्राद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशित-रिपोर्य्यन्नस्य शेषः क्षितिम् [॥*] 2[1]

5 प्राप्तेन स्व-भुजार्ज्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र-चन्द्र-[स]दृशीं वक्त्र-श्रियं बिभ्रता [।*]

6 तेनायं प्रणिधाय[2] भूमि-पतिना भावेन[3] **विष्णो**[4] मतिं
प्रान्शुर्व्विष्णुपदे[5] गिरौ भगवतो **विष्णोर्ध्वजः** स्थापितः [॥*] 3

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1 Bhandarkar thinks that the king was not dead but alive when the eulogy was engraved, though he was no longer ruling. The natural interpretation of the verse however suggests that the pillar is posthumous. Cf. खिन्नस्य (=अविजित-देशाभावात् क्षुब्धस्य) इव (उत्प्रेक्षायां) गां (=इहलोकं) विसृज्य (=परित्यज्य) [नवदेशान् जेतुम्] इतरां गां(=लोकान्तरं) आश्रितस्य ; मूर्त्या (=देहेन) कर्मजितावनिं (=सुकृतार्जितस्वर्गलोकं) गतवतः, [परं] कीर्त्या क्षितौ स्थितस्य [च] नरपतेः (=यद्यपि शरीरम् इहलोकं त्यक्तवत्, तथापि कीर्त्तिः इह एव तिष्ठति यस्य राज्ञः) ; शान्तस्य (=निर्वाणस्य अपि अविगत-तापस्य), etc. If our identification is correct, the pillar was erected by Chandra Gupta II about the end of his life, but the record was engraved by Kumāra Gupta I soon after his father's death.

2 There are traces of an incomplete धा after धा in the original.

3 Fleet reads धावेन. The first *akshara* with *serif* is भा of which however the left slanting stroke has been joined with the right vertical arm. It may pass as a form of व, but never as ध which is without serif. It may be tempting to suggest the correction देवेन referring the name to Chandra Gupta II Deva Gupta.

4 Read विष्णौ.

5 Read प्रांशु°. This Vishnupada hill is not far from the Kurukshetra and the Beas. Cf. गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरूद्वहः ।...ततो गच्छेत धर्मज्ञो विष्णोः स्थानमनुत्तमम् । etc.(*Mbh.*, III, 73, 8ff. ; also 103ff.); एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम् । एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ (*Ibid.*, III, 138, 8); ययुर्मध्येन वाहीकान् (sic. वाहीकान्) सुदामानञ्च पर्वतम् ॥ विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् । (*Rām.*, II, 68, 18-19.)

No. 15—Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)

—Gupta year 96 (=A.D. 415-16).

Bilsad or Bilsand Eṭā (Etah) Dist., U. P.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 43f; Bhandarkar, List, No. 1263 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metres : Verses 1-2 उपगीति (defective, with यतिभङ्ग-दोष in V. 1); V. 3 स्रग्धरा ; V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[1]

1 [सिद्धम् ॥*] [सर्व्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-स*][लिला]-स्वादित-यशसो

2 [धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागतानेकगो-हि*]रण्यकोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः

3 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य॰ म*][हा]राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य

4 लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्रस्य*] [महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजा*]धिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य[3]

5 महादेव्यां दत्त[देव्यामुत्पन्नस्य] [स्वयमप्रतिरथस्य*] [परम*]-भागवतस्य महा-राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य[3]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 The illegible portion in ll. 1-3 can be restored from passages in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

3 For the *sāpekṣa-samāsas* here (properly समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य) and in l. 5 (properly चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य), see *supra*, p. 175, n. 6 and the Garhā ins., p. 179.

6 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्याभि[व]र्द्धमान-
विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे षण्णवते[1]

7 [अस्यान्दि]वस-पूर्व्वायां[2] भगवतस्त्रैलोक्य-तेजस्संभार-संतताद्भुत-मूर्त्तेर्ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य

8 * * * * निवासिनः स्वामि-महासेनस्यायतने-
[ऽ*]स्मिन्कार्त्तयुगाचार-सद्धर्म्म-वर्त्मानुयायिना [॥*] 1

9 [माता][3] * * * * * * [प]र्षदा [।*]
मानितेन ध्रुवशर्म्मणा कर्म्म महत्कृतेदम्[4] । [।*] 2

10 कृ[त्व]ा [नेत्र*]ाभिरामां मु[नि-वसति][मिह*] [स्व]र्ग[5]-सोपान-[रू]पां ।[6]
कौबेरच्छन्दबिम्बां स्फटिकमणिदलाभास-गौरां प्रतोलीम् ।[7]

11 प्रासादाग्राभिरूपं गुणवर-भवनं [धर्म्म-स*]त्र[8] यथावत् ।
पुण्येष्वेवाभिरामं व्रजति शुभमतिस्तात-शर्म्मा ध्रुवो(ऽ*)स्तु[9] ।[।*] 3

12 — । — । — स्य ⌣ — शुभामृतवर-प्रख्यात-ल[ब्धा भुवि] ।[10]
— — भक्तिरहीन-सत्व-समता[11] कस्तं न संपूजयेत् ।

13 [येनापूर्व्व*]-विभूति-सञ्चय-चयैः शैली— ⌣ — — ⌣ — : ।
तेनायं ध्रुवशर्म्मणा स्थिर-वरस्तम्भो[च्छ्र]यः कारितः ।[।*] 4

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1 Read षण्णवतितमे. राज्यसंवत्सर=regnal year; but when eras came into use, the same expression was technically used also with some year of an era (which took the place of the regnal year) just to indicate that the particular year of the era falls in the reign-period of the king. When both of them are mentioned, sometimes a distinction is made between the regnal year and the year of an era (cf *supra*, No. 9).

2 See *supra*, p. 133, n. 1; p. 121, etc. पूर्वा=what has been given above; the date indicated above; cf. मालव-पूर्वा in one record.

3 The lacuna may be filled up as मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यार्थं साधु-पर्षदा. Read संमानितेन for the sake of the metre. 4 Read कृतमिदं.

5 The letters are indistinct in the first half of l. 10.

6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. कौबेरच्छन्द is a kind of pearl necklace.

7 Properly गौरीं. प्रतोली="street, main road of a city", according to lexicons. Here the meaning appears to be "a gateway, a gateway with a flight of steps".

8 The restoration is due to Fleet.

9 "May the venerable Sarmā endure for a long time". Here the second part of the name (शर्मा) represents the whole name (ध्रुवशर्मा). See *supra*, p. 261, n. 3. There is a play on the word ध्रुव.

10 The mark of punctuation is superfluous. 11 Usually सत्त्व.

No. 16—Dhānāidaha Copper-plate Inscription [of Kumāra Gupta I]—Gupta year 113 (=A.D. 432-33)

DHĀNĀIDAHA, Rājshāhī Dist., Bengal

R. D. BANERJI, *J. A. S. B.*, V, p. 459 ff; R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind*, XVII, 347 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1267 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

1 .....[स*]म्वत्सर-श[ते] [2]त्रयोदशोत्त[रे*]

2 [१००+१०+३*]..... [अस्या*][न्दि]वस-पूर्व्वायां परमदैवत-पर-

3 [म-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-**श्रीकुमारगुप्तः** *]..... कुटु[म्बि][4].....ब्राह्मण-शिवशर्म्म-नागशर्म्म-मह-

4 .....वकीर्त्ति-क्षेमदत्त[5]-गोप्तृक-वग्गपाल-पिङ्गल-शुङ्क-काल-

5 .....विष्णु-[देव]शर्म्म-विष्णुभद्र[6]-खासक-रामक-गोपाल-

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1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. The record is fragmentary. Lines 15-16 show that each complete line of the epigraph contained some 40 *aksharas*. This is the right half of the original record containing about 22 *aksharas* in a line. But ll. 1-5 and 16-17 are further damaged. According to Banerji, the fragments of the upper left corner which was broken in the exhibition ground of 1906-07 contained the two *aksharas* म and र which are evidently the second and third syllables of Kumāragupta's name. Nos. 16, 18, 19, etc. are essentially sale-deeds and not records of free gift. They record semi-gifts, the state land being sold at a reduced rate to Brāhmaṇas, etc. who purchase it with religious motives.

2 Read संवत्सर. Some 28 *aksharas* are lost, but may be conjecturally restored as १[०] चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादितयशसो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-कुमारगुप्तस्य संवत्सर०.

3 Here followed the names of the month and the tithi (cf. *infra*, No. 17, ll.3-4).

4 The reading was possibly समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः ग्रामिक-ब्राह्मण०.

5 Banerji : क्षमवन्त. 6 Banerji : विष्यभद्र.

6 .....श्रीभद्र-सोमपाल-रामाशक(?)-ग्रामाष्टकुलाधिकरणञ्च[1]

7 .....विष्णुना(?णा) विज्ञापिता इह **खादा(टा?)पार**[2]-विषये(ऽ*)नुवृत्त-मर्य्यादास्थि[ति]-

8 ...नीवीधर्म्म-च्च(क्रू?)येण[3] लभ्य[ते] [।*] [त]दर्हथ ममाद्यानेनैव[4] क्रमेन(?ण) दा[तुं]

9 .....समेत्या(?)भिहितै(:*) सर्व्वमेव * * कर[5]-प्रतिवेशि(?)-कुटुम्बिभिरवस्थाप्य क-

10 ..... * रि * कन * यदितो * * [त]दवगतमिति यतस्तथेति प्रतिपाद्य

11 .....[अष्टक-न*]वक-नला[भ्या]मपविच्छद्य क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमेकं[6] दत्तं [।*] ततः आयुक्तक-

12 ..... * **भ्रा(?)तृकटक**-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्तं [।*] त[द्भव]-[7]

13 .....भूम्या दा[नाद्ये]पे च गुणागुणमनुचिन्त्य शरीर-क[।*]म्पनकस्य चि-

14 [र-चञ्चलत्वं*]..... [॥*] [उ]क्तञ्च भगवता द्वैपायनेन [।*]

स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा[8]

15 [यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।*]

[स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ*]भिः सह पच्यते [॥*] **1**

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि[9] स्वर्गे मोदति [भू]मिदः [।*]

16 [आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥*] **2**

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1 **अष्टकुल**, like पञ्चमण्डली (mod. पञ्चायेत्) of *supra*, No. 12, may indicate the village jury. **अधिकरण**=court of justice and office of administration=governing body. The passage thus seems to mean "the local governing body of the village" **अष्टकुल**=eight families=representatives of eight (or more) families.

2 Banerji : **महाखुपापार**. 3 Or **धर्म्मात्क्रयेण** ?.

4 **मम**=**मह्यं**. 5 **कारु** or **आज्ञाकर** ?.

6 **कुल्यवाप** (lit. area on which one *kulya* of seed can be sown) may be related to Old Beng. *kuṛobā*=mod. *bighā* (100 square cubits). But it appears to be a much larger area. The word may also be connected with **कुल**, for which see **मनु**, VII, 119. According to Kullūka, **कुल** means land annually ploughable by two ploughs (*halas*). Medhātithi says that it is called **हट्ट** in some places and **उट्ट** in others. See *infra*, p. 286, n. 9, and No. 42, n. **अपविच्छद्य**=severing=measuring out.

7 Possibly we have to restore **भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमोद्यानुपालनीयं**. ◦**स्वामिनो**=**स्वामिने**

8 Read **दत्तां वा**. 9 Read ◦**स्वाणि**

[पृ*]र्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं [मही][मताञ्छ्रेय*]

17 [दानाच्छ्रे योऽनुपालनं ॥*] 3

.....यं...भद्रे न उत्कीर्णा स्तम्भेश्वरदासे[न][2] [॥*]

No- 17—Karamdaṇḍa Stone Linga Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I

—Gupta year 117 (=436 A.D.)

Bharādhī Dīh, near KARAMDAṆḌĀ, Faizābād Dist., U. P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 71 f ; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1270 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class[3].

TEXT[3]

1 नमो **महादेवाय** । म[हाराजाधिराज-श्री][**चन्द्रगुप्त**-पादा*]-

2 नुध्यातस्य चतुधुदधि[4]-सलिलास्वादित-य[शसो] [महाराजा*]-

3 धिराज-श्री**कुमारगुप्तस्य** विजयराज्य- **संवत्स[र]-शते सप्तदशोत्त[रे*]**

4 कार्त्तिक-मास-दशम-दिवसे(ऽ*)स्यान्दिवस-पूर्व्वायां [च्छान्दोग्याचार्य्यांश्च]वाजि-

5 सगोत्र-कुरम[।]र[व्या?]भट्टस्य पुत्रो विष्णुपालितभट्टस्तस्य पूत्रो[5] मह[।]र[।]-

6 जधिजाजा[6]-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्तस्य** मन्त्री कुमारामात्यशिशखरस्वाम्यभूत्तस्य पुत्रः

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1 The reading intended may be [लिखिता पट्टिके]यं अमात्य-भद्रे ण उत्कीर्णा स्तम्भेश्वरदासेन. Traces of क before यं are visible. Basak reads सु(?)श्रीभद्रेन(ण).

2 Banerji reads स्थङ्गेश्वर,

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The script is described as the so-called western veriety of the Gupta alphabet. The eastern variety is determined by the letters म (without a curve in the left side), स (with a loop instead of the left curve) and ह (with the horizontal base absent and the lower part curved to left). I have not adopted the nomenclature as the forms are actually pre-Gupta and as they are sometimes used indiscriminately with the alternate forms.

4 Read चतुरुदधि. 5 Read पुत्रो. 6 Read °जाधिराज.

7 पृथिवीपेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(ऽ*)न-

8 न्तरं च महाबलाधिकृतः[1] भगवतो महादेवस्य पृथिवीश्वर[2] इत्येवं समाख्यातस्या-

9 स्यैव भगवतो यथा-कर्त्तव्य-धार्म्मिक-कर्म्मणा पाद-शुश्रूषणाय भगवच्छै-

10 लेश्वरस्वामि-महादेव-पादमूले आयोध्यक-नानागोत्रचरण-तपः-

11 स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूत्र-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग-भारडिदसमद[3]-देवद्रोण्यां

12 ... ...

No. 18—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I

—Gupta year 124 (=444 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dināj̇pur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 130 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[4]

First Side

1 सम्व[5] १०० (+*) २० (+*) ४ फाल्गुण-दि[6] ७ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराज[ा*]-

2 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते पुण्ड्रवर्द्ध[न*]-

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1 See *supra*, p. 260, n. 1; p. 264, n. 7. Cf. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य in *supra*, No. 11, l. 3.

2 The Liṅga was apparently named after Pṛithivīsheṇa.

3 The lower portions of the *aksharas* of l. 11 are broken away, and भारडि-दसमद is doubtful. Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi (Bhāraḍida?) and that समद may be समुद्र, an epithet of Śiva. But there must be the name of a Brāhmaṇa. देवद्रोणी = a procession with idols.

4 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

5 Read संव which is a contraction of संवत्सरः or संवत्सरे.

6 Read फाल्गुन. दि stands for दिवसः or दिवसे.

3 भुक्तादुपरिक[1]-**चिरातदत्तेनानु**वलवानक[2]-**कोटिवर्ष**-विषये च त-

4 न्नियुक्तक[3]-कुमारामात्य-वेत्रवर्मन्यधिष्ठाणाधिकरणञ्च[4] नगरश्रेष्ठि-

5 धृतिपाल-सार्थवाहवन्धुमित्र[5]-प्रथमकुलिकधृतिमित्र-प्रथमका[य*]-

6 स्थशाम्बपाल-पुरोगे संव्यवहरति[6] यतः ब्राह्मण-कर्प्पटिकेण[7]

7 विज्ञापित(*) अरर्हथ[8] ममाग्निहोत्रोपयोगाय[9] अप्रदाप्रहत-खि-[10]

8 ल-क्षेत्र[*] त्तदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेण[11] शश्वताचद्रार्क्क[12]-तारक-भोज्ये[त*]-

Second Side

9 या[13] नीवी-धर्म्मेण दातुमिति एवं दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने त्रिनो[14] दीना[राण्यु*]-

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1 Read भुक्तावुप०. The city of Puṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogrā Dist. The *bhukti* or district of this name comprised the Bogrā-Rājshāhi-Dināpur region of North Bengal, though in a later period it also included parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. The chief town of Koṭivarsha=Bāṇapura (=Bāṇanagara, mod. Bāṇgarh) =Devīkoṭa was in the present Dināpur Dist.

2 Read ०दत्ते अनुवहमानक०. उपरिक is the title of a provincial viceroy. *Infra*, No. 19 has ०दत्तस्य भोगेनानु० (ever prospering under the rule of.....)

3 Note that the governor of the *vishaya* was appointed by that of the *bhukti*.

4 Read ०वर्म्मण्यधिष्ठाना०. 5 Read बन्धु.

6 अधिष्ठान=city; अधिकरण=court and office of administration=government. Note that the governor was helped in the admistration by a Municipal or District Board of 4 members, viz., the chief guild-president, the chief merchant, the head of the artisan class and the chief of the writer class who possibly acted as secretary of the Board. Note also that Mitra is typically and Pāla, etc., are usually cognomens of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. The Kāyasthas appear to be a mixed caste with both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa elements. So also are the Vaidyas. This is due to the fact that both are professional castes.

7 Read ०केन. 8 Read अर्हथ

9 *I. e.*, service in regard to the maintenance of sacred fire.

10 खिल and अप्रहत both mean "untilled" land· अप्रहत may here mean "unreclaimed jungle land". प्रदा=gift; so अप्रदा=nontransferrable (or unsettled) property. For नीवि, see *supra*, p. 147, n. 3.

11 Read तैदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन. Dīnāra is the Gupta gold coin named after the Roman Denarius.

12 Read शश्वदा०. 13 Read भोग्य०. 14 Read त्रीणि.

10 पसंगृह्य यतः पुस्तपाल-रिशिदत्त[1]-जयनन्दि-विभुदत्तानामवधा-

11 रणया डोङ्गाया उत्तर-पश्चिमद्देशे[2] कुल्यवापमेकम्[3] दत्तम् [॥*]

12 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां वा[4] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*]

भूमि-[दान]-संबद्धा[:*] श्लोका भवन्ति [।*][5]

13 स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा[6] पितृभि[7] सह पच्यतेति [॥*] 1

No. 19—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I

—Gupta year 128 (=A.D. 447).

Dāmodarpur, Dināj̃pur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 133 f; K. N. Dikshit, *ibid*, XVII, p. 193.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[8]

First side

1 स[˙] १०० (+*) २० (+*)८[9] वैशाख-दि १०(+*) ३ पर[मदैव]त-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-[श्री][कुमा*]-

2 रगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ [तत्पाद]-परिगृहीतस्य पु[ण्ड्र]वर्द्धन-भुक्तावुप[रिक-चि]रात-दत्त[स्य]

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1 Read ऋषिदत्त. *Pustapāla* = record-keeper. He also determined whether the land could be and should be sold to the party. See *infra*, No. 41, n.

2 Read पश्चिमोद्देशे. Doṅgā was a locality. 3 Read ०मेकं.

4 Read दत्तां वा. Properly वसुन्धराम्

5 Properly भूमिदान-संबद्धः श्लोक भवति should be read before स्वदत्तां.

6 The usual spelling is कृमि.

7 Read पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ इति ॥

8 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

9 Basak: ६.

3 भोगेना[नुव]ह[मानक]-**कोटिव[र्ष]**-विषये तन्नियुक्तक-कु[मा]रामात्य-वे[त]-

4 वर्म्मणि[1] अधिष्ठाना[धिक]र[णञ्च] नगर[श्रे]ष्ठिधृतिपाल-सार्थवा[हबन्धुमि]त[2]-प्र[थ]-

5 मकुलिकधृतिमित्र-[प्रथ]मकायस्थ[शाम्ब]पाल-पुरो[गे] सम्व्यव[हर]ति[3] [यतः*] स...[4]

6 विज्ञापितं[5] अ[र्ह]थ मम प[ञ्च]-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनायानुवृत्ताप्रदाक्षयनि[वी*]-[6]

7 मर्य्यादया दातुमिति एतद्विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपा[ल]-रिसिदत्त-जयन[न्दि-वि]-[7] [भुदत्तानामव*]-

8 धारणया दीयतामित्यु[त्प]न्ने[8] एतस्माद्य[था]नुवृत्त-दैदीनारि[क्य-कु]ल्यवापे[न]

Second Side

9 [द्व]यमुप[संगृ]ह्य[9] [ऐरा]वता[गो]राज्ये पश्चिम-दिशि[10] पञ्चद्रो[णा]-

10 [म]काः[11] ह[ट्ट]-पानकैश्च[12] सहितेति[13] दत्ताः [।*] तदुत्तर-कालं सम्व्य-[14] वहारिभिः [धर्म्ममवेक्ष्या]नु[म]-

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1 Here as well as in many other records the rules of **सन्धि** have not been observed. **सन्धि** however is optional in Sanskrit prose, though in poetry it is compulsory and its violation there is called **विसन्धि-दोष** by grammarians.

2 Read **बन्धु०**. 3 Read **संव्य०**.

4 Evidently this portion contained the name of the purchaser with the third case-ending. 5 Read **०पितमर्ह०**.

6 Read **नीवी०**. **अनुवृत्त**=customary, following the general rule. For the **पञ्च-महायज्ञ**, see **मनु**, III, 69. 7 Read **ऋषिदत्त**.

8 **उत्पन्न**=ascertained. **अवधारणा**=ascertainment, determination, affirmation. Cf. **प्रतिपाद्य** in *supra*, No. 16, l. 10. See also *infra*, No. 41, n.

9 **दीनारद्वय०** is to be understood. In that case 5 *droṇas* (=*droṇavāpas*) would be equal to ⅘ *kulyavāpa* and 7½ *droṇas*=1 *kulyavāpa*. Actually however, 8 *droṇas*=1 *kulya*; 8 *droṇavāpas*=1 *kulyavāpa*. The *droṇ* is a land measure in many parts of Bengal even today; but it varies greatly according to the length of the measuring rod which again is of different length in different parts of the country. In some parts of Bengal the *droṇ* is a little less than 7 acres. See *infra*, No. 43, n.

10 Read **पश्चिम**. 11 Read **०त्मकाः (भूमयः*)**.

12 I cannot accept the seggestion of F. W. Thomas that we should read here **अरहट्ट** and translate the passage, "with drinking places having Persian wheels." **हट्टपानकैः**=with the right of using the canals excavated for watering the field (?); see *supra*, p. 281, n. 4. 13 Read **सहिता इति**.

14 Read **संव्य०**=by the administering agents.

11 न्तव्याः[1] [।*] अपि च भूमि-दान-सम्बद्धामिमौ[2] श्लोकौ भवतः [।*]

पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजाति[भ्यो]

12 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं महीवतां[3] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपा(ल*)नं[4] [॥*] **1**

बहुभिर्व्वसुधा[5] दत्ता दी[य]ते च

13 पुनः पुनः [।*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति[6] [॥*] **2**

No. 20—Mankuwār Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta year 129 (=448 A.D.)

MANKUWĀR, Allahābād Dist., U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 46 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1273 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class[7].

TEXT[7]

1 ॥[8] नमो बुधान[9] [।*] भगवतो[10] सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्व-मताविरुद्धस्य[11] इयं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता भिक्षु-**बुद्धमित्रेण**[12]

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1 अनुमन्तव्य=should be approved. 2 Read सम्बद्धावि०. 3 Read महीमतां.

4 Properly ०नम्. But often in inscriptions we find the *anusvāra* used in such cases. 5 Read बहु०.

6 Properly फलम् ॥ इति.

7 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The script is the so called Eastern Gupta alphabet (*supra*, p. 282, n. 3).

8 The word सिद्धम् is expressed by as symbol.

9 Possibly Prakrit बुद्धानं is intended. Read बुद्धेभ्यः or बुद्धाय.

10 Read भगवतः.

11 *I.e.*, one who was consistent with his own teachings, who lived according to his own teachings.

12 There is no reason to identify this Buddhamitra with any particular monk of this name known from the history of Buddhism.

2 सम्वत्[1] १०० (+*)२० (+*) ९ महाराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये ज्येष्ठमास-दि[2] १० (+*)= सर्व-दुःक्ख-प्रहानार्त्थम्[3] [॥*]

No. 21—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarman—Mālava[4]

years 493 and 529 (=A.D. 436 and 473)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, Central India.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 81 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 6 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class.

Metre: Verses 1-2. शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 3 वसन्ततिलका; V. 4 आर्य्या; Vv. 5-6 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 7-9 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 10. उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 11 वसन्ततिलका; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 आर्य्या; V. 14 वसन्ततिलका; V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित; V. 16 हरिणी; V. 17 इन्द्र-

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1 Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरे or संवत्सरः.

2 ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ०. *Mahārāja* for *Mahārājādhirāja* in an unofficial record is of no importance.

3 Read दुःख-प्रहाणार्त्थम्.

4 See V. 35 below, and *supra*, p. 92, n. 6. The era which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A.D. was earlier known as the *Kṛita* era or the era of the Mālavas or of the Mālava kings. As regards *Kṛita*, it may be noticed that we have also the spelling *Krita* (=*Krīta*?) in early records. According to Buddhist traditions, Madhyāntika who preached Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kāshmīra, built 500 monasteries, and "he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Sometime after his decease these inferiors became *rulers of the country*; but neighbouring states despising them as a lowborn breed would not have intercourse with them and called them *Krīta* or 'the Bought'" (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 265). If it may be believed that the background of

वज्रा ; V. 18 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 19 मालिनी ; V. 20 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 21 आर्य्या ; V. 22 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 23. वंशस्थ ; V. 24 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 25 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 26 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 28 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; Vv. 30-32 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 33 आर्य्या (defective, with यतिभङ्गदोष); Vv. 34-37 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक) ; Vv. 38-39 आर्य्या (with यतिभङ्गदोष in V. 39); V. 40; वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 41-42 आर्य्या ; V. 43 मालिनी ; V. 44 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

1 [सिद्धम् ॥]

[यो] [त्यर्थ]मुपास्यते सुर-गणै[सिद्धैश्च] सिद्धार्थिभि-

र्द्धानैकाग्र-परैर्विधेय-विषयैर्म्मोक्षार्थिभिर्योगिभिः ।

भक्त्या तीव्र-तपोधनैश्च मुनिभिश्शाप-प्रसाद-क्षमै-

र्हेतुर्य्यो जगत×क्षयाभ्युदययो≍पायात्सवो **भास्करः** ।[।*] **1**[2]

तत्व[3]-ज्ञान-विदो(ऽ*)पि यस्य न विदुर्ब्रह्मर्ष-

2 यो(ऽ*)भ्युद्यता-

×कृत्स्नं यश्च गभस्तिभिः प्रत्रसृतै≍पु[ष्ण]ति लोक-त्रयम् ।

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the above tradition is the Skytho-Parthian occupation of N.W. India and that some of those foreign kings had originally been slaves like those of the Turkish Slave dynasty of a later period, the name *Krita* (=*Kṛita*; *Kṛita* may be a later emendation) may refer to the foreign origin of the era. That this era and the earlier Skytho-Parthian era are identical is suggested by the date (year 103) of the Takti-Bāhī inscription (*supra*, p. 121f.) of the Parthian king Gondopharnes who was a contemporary of St. Thomas and lived in the first century A.D. according to Christian traditions.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 उपध्मानीय (old *visarga* before प् and फ्) is indicated by ≍ and जिह्वामूलीय (old *visarga* before क् and ख्) by ×.

3 Usually तत्त्व.

ग[न्ध]र्व्वासुर-सिद्ध-किन्नर-नरैस्संस्तूयते(ऽ*)भ्युत्थितो
भक्तेभ्यश्च ददाति यो(ऽ*)भिलषितं तस्मै सवित्रे नमः ।[।*] 2
यश्च[प्र]ख्यं प्रतिबिभात्युदयाचलेन्द्र-
विस्तीर्ण्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखर-स्खलितांशुजालः [।*]
क्षीबाङ्गना-
जन-कपोल-तलाभिताम्र-
श्चपायात्स वस्सु[कि]रणाभ[रणो] विवस्वान् ।[।*] 3
कुसुमभरानतद्रुवर-देवकुल-सभा-विहार-रमणीयात्[1] ।
लाट-विषयान्नगावृत-शैलाज्जगति प्रथित-शिल्पाः ।[।*] 4
ते देश-पार्थिव-गुणापहृताः प्रकाश-
मद्रादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखा-
न्यपास्य ।
जातादरा दशपुरं[2] प्रथमं मनोभि-
रन्वागतास्ससुत-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥ 5
मत्तेभ-गण्ड-तट-विच्युत-दान-बिन्दु-
सिक्तोपलाचल-सहस्र-विभूषणायाः[3] [।*]
पुष्पावनम्र-तरु-मण्ड-वतंसकाया
भूमेश्चपरन्तिलक-भूतमिदं क्रमेण ॥ 6
तटोत्थ-वृक्ष-च्युत-
नैक-पुष्प-
विचित्र-तीरान्त-जलानि भान्ति ।
प्रफुल्ल[4]-पद्माभरणानि यत्र
सरांसि कारण्डव-संकुलानि ॥ 7
विलोल-वीची-चलितारविन्द-
पतद्रजः-पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः ।

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1 Read रमणीयात्. Lāṭa was the country to the west of West Mālwā. Navasārikā (mod. Nausāri) was one of its chief cities.

2 Modern Man-Dasor.

3 Read विभूषणायाः.

4 Read प्रफुल्ल. Kāraṇḍava is a kind of duck.

ख-केसरोदार-भरावभुग्नैः
क्वचित्सरांस्यम्बुरुहैश्च भान्ति ।[।*] 8
ख-पुष्प-भारावनतैर्न्नगेन्द्रै-
र्मद-
6 प्रगल्भालि कुल-स्वनैश्च ।
अजस्रगाभिश्च पुराङ्गनाभि-
र्व्वनानि यस्मिन्समलंकृतानि ॥ 9
चलत्पताकान्यबला-सनाथा-
न्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
तडिल्लता-चित्र-सिताभ्र-कूट-
तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥ 10
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्या-
न्याभान्ति दीर्घ-बलभी-
7 नि सवेदिकानि ।
गान्धर्व्व-शब्द-मुखरानि[1] निविष्ट-चित्र-
कर्म्माणि लोल-कदली-वन-शोभितानि ॥ 11
प्रासाद-मालाभिरलंकृतानि
धरां विदार्य्येव समुत्थितानि ।
विमान-माला-सदृशानि यत्र
गृहाणि पूर्णेन्दु-करामलानि ॥ 12
यद्भात्यभिरम्य-सरिद्वयेन[2] चपलोर्म्मिणा समुपगूढं[3] [।*]
8 रहसि कुच-शालिनीभ्यां प्रीति रतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥ 13
सत्य-[क्षमा]-दम-शम-व्रत-शौच-धैर्य्य-
[स्वाद्धया]य-वृत्त-विनय-स्थिति-बुद्धयुपेतैः ।

---

1 Read मुखराणि·

2 Read सरिद्वयेन·

3 Properly गूढम् ; but in this record and in others the use of the *anusvāra* is found in many such cases.

विद्या-तपो-निधिभिरस्मयितैश्च विप्रै-
र्य्यद्भ्राजते ग्रहगणैरिव खं प्रदीप्तैः ॥ **14**
अथ समेत्य निरन्तर-सङ्गतै-
रहरहः-प्रविजृम्भित-
9 सौहृदाः [।*]
नृपतिभिस्सुतवत्प्रतिम[।]निताः
प्रमुदिता न्यवसन्त सुखं पुरे ॥ **15**
श्रवण-[सु]भग[ं] ध[।]नुर्व्वे[द्यं] दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः
सुचरित-शतासङ्गाःकेचिद्विचित्र-कथाविदः ।
विनय-निभृतास्सम्यग्धर्म्म-प्रसङ्ग-परायणा-
ःप्रियमपरुषं पत्थ्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं ॥ **16**
10 केचित्स्व-कर्म्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
र्व्विज्ञायते ज्योतिरमात्मवद्भिः[1] ।
[अद्यापि] चान्ये समर-प्रगल्भा-
[ःकु]र्व्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य ।[।*] **17**
प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञ-वधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
वंशानुरूप-चरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
सत्यव्रताः प्रणयिनामुपकार-दक्षा
विस्रम्भ-
11 [पूर्व्व]मपरे दृढ-सौहृदाश्च ॥ **18**
विजित-विषय-सङ्गैर्द्धर्म्म-शीलैस्तथान्यै-
[मृ]दुभि[रधि]क-स[त्वैर्लोकयात्रा]मरैश्च[2] ।
स्व-कुल-तिलक-भूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारै-
रधिकमभि[वि]भाति श्रेणिरेवंप्रकारैः ॥ **19**[3]

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1 Read ज्योतिष°.

2 Usually सत्त्वै°.

3 Note that sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (=Nausāri-Broach region), when they settled at Daśapura (=Man-Dasor), adopted different professions, such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the bond of caste-restrictions at least in western India about the time of this record.

तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितो(ऽ*)पि सुवर्ण्ण-हार-
तांबूल-पुष्प-विधिना सम-
12 [लंकृ]तो(ऽ*)पि ।
नारी-जनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदग्र्यां[1]
यावन्न पट्टमय-वस्त्र-[यु]गानि धत्ते ॥ **20**
स्पर्श[वता वर्ण्णा]न्तर-विभाग-चित्रे ण नेत्र-सुभगेन [।]
यैस्सकलमिदं क्षितितलमलंकृतं पट्टवस्त्रेण ॥ **21**
विद्याधरी-रुचिर-पल्लव-कर्ण्णपूर-
वातेरिता[स्थि]रतरं प्रविचिन्त्य
13 [लो]कं ।
मानुष्यमर्त्थ-निचयांश्च तथा विशालां-
[स्ते]षां शुभा [म]ति[रभूद]चला ततस्तु[2] [॥] **22**
चतु[स्समुद्रान्त]-विलोल-मेखलां
सुमेरु-कैलास-बृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्त-वान्त-स्फुट-पुष्प-हासिनीं
कुमारगुप्ते प्रिथिवीं [3]प्रशासति ॥ **23**
समान-धीशुक्र-बृहस्पतिभ्यां
ललामभूतो भुवि
(14 पार्त्थिवानां ।
रणेषु यः पार्त्थ-समानकर्म्मा
बभूव गोप्ता नृप-**विश्ववर्म्मा** ॥ **24**
दीनानुकंपन-परः कृपणार्त्त-वर्ग्ग-
सन्ध[ा]प्रदो(ऽ*)धिकदयालुरनाथ-नाथः ।
[क]ल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनामभयं प्रदश्च
भीतस्य यो जनपदस्य च बन्धुरासीत् ॥ **25**

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1 Read **तावदश्रयां**. अश्री=secret place.

2 The word **ततस्तु**="and then" is connected with the sentence with **कारितं** (l.16). The intervening verses are by way of a parenthesis. 3 Read **पृथिवीं**

तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्य्य-नयोपपन्नो
ब[न्धु]-प्रियो
15 बन्धुरिव प्रजानां ।
बंध्वर्त्ति-हर्त्ता नृप-**बन्धुवर्म्मा**
द्विड्भूप-पक्ष-क्षपणैक[द]क्षः ॥ **26**
कान्तो युवा रण-पटुर्व्विनयान्वितश्च
राजापि सन्नुपसृतो न मदैः स्मयाद्यैः ।
शृङ्गार-मूर्त्तिरभिभाव्यनलंकृतो(ऽ*)पि
रूपेण यः कुसुम-चाप[1] इव द्वितीयः ॥ **27**
वैधव्य-व्रीव्र-व्यसन-क्षतानां
(16 स्मित्वा[2] यमद्याप्यरि-सुन्दरीणां ।
भयाद्भवत्यायत-लोचनानां
घन-स्तनायास करः प्रकम्पः ॥ **28**
तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपति-वृषे[3] **बंधुवर्म्म**ण्युदारे
सम्यक्स्फीतं **दशपुर**मिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे ।
[शि]ल्पावाप्तैर्द्धन-समुदयैः पट्टवा[यैरु]दारं
श्रे[णीभूतै]र्भवनमतुलं कारितं
(17 दीप्त-रश्मेः ॥ **29**
विस्तीर्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखरं शिखरि-प्रकाश-
मभ्युद्गतेन्द्रमल-रश्मि-कलाप-[गौ]रं ।
यद्भाति पश्चिम-पुरस्य निविष्ट-कान्त-
चूडामणि-प्रतिसमन्नयनाभिरामं[4] ॥ **30**

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1 Fleet's transcript has या

2 Read **स्मृत्वा**. A **म्** was originally engraved after **ण**.

3 Read °**वृषे**.

4 Fleet's transcript has **रमं**. Daśapura is called Paśchimapur, "city of the west," apparently because it was then one of the greatest cities of Western India. Better read **पश्चिमपुरे च**.

रामा-सनाथ-[र*]चने दर-भास्करांशु-
वह्नि-प्रताप-सुभगे जल-लीन-मीने।
चन्द्रांशु-हर्म्यतल-
18 चन्दन-तालवृन्त-
हारोपभोध[1]-रहिते हिम-दग्ध-पद्मे ॥ **31**
रोद्र-प्रियंगुतरु-कुन्दलता-विकोश-
पुष्पा[सव]-प्रमु[दि]तालि-कलाभिरामे।
काले तुषार-कण-कर्कश-शीत-वात-
वेग-प्रनृत्त-लवली-नगणैकशाखे ॥ **32**
स्मर-वशग तरुणजन-वल्लभाङ्गना-विपुल-कान्त-पीनोरु-
19 स्तन-जघन-घनालिङ्गन-निर्भर्त्सित-तुहिन-हिम-पाते ॥ **33**[2]
[मा]लवानां गण-स्थित्या या[ते] शत-चतुष्टये।
त्रिनवत्यधिके(ऽ*)ब्दानाम्रितौ सेव्य-घनस्तने[3] ॥ **34**
सहस्यमास-शुक्लस्य प्रशस्ते(ऽ*)ह्नि त्रयोदशे।
मङ्गलाचार-विधिना प्रासादो(ऽ*)यं निवेशितः ॥ **35**
बहुना समतीतेन
20 कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः।
व्यशीर्य्यतैकदेशो(ऽ*)स्य भवनस्य ततो(ऽ*)धुना ॥ **36**[4]

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1 Read भोग.

2 This verse composed of only one compound and several other defective features of the poem show that the author was only a second or third rate poet. The composition which shows more of labour than poetic skill belongs to what is called the Gauḍī rīti by rhetoricians.

3 Read ०मृतौ. Fleet: ०ग्ने. सहस्य=पौष and शुक्ल=शुक्लपक्ष

4 Here the period of about 36 years has been mentioned as "a long time". Fleet translates, "under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair". The language however seems to support Mr. D. Sharma who wants to translate, "a part of this building was destroyed (damaged?) by other kings" and thinks of the occupation of Central India by the Hūṇas (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 379ff.; IV, p. 262f.). In that case Bandhuvarman died long before A.D. 473. But the passage may refer to an attack on Daśapura by hostile kings (long after A.D. 436) and not to the permanent occupation of the kingdom by them. If this interpretation be accepted, the Mālwā king was alive in A. D. 473.

स्वयशो-[विद्धये[1] सर्व्वमत्युदा]रमुदारया ।
संस्कारितमिदं भूयः [श्रेयया] भानुमतो गृहं ॥ 37
अत्युन्नतमवदातं नभ(:*)-स्पृशन्निव[2] मनोहरैश्शिखरैः ।
शशि-भान्वोरभ्युदयेष्वमल-मयूखायतन-
21 भूतं ॥ 38
वत्सर-शतेषु पंचसु विंशत्यधिकेषु[3] नवसु चाब्देषु ।
यातेष्वभिरम्य-[तप]स्यमास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायां ॥ 39
स्पष्टैरशोकतरु-केतक-सिंदुवार-
लोलातिमुक्तकलता-मदयंतिकानां ।
पुष्पोद्गमैरभिनवैरधिगम्य नून-
मैक्यं विजृंभित-शरे हर-पूत-देहे[4] ॥ 40
22 मधुपान-मुदित-मधुकर-कुलोपगीत-नगनैक-पृथु-शाखे ।[5]
काले नव-कुसुमोद्गम-दंतुर-कांत-प्रचुर-रोद्धे ॥ 41
शशिनेव नभो विमलं कौ[स्तु]भ-मणिनेव शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षः ।
भवन-वरेण तथेदं पुरमखिलमलंकृतमुदारं ॥ 42
अमलिन-शशि-)

But the name of the reigning overlord of the Mālwā king (who apparently began to rule as a vassal of Kumāra Gupta I, 414-55 A.D.) in the Mālava year 529=A.D. 473 is not mentioned. This may refer to the fact that about 473 A.D. a struggle for the Gupta imperial throne was going on and the author avoided the mention of the name of the reigning Gupta emperor owing to the confusion caused by it. Note that in the Belkharā inscription a feudatory of the Kanauj empire similarly avoids the mention of his overlord. Palaeographically the record belongs to the later half of the 5th century. Suggestions of some recent writers that the record belongs to the 10th century is utterly absurd.

1 Read वृद्धये.

2 स्पृशन् (masc.) does not suit गृहं (neut.). Fleet suggests the correction नभः स्पृशतीव which however does not suit the text quite well. Fleet: मनोहरैः शि०

3 Read विंशत्य०. तपस्य=फाल्गुन

4 Fleet suggests the correction धृत ; the word means Madana. Fleet: मदयन्तिकानां.

5 Read नगगैक.

23 लेखा-दंतुरं पिङ्गलानां
परिवहति समूहं यावदीशो जटानां ।
वि[कच-क]मल-मालामंस-सक्तां[1] च शार्ङ्गीं
भवनमिदमुदारं शाश्वतन्तावदस्तु ॥ **43**
श्रेण्यादेशेन भक्त्या च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।
पूर्व्वा[2] चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता **वत्सभट्टिना** ॥ **44**
24 स्वस्ति कर्तृ-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 22—Inscription on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Kumāra Gupta I (A.D. 414-55)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 68 ff.

First Side[3]

Horse standing to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before *yūpa* on alter, the pennons from which fly over its back ; between the legs of the horse, inscription in the Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters of the northern class :—

श्वमध (= अश्वमेधः or अश्वमेधाश्वः)[4]

Second Side

Mahishī Anantadevī standing to left, nimbate, holding chowrie over right shoulder and some object in left hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace, armlets and anklets ; sacrificial spear bound with fillets on left ; border of dots ; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

[श्री]-अश्व[मे]ध-महेन्द्र [:*][5]

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1 Fleet: विकट 2 We may supply प्रशस्तिः after चेयं. पूर्व्वा=the above.

3 From representation in Allan's Catalogue, Plate XII, No. 14; see also No. 13.

4 On one specimen we have जयत दव कुमर (=जयति दिवं कुमारगुप्तोऽयं ; Metre: उपगीति). 5 Properly, श्रयश्वमेध०.

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta year 124 (=443-44 A. D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 107 ff.; No. 385 ff.

First Side[1]

Head of king to right as on the silver issues of Chandra Gupta II; on right :—[१००*] (+*) २० (+*) ४ (=गुप्तवर्षे १२४)[2]

Second Side

Peacock[3] standing, facing, with head to left ; wings and tail outspread; border of dots; legend in Bramī characters of the northern class :—[विजितावनिरव*]नि-पति[:*] कुमारगुप्तो दिवं ज[यति*][4]

No. 24—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta—Gupta year 116 (=435-36 A.D.)[5]

TUMAIN, Esāgarh Dist., Gwalior State.

M. B. Garde, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1269.

Abstract of Contents.

It refers to Chandra Gupta II who conquered the earth as far as

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1 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, plate XVII, Nos. 11ff. This type is supposed to have been issued in the Ganges valley. The West India issues have a Garuḍa on the reverse. Kumāra Gupta's viceroy in Mālwā was his brother Mahārāja Govinda Gupta who is known from a Basārh clay seal and from a Mandasor record of the Mālava year 524 (=467 A.D.) of Dattabhaṭa, son of Govinda Gupta's general Vāyurakshita.

2 Other specimens of this variety have the dates 118, 119 and 122 of the Gupta era, corresponding respectively to A.D. 437-38, 438-39 and 441-42.

3 The peacock reminds us of the Peacock Type of the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta I, having on obverse king feeding peacock from bunch of fruit and on reverse god Kārttikeya riding on his peacock called Paravāṇi by some authorities. Kārttikeya and his emblem the peacock on these coins apparently refer to the king's name *Kumāra* which indicates that god.

4 Metre : उपगीति. The *anusvāra* and vowel-marks are not found on the plate.

5 No text or facsimile of the record has been published.

the ocean, to his son Kumāra Gupta I, and to Ghaṭotkacha Gupta[1] who won by the prowess of his arms the good fame attained by his ancestors. The date of the record is *Year 116* of the era of the [Gupta] sovereigns when Kumāra Gupta I was ruling the earth. It refers to the construction of a temple by several persons who were brothers and were residents of Tumbavana (=Tumain).

(Line 4) [गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणां
समा-शते षोडशवर्ष-युक्ते [1*]
कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ पृथिव्यां
विराजमाने शरदीव सूर्य्ये ॥ (Metre : उपजाति [इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा])

No. 25—Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta years 136, 137 and 138 (=455, 456 and 457-58 A.D.)

JUNĀGARH, Junāgaṛh State, Kaṭhiāwāṛ

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ins.*, III, p. 58 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1276 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 मालिनी ; V. 4 आर्य्या ; V. 5 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 6-12 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 13-15 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 16 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

1 This Gupta prince, probably a son of Kumāra Gupta I and his viceroy in the eastern part of Central India (?) should be identified with the person issuing (1) the seal found at Basāṛh bearing the inscription श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1903-04, pp. 102, 107) and (2) the coin in the St. Petersburg collection which bears on the obverse beneath the king's arm the word घटो॰ and a marginal legend ending in गुप्तः (=॰त्कचगुप्तः), and on the reverse the legend क्रमादित्यः (?) (See Allan, Catalogue, p. 149, Pl. XXIV, No. 3, Intro. p. liv). It is not impossible that he was one of the rivals who contended for the throne with Skanda Gupta. Note that the name of Samudra Gupta's grandfather was Ghaṭotkacha and not Ghaṭotkacha Gupta.

or वैतालीय-औपच्छन्दसिक ; Vv. 17-20 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 21-25 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 26 वंशस्थ ; V. 27 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 28-31 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 32-37 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+ उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 38-39 मालिनी ; V. 40 उपजाति (वंशस्थ+ इन्द्रवंशा ; Fleet wrongly takes it to be वंशस्थ defective in the first syllable of the first and third *pādas*); Vv. 41-42 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 43-44 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 45 आर्य्या (?) ; Vv 46-47 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT[1]

Part I

1 सिद्धम् ॥

श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां

त्रिदशपति-सुखार्थं यो बलेराजहार ।

कमल-निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः

2 स जयति विजितारिर्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥ **1**

तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्री-परिक्षिप्त-वक्षाः[2]

स्वभुज-जनित-वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः ।

नरपति-

3 भुजगानां मानदर्पोत्फणानां

प्रतिकृति-गरुडा[ज्ञां] निर्व्विषो[ऽ] चावकर्त्ता ॥ **2**[3]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. For the early history of the Sudarśana lake, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67. The lake was made exclusively to help cultivation in the Junāgarh region. Its history speaks eloquently of the beneficent activities of ancient Indian kings.

2 Read शश्वच्छ्री॰

3 Fleet translates, "who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and used it as antidote against the (hostile) kings who were so many serpents." But प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा may mean 'command conveyed through the Garuḍa in its representation," i.e., a command under the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta king. निर्व्विषी is a kind of grass used as an antidote against all sorts of poison.

नृपति-गुण-निकेतः **स्कन्दगुप्तः** पृथु-श्रीः[1]
चतुरु[दधि जल]ान्तां स्फीत-पर्यन्त-देशाम् ।
अवनिमवनतारिर्यः चकारात्म-संस्थां
पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-शक्त्या ॥ **3**[2]
अपि[3] च जित[मे]व तेन प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्य रिपवो(ऽ*)पि [।*]
आमूल-भग्न-दर्पा नि[र्वचना][4] [म्लेच्छ-देशेषु] ॥ **4**
क्रमेण बुद्धया निपुणं प्रधार्य
ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।
व्यपेक्ष्य सर्व्वान्मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्रां-
श्चक्रमीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥ **5**[5]
तस्मिन्नृपे शासति नैव कश्चि-
द्धर्म्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।
आर्त्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो
दण्ड[6] न वा यो भृश-पीडितः स्यात् ॥ **6**
एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां
भग्नाग्र-दर्पा[न्] द्विषतश्च कृत्वा ।
सर्व्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तॄन्[7]
संचिन्तया[मा]स बहु-प्रकारम् ॥ **7**
स्यात्को(ऽ*)नुरूपो

---

1 Read ०श्रीश्चतु०

2 Cf. v. 6 of *infra*, No. 28.

3 Fleet's transcript has **आपि**. Practically, "**जितमेव तेन**" इति.

4 This is Fleet's conjectural reading. Mlechchha may indicate the Hūṇas who may have advanced against Central India about the end of Kumāra Gupta's reign.

5 **मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्र** may simply indicate "princes"; but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skanda Gupta for the imperial throne after Kumāra Gupta's death. See *supra*, p. 299, n. 1 and *infra*, p. 320, n.1.

6 Read **दण्ड्यो**.

7 Read **गोप्तॄन्**. **गोप्ता**=governor. Skanda Gupta's deliberation over the appointment of a governor of the westernmost Gupta province may have been due to the Hūṇa menace in Central India. Cf. *infra*, v. 12.

7 मतिमान्विनितो[1]
मेधा-स्मृतिभ्यामनपेत-भावः ।
सत्यार्जवौदार्य-नयोपपन्नो
माधुर्य-दाक्षिण्य-यशोन्वितश्च ॥ 8
भक्तो(ऽ*)नुरक्तो नृ-[विशे]ष-युक्तः
सर्व्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्ध-बुद्धिः ।
अनृण्य-भावोपगतान्तरात्माः[2]
सर्व्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥ 9
8 न्यायार्जने(ऽ*)र्थस्य च कः समर्थः
स्यादर्जितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च ।
गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धि-हेतौ
वृद्धस्य पात्र-प्रतिपादनाय ॥ 10
सर्व्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु
यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्**सुराष्ट्रान्**।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु **पर्णदत्तो**
भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥ 11
9 एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन
नैकानहो-रात्र-गणान्त्स-मत्या ।
यः संनियुक्तो(ऽ*)र्थनया कथंचित्
सम्यक्**सुराष्ट्रा**वनि-पालनाय ॥ 12
नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां
स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवु[ः] [।*]
पूर्व्वेतरस्यां दिशि **पर्णदत्तं**
नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् ।[।*] 13
10 तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मज-भाव-युक्तो
द्विधेव चात्मात्म-वशेन नीतः ।

1 Read ०न्विनीतो. Note the accomplishments of an ideal ruling officer in verses 8-11; cf. also verses 17-18.

2 Read ०रात्मा. नृविशेषयुक्त=endowed with manly characteristics; having relations only with the best men.

सर्व्वात्मनात्मेव च रक्षणीयो
नित्यात्मवानात्मज-कान्त-रूपः ।[।*] **14**[1]
रूपानुरूपैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः[2]
नित्य-प्रमोदान्वित-सर्वभावः ।
प्रबुद्ध-पद्माकर-पद्मवक्त्रो
नृणां[3] शरण्यः शरणागतानाम् ।[।*] **15**

11 अभवद्भुवि **चक्रपालितो**(ऽ*)साविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य ।
स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदा[त्तै]ः[4] पितरं यश्च विशेषयांचकार ।[।*] **16**
क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च
शौर्यं विना शौर्य-मह[ा]र्च्चनं च ।
दाक्ष्यं[5] दमो दानमदीनता च
दाक्षिण्यमानृण्यम[शू]न्यता च ।[।*] **17**
सौंदर्यमार्येतर-निग्रहश्च[6]
अविस्मयो धैर्य्यमुदीर्णता च ।

12 इत्येवमेते(ऽ*)तिशयेन यस्मि-
न्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति ।[।*] **18**
न विद्यते(ऽ*)सौ सकले(ऽ*)पि लोके
यत्रोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत ।
स एव कात्स्न्र्येन गुणान्वितानां
बभूव नृणामुपमान-भूतः[3] ।[।*] **19**
इत्येवमेतानधिकानतो(ऽ*)न्या-
न्गुणान्प[री]क्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा ।

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1 "His son; possessed of a filial disposition; as if his own self reduplicated; trained by self control; worthy to be protected like his own self by the allpervading spirit; always self possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form".

2 Read चित्रैर्नित्यं.

3 Read नॄणां.

4 उपस्कृत=blamed.

5 Fleet: वाक्यं(?).

6 Properly निग्रहश्चाविस्मयो ; read ह्यविस्म° to suit the metre. Note that this record sometimes disregards the rules of *sandhi* at the junctions between the first and third and the second and fourth *pādas* of a stanza.

यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां
विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् ।[।*] **20**

13 आश्रित्य विर्य[1] [स्वभु]ज-द्वयस्य
स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं ।
नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेव-
मस्मिन्पुरे चैव शशास दुष्टाः[2] ।[।*] **21**
विस्रंभमल्पे न शशाम यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्
काले न लोकेषु स-नागरेषु ।
यो लालयामास च पौरवर्गान्
[स्वस्येव*] पुत्रान्सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान् ।[।*][3] **22**
संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव
पूर्व्व-स्मिताभाषण-मान-दानैः ।

14 निर्यन्त्रणान्योन्य-गृह-प्रवेशै(ः*)
संवर्द्धित-प्रीति-गृहोपचारैः ।[।*] **23**
ब्रह्मण्य-भावेन परेण युक्तः
[शु]क्लः[4] शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् ।
प्राप्यान्स काले विषयान्सिषेवे
धर्मार्थयोश्चा(प्य*)विरोधनेन ।[।*] **24**
[यो — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ **पर्णदत्ता**][5]-
त्स न्यायवानत्र किमस्ति चित्रं ।
मुक्ता-कलापाम्बुज-पद्म-शीता-
च्चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् ।[।*] **25**

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1 Read वीर्यं. Fleet: सुभुज(?).

2 Read दुष्टान्.

3 "Even in this age which is a mean one, he did not fail to maintain confidence in the people together with those of the city (=those who have contracted the vices of city life)".

4 Fleet: शक्रः.

5 May we restore यो(ऽ*)जायतास्मात् खलु पणदत्तात् ?

15 अथ[1] क्रमेणाम्बुद-काल आग[ते]
[नि]दाघ-कालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः ।
ववर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं
सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चात्वरात्[2] ।[।*] **26**
संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि पञ्चभिरेव ।
राज्ञो दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे
गुप्त-प्रकाले गणनां विधाय ।[।*] **27**[3]
16 इमाश्च या **रैवतका**द्विनिर्गता[:*]
पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
समुद्र-कान्ताः[4] चिर-बन्धनोषिताः
पुनः पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययुः ।[।*] **28**
अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भमं
महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभितो
17 नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ।[।*] **29**
विषाद[मानाः] [खलु] [सर्वतो] [ज]ना[:]
कथं-कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
मिथो हि पूर्वापर-रात्रमुत्थिता
विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः ।[।*] **30**
अपीह लोके सकले **सुदर्शनं**
पुमां[5] हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
18 भवेन्नु सो(ऽ*)म्भोनिधि-तुल्य-दर्शनं
सुदर्शन — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [॥*] **31**

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1 Fleet's transcript has अथा. 2 अत्वरात्=suddenly.

3 Bhau Daji reads गुप्तस्य काला[द्द्र]गणनां विधाय which appears to be wrong. प्रोष्ठपद or प्रौष्ठपद=भाद्रपद. 4 Read कान्ताधिर. The Raivataka is the hill opposite to the Urjayat or Girnar. Note that the rainy season is supposed to be the proper time to meet one's lover. Suvarṇasikatā=mod. Sonarekhā.

5 Read पुमान्. Fleet साम्भोनिधि°. उत्सुक=anxious.

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ वर्णे स भूत्वा

पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य ।

धर्मं पुरो-धाय शुभानुबन्धं

राज्ञो हितार्थं नगरस्य चैव ।[।*] **32**[1]

संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु

19 **त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिश्च ।**

[**गुप्त**]-[प्रकाले*] [नय*]-शास्त्र-वेत्ता (?) ।[2]

विश्वो (ऽ*)प्यनुज्ञात-महाप्रभावः ।[।*] **33**

आज्य-प्रणामैः विबुधानथेष्ट्वा[2]

धनैर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा ।

पौरांस्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथार्हमानैः

भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान्सुहृदश्च दानैः ।[।*] **34**

20 **ग्रैष्मस्य**[3] **मासस्य तु पूर्व-प[क्षे]**

⏑ — ⏑ — — [प्र]थमे(ऽ*)हि सम्यक् ।

मास-द्वयेनादरवान्स भूत्वा

धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् ।[।*] **35**

आयामतो हस्त-शतं समग्रं

विस्तारतः षष्टिरथापि चाष्टौ ।

21 उत्सेधतो(ऽ*)न्यत् पुरुषाणि [सप्त?]

⏑ — ⏑ — [ह]स्त-शत-द्वयस्य ।[।*][4] **36**

बबन्ध यन्नान्महता नृदेवा-

न[भ्यर्च्य?] सम्यग्घटितोपलेन ।

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1 Note that Chakrapālita was made governor of Girinagara by his father Parṇadatta, Skanda Gupta's viceroy in Surāshṭra.

2 Fleet: प्र...and चेत्ता. Read विश्वे. 2 Read ०मैर्विंबु० and ०मानैर्भृ०

3 ग्रैष्म=belonging to ग्रीष्म (=ज्यैष्ठ and आषाढ). The first of Jyaishṭha appears to be intended.

4 Fleet believes that the embankment made was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation. But *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67, l. 7 would suggest that the dam near the foot of the hill was actually much larger. The reference is possibly to the breach caused by the flood.

अ-जाति-दुष्टम्प्रथितं तटाकं

सुदर्शनं शाश्वत-कल्प-कालम् ।[।*] **37**

22 अपि च सुदृढ-सेतु-प्रान्त(?)-विन्यस्त-शोभ-

रथचरणसमाहृ-क्रौंचहंसास-धृतम् ।

विमल-सलिल — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

भुवि त ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — द[ने](ऽ*)र्कः शशी च ।[।*] **38**

23 नगरमपि च भूयाद्बुद्धिमत्पौर-जुष्टं

द्विजबहुशतगोत-ब्रह्म-निर्नष्ट-पापं ।

शतमपि च समानामीति दुर्भिक्ष-[मुक्तं*]

⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— — ⏑ — —[॥*] **39**

[इति] [**सुद**]**र्शन**-तटाक-संस्कार-**ग्रन्थ** रचना [स]माप्ता ॥

Part II

24 दस्यारि-दर्प-प्रणुदः पृथु-श्रियः

स्व-वङ्श[1]-केतोः सकलावनी-पतेः ।

राजाधिराज्याद्भुत-पुण्य-[कर्मणः][2]

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —⏑ [॥*] **40**

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[।*]

द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतां च नेता

दण्ड-स्थि[ता*]नां

25 द्विषतां दमाय ।[।*] **41**

तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन

गोविन्द-पादार्पित-जीवितेन ।

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[॥*] **42**

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —र्धं

विष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत्र ।

अर्थव्ययेन

1 Read वंश.

2 Better read राजाधिराजा°.

26 महता महता च काले-
नात्म-प्रभाव-नत-पौरजनेन तेन ।[।*] **43**
चक्रं विभर्त्ति रिपु — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[।*]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
तस्य स्व-तंत्र-विधि-कारण-मानुषस्य ।[।*] **44**
27 कारितमवक्र-मतिना चक्रभृतः[1] **चक्रपालितेन** गृहं ।
वर्षशते(ऽ*)**ष्टात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल**[क्रम-गणिते*] [॥*] **45**
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[।*]
[स*]।र्थमुत्थितमि**वोर्जयतो**(ऽ*)चलस्य[2]
28 कुर्वत्प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ **46**
अन्यच्च मूर्द्धनि सु — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[।*]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ रुद्ध-विहंग-मार्ग
विभ्राजते ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **47**

No.—26 Kahāum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta year 141 (=460 A.D.)

KAHĀUM or KAHĀWAM, Gorakhpur Dist., U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 67; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1278 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre : Verses 1-3 खग्धरा

TEXT[3]

सिद्धम् [॥*][4]

1 Read ०भृतश्चक्र०. 2 The temple is possibly called *Chūḍāratna* of the hill. 3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

4 This word stands in the left margin, सि on the level of l. 2, and द्धम् a little above that of l. 3.

1 यस्योपस्थान-भूमिर्नृपति-शत-शिरः[1]-पात-वातावधूता

2 **गुप्तानां** वन्शजस्य[2] प्रविसृत-यशसस्तस्य सर्व्वोत्तमर्द्धेः [।*]

3 राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः **स्कन्दगुप्त**स्य शान्ते[3]

4 **वर्षे त्रिन्शद्दशैकोत्तरक-शततमे**[4] ज्येष्ठ-मासि प्रपन्ने ।[।*] **1**

5 ख्याते(ऽ*)स्मिन्ग्राम-रत्ने **ककुभ**[5] इति जनैस्साधु-संसर्ग-पूते ।[6]

6 पुत्रो यस्सोमिलस्य प्रचुर-गुण-निधेर्भट्टिसोमो महा[त्मा] [।*]

7 तत्सूनू रुद्रसोम(ः*) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।[7]

8 **मद्र**स्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूद्द्विज-गुरु-यतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः ।[।*] **2**

9 पुण्य-स्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीतो

10 श्रेयोर्त्थं भूत-भूत्यै पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्त्तॄन् [।*]

11 पञ्चेन्द्रां[8] स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततो(ऽ*)यम्

12 शैल-स्तम्भः सुचारुर्गिरिवर-शिखराग्रोपमः कीर्त्ति-कर्त्ता [॥*] **3**

No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta year 146 (=466 A.D.)

INDOR, near Dibhāī, Bulandshahr Dist., U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 70 f; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219; BHANDARKAR, List, 1279 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; Verse 2 इन्द्रवज्रा

1 There is a sign resembling a punctuation mark, which might have been an accidental slip on the part of the engraver.

2 Read वंश°.

3 The word may refer to the fact that Skanda Gupta's reign became peaceful after the early years of struggle. शान्त=undisturbed by enemies, calamities, etc. Of course the *śānti* may have been temporary or local. पतेः looks like पतिः.

4 Read त्रिंशद्दशै°. ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ.

5 Kakubha is the old name of modern Kahāum.

6 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

7 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

8 Read पञ्चेन्द्रान्. The expression is usually translated "five excellent (images)" and referred to the five naked Jaina Tirthaṅkaras sculptured on the

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् [॥*]

यं विप्रा विधिवत्प्रबुद्ध-मनसो ध्यानैकताना स्तुवः[2]

यस्यान्तं विदशासुरा न विविदुर्नोर्ध्वं न तिर्य-

2 ग्गति[म्][3] [।*]

यं लोको बहु-रोग-वेग-विवशः संश्रित्य चेतोलभः

पायाद्वः स जगत्पि[धा]न-पुट-भिद्रश्म्या-

3 करो **भास्करः** ॥ **1**

परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री**स्कन्दगुप्त**स्याभिवर्द्धमान-विजय - राज्य-**संव्वत्सर**[4]-

शते पच्चत्वा-[5]

4 [**रि***]**ङ्शदुत्तरतमे**[6] फाल्गुन-मासे तत्प(।*)द-परिगृहीतस्य विषयपति-**शर्व्वनाग-**

स्यान्तर्व्वेद्यां[7] भोगाभिवृद्धये वर्त्त-

5 माने **चन्द्रापुरक**-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विद्य-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-**देवविष्णु**र्ह्व-पुत्रो[8] हरिस्वात-

पौत्रः डुडिक-प्रपौत्रः सततामिहो-

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column. *Indra* (lord) may however indicate *Jinendra* (lord of the Jinas) and refer to the five favourite Tīrthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminatha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira. धरणिधरमय=शिलामय. अर्हतां पथि आदि-कर्त्तृन् (=आदि-पथ-कर्त्तृन्)=those who lead the way in the path of the Arhats. नियम looks like वियम.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Read ०तानस्तवाः ; or स्तुमः, i.e. [वयं] विधिवत्प्रबुद्धमनसः विप्राः यं ध्यानैकतानाः [सन्तः] स्तुमः.

3 Fleet ०ग्गतिः.

4 Read संवत्सर.

5 Read षट्चत्वा०.

6 Read ०रिंश०.

7 The traditional Antarvedi is the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Hardwār. The Bulandshahr Dist. lies actually in this Antarvedi. Cf. कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं, *infra*, No. 35, l. 3.

8 "The Brāhmaṇa Devavishṇu who belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of the locality called Padmā in the town called Chandrāpura."

6 व-छन्दोगो[1] राणायणीयो[2] वर्षगण-सगोत्र **इन्द्रापुरक**-वणिग्भ्यां[3] क्षत्रियाचल-
वर्म-भ्रकुण्ठसिंहाभ्यामधिष्ठा-[4]

7 नस्य प्राच्यां दिशीन्द्रपुराधिष्ठान-**माडास्यात**-लग्नमेव प्रतिष्ठापितक-भगवते सविते
दोपोपयोज्यमात्म-यशो-

8 भिवृद्धये मूल्यं प्रयच्छतिः[6] [॥*] **इन्द्रपुर**-निवासिन्यास्तैलिक-श्रेण्या जीवन्त-
प्रवराया[7] इतो(ऽ*)धिष्ठानादपक्रम-

9 ण-संप्रवेश-यथास्थिरायाः आजस्रिकं ग्रहपतेर्द्विज-मूल्य-दत्तमनया[8] तु श्रेण्या यदभग्न-
योगम्[9]

10 प्रथमार्हाव्य(व*)च्छिन्न-संस्थं[10] देयं तैलस्य तुल्येन[11] पलद्वयं तु २[12] चन्द्रार्क-सम-
कालीयं [॥*]

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1 Read च्छन्दोगो. 2 Read ०नीयो,

3 Indrāpura or Indrapura is no doubt modern Indor, the findspot of the record. Note that the Kshatriyas adopted the conventional profession of the Vaiśyas.

4 Read भ्रुकुण्ठसिंहा०. Fleet: ०धिष्ठा

5 Fleet could not find out the meaning of **माडास्यात** which however appears to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrapura. **मूल्य**=endowment, of which the income was to be applied to the maintenance of a lamp for the Sun-god. **लग्न**= touching (the locality that was endowed).

6 Read प्रयच्छति.

7 Jivanta was apparently the President of the oilmen's guild.

8 आजस्रिक=अजस्र=perpetual. दत्त=gift. Better, दत्तम् । अनया.

9 Read योगं. 10 Read प्रथमा०. ०माहो-व्यच्छि० ?

11 तुल्य seems to signify the same thing as तौल्य (weight). Add तत् before तैलस्य

12 This is evidently an abbreviation of तुल्येन पलद्वयम्. "This gift of a Brahman's endowment of the temple of the sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, even in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given (daily) by this guild for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two *palas* of oil by weight or in figures *tu 2*, uninterrupted in use and continuing without any diminution from the original value."

11 यो व्यक्तमेद्दायमिमं[1] निबद्धम्[2]
गोघ्नो गुरुघ्नो द्विज-घातकः सः [।*]
तैः पातकै(:*)

12 पञ्चभिरन्वितो(ऽ*)ध-
र्गच्छेन्नरः[3] सोपनिपातकैर्धेति[4] ॥ 2

No. 28—Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67)

Bhitarī, near Sayyidpur, Ghāzīpur Dist., U.P.

Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 53 f; Bhandarkar, List, No. 1549 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre : Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा ; Vv. 2-6 मालिनी ; Vv. 7-8 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; Vv. 9-12, श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT[5]

[सिद्धम् ॥*][6]

1 [सर्व्व]-रा[जो]च्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलिल[।]स्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणेन्द्र[।]न्तक-स[मस्य]

2 कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागत[।]नेक-गो-हिरण्य-[को]टि-प्रदस्य चिरो[त्स]न्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तु-र्महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्र[स्य]

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1 Better read योऽतिक्रमे०.

2 Read निबद्धं.

3 Read ०धो गच्छे०.

4 Properly ०त्य ॥ इति.

5 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

6 Faint traces of apparently this word are found above the beginning of l. 1.

3 महाराज-श्री**घटोत्कच**-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**-पुत्रस्य **लिच्छवि-**[1]
दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुम[ा]र[दे]व्या-

4 मुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री**समुद्रगुप्त**स्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त-
देव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः[2]

5 परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महादेव्यां
ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम-

6 भागवतो महाराजाधिर[ा]ज-श्री**कुमारगुप्त**स्तस्य
प्रथित-पृथुमति-स्वभाव-शक्तेः
पृथु-यशसः पृथिवी-पतेः पृथु-श्रीः [।*]

7 पि[तृ]-प[रि]गत-पादपद्म-वर्त्ती
प्रथित-यशाः पृथिवी-पतिः सुतो(ऽ*)यम् [॥*] **1**
जगति भु[ज]-बलाढ्यो[3] **गुप्त-वङ्शै**क-वीरः[4]
प्रथित-विपुल-

8 धामा नामतः **स्कन्दगुप्तः** [।*]
सुचरित-चरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं[5]
न विहतममलात्मा तान-[धीदा?]-विनीतः[6] [॥*] **2**
विनय-

9 बल-सुनीतैर्व्विक्रमेण क्रमेण
प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन ल[ब्ध]ा [।*]
स्वभिमत-विजिगीषा-प्रोद्यतानां परेषां
प्रणि-

10 हित इव ले[भे] [स]विधानोपदेशः [॥*] **3**[7]

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1 Usually लिच्छवि.

2 See *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, note 3; also line 3 of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta (*infra*, No. 32).

3 Read बलाढ्यो. 4 Read ०वंशैक०

5 वृत्त=observance of law; virtuous conduct. विहत=obstructed.

6 Fleet: "disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?)." Possibly, "modest owing to his knowledge of the objects of senses."

7 परेषां प्रणिहिते=in the application against enemies. संविधानोपदेश=instruction in execution.

विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितितल-शयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा [।*][1]
समु-
11 दित-ब[ल]-कोशा[न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च][2] [जि]त्वा
क्षितिप-चरणपीठे स्थापितो वाम-पादः [॥*] 4
प्रसभमनुप[मै]र्विध्वस्त-शस्त्र-प्रतापै-
र्विन[य-स]मु-
12 [चितैश्च*] क्षान्ति-शौ[र्यै]र्न्निरूढम् [।*]
चरितममलकीर्त्तेर्ग्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं
दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः [॥*] 5
पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]
13 विप्लुतां वङ्श[3]-लक्ष्मीं
भुज-बल-विजितारिर्य्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः [।*]
जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं साश्र-नेत्रां
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपे-
14 [त][4]: [॥*] 6
[स्वै]र्[रण्डैः] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — त्प्रचलितं वङ्श[5] प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वार्त्तेषु कृत्वा दयाम् [।*]
नोत्सिक्तो [न] च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं

1 This shows that before the actual seizure of power, Skanda Gupta passed sometime is utter distress probably owing to defeat and the success of a rival for the throne.

2 According to some ०न्युष्यमित्रांश्च. It is however not possible to be definite about the reading of the *aksharas* as they are not distinct. A people called the Pushyamitras is known from the Purāṇas.

3 Read वंशं. For Skanda Gupta's difficulties immediately after Kumāra Gupta's death, see also *supra*, No. 25, l. 4, पितरि सुर-सख्यित्वं प्राप्तवति, etc.

4 Sewell suggests that the name of Skanda Gupta's mother was Devakī. The simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle (No. 29, v.3) of Skanda Gupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for some time.

5 Read वंशं. उत्सिक्त=haughty; disturbed in mind. विस्मित=proud.

15 संवर्द्धमान-द्युतिः

गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दक-जनो(?) यं [प्रा]पयत्यार्य्यताम् [॥*] **7**

हूणैर्य्यस्य[1] समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता

भीमावर्त्त-करस्य

16 शत्रुषु शरा — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [।*]

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — विरचितं(?) प्रख्यापितो [दीप्तिदा?]

न द्यो(?)ति ⏑ नभी(?)षु लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु गाङ्ग-ध्वनिः [॥*] **8**

17 [स्व]-पितुः कीर्त्ति — * * * * * ⏑ — ⏑ * [।*]

* * * * ⏑ — * * * * * * ⏑ — ⏑ * [॥*] **9**

[कर्त्तव्या] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः [।*]

18 [सु]-प्रतीतश्चकारेमां य[ावदाचन्द्र-तारकम्] [॥*] **10**

इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठित-शासनः [।*]

ग्राममेनं स विद[धे][2] पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये [॥*] **11**

19 अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः (?) [।*]

उभयं निर्द्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्य-धीरिति [॥*][3] **12**

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1 The Hūṇas (Epthatites or White Huns) were possibly related to the Central Asian tribe known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. They showed great migrative activity in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when their leader Attila (c. 406-53 A.D.) tried to destroy the Roman empire. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, refers for the first time to the Huns in relation to Indian politics; but he places the Hun-land on the Oxus. They were apparently knocking at the western gates of the Gupta empire at the time of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire extending from Central Asia to Central India. But the success of the Hūṇas in Central India was only short-lived. It ended with Mihirakula who was defeated by Yaśodharman king of Mālwā and king Bālāditya of the Gupta family. But the Hūṇas as a political power in India are referred to in ins., e.g., Unā grant of V.S. 956 of the Pratihāras, Ajmer *Harikelināṭaka* ins. of V.S. 1210 of the Chāhamanas, etc. Guhila Allaṭa (Atpur ins. of V.S. 1034) and Kalachuri Karṇa (Khairha ins. of K.S. 823) married Hūṇa princesses. The Hūṇas were thus assimilated into Hindu society, and the Hūṇa is known to be one of the 36 Rājput clans. The *Harsha-charita* places the Hūṇa kingdom in the Panjab region. 2 Metre defective.

3 Properly ∘धीः ॥ इति ॥. संस्थित (settled) may refer to the gift village.

No. 29—Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67)

BIHĀR, Pāṭnā Dist., Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 49f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1548 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class

Metre : Verse 1 उपेन्द्रवज्रा[3]; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा (defective in the 7th syllable of the 3rd foot); Vv. 3-4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 5 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 6-7 of the जाति type; Vv. 8-10 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT[1]

Part I[2]

1[3] ⏑—⏑— —⏑ ⏑—⏑— —

⏑—⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — : [1*]

नृ-चन्द्र इन्द्रानुज-तुल्य-वीर्य्यो

गुणैरतुल्यः ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [11*] **1**

2 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [1*]

तस्यापि सूनुर्भुवि स्वामि-नेयः

ख्यातः स्व-कीर्त्त्या ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [11*] **2**

3 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [1*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Ll. 26-33 from Fleet's transcript.

2 In Part I the writing appears to have extended over four faces of the column; but in Part II over three faces of it.

3 The first and second *pādas* entirely and parts of the fourth *pādas* of these verses have peeled off. Thus about 22 *aksharas* at the beginning and about 6 at the end are lost in each line of Part I. Lines 1-10 contained a verse of about 44 *aksharas* each. Part II contained about 27 *aksharas*, of which about 18 from the beginning are lost.

[स्व]सैव यस्यातुल-विक्रमेण[1]

कुमारगु[प्तेन] ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **3**

4 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

[पि]तॄंश्च[2] देवांश्च हि हव्य-कव्यैः

सदा नृशंस्यादि ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **4**

5 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [।*]

[अ]चीकरद्देव-निकेत-मण्डलं

क्षितावनीपस्य ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [॥*] **5**

6 .....[**स्कन्दगुप्त***][**वटे** ?] किल [।*]

स्तम्भ-वरोच्छ्रय[3]-प्रभासे तु मण्ड.....[॥*] **6**

7 .....भिर्वृक्षाणां [।*]

कुसुम-भरानताग्र-[शुंग?]-व्यालम्ब-स्तवक.....[॥*] **7**

8 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

भद्रार्य्यया भाति गृहं नवाभ्र-

निर्म्मोक-निर्मु[क्त] ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **8**

9 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

स्कन्द-प्रधानैर्भुवि मातृभिश्च[4]

लोकान्स सुष्य(?) ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **9**

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1 Cf. p. 314, n. 4. 2 Read पितॄंश्च. 3 Read °रोच्छ्रय.

4 The divine mothers were originally seven and then eight in number; cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा। माहेन्द्री चैव वाराही चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः॥ or ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा। कौमारी चैव चामुण्डा चर्चिकेत्यष्टमातरः॥ Afterwards the number was further raised to nine, sixteen, etc. The Mothers are mentioned with Svāmi-Mahāsena (Skanda) in the records of some dynasties, e.g. the Kadambas and the Chalukyas.

10 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑यूपोच्छ्रयमेव चक्रे [॥*] **10**

भद्राय्यादी.....

11 .....[**स्क***]**न्दगुप्त-घटे** अन्शानि[1] ३० (+*) ५ ता(?)म्रकटा-कु(?)ः कल.....

12 .....पितुः स्वमातुर्य्यद्यस्ति हि दुष्कृतं भजतु तने.....

13 .....काग्रहारे अन्शानि[1] ३ **अनन्तसेने**नोप.....

Part II[2]

14 .....[सर्व्व-राजोच्छे*]त्तुः प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य[3]

15 [चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे*]न्द्रान्तकसमस्य कृतान्त-

16 [परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरो*]त्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः

17 [महाराज-श्री**गुप्त**-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री**घटो***]**त्कच**-पौत्रस्य महाराजा-

18 [धिराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि-दौहित्रस्य म*]हादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य

19 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**समुद्रगुप्तस्य** पुत्र*]स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां

20 [दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः पर*]मभागवतो महाराजा-

21 [धिराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धया*]तो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्या-

22 [मुत्पन्नः परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री**कुमारगुप्त**स्तस्य*] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातः

23 [परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री**स्क***]**न्दगुप्तः** [॥*]

24 ... ... परमभागवतो

25 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**स्कन्दगुप्तः***] ... ... [वै*]थिक**राजपुरक**-सामै[ग्रा] [म*]-

26 ... ... ग्रा...क...[अ*]क्षय-नीवी ग्रामक्षेत्रं

---

1 Read अंशाः or अंशान्.

2 There are two demarcating lines between the two parts of the record. The second part looks like the copy of a charter of which ll. 14-23 represent the seal.

3 Read पृथिव्या०. The lost words in ll. 14-23 are supplied with the help of other inscriptions and coins.

27 ... ... कु...उपरिक-कुमारामात्य-

28 ... ... ञ्जि कुलः(?) वणि(ज*)क-पादितारिक-

29 ... ... [आ*]ग्रहारिक-शौल्किक-गौल्मिकासन्यां श्च(?)-

30 ... ... वा[सि]कादीनस्मत्प्रसादोपजीविनः

31 [समाज्ञापयामि*]... ... ...**वर्म्मणा** विज्ञापितो(ऽ*)स्मि मम पितामहेन

32 ... ... नमे भट्ट-गुहिलस्वामिना भद्रा[र्य्य]का[1]

33 ... ... [प्र]ति..... आग्रोक्य...नाकय... ... ...[2]

No. 30—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Skanda Gupta (455-67 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 122ff, No. 451ff.

First Side[3]

Bust of king to right; traces of Greek legend.[4]

Second Side

Burning alter in centre; legend in Brāhmī characters of the Northern class :—

परमभागवत-श्रीविक्रमादित्य-स्कन्दगुप्त[:*][5]

---

1 Bhadrāryakā is probably the same as Bhadrāryā of ll. 8 and 11. It appears to be the name of a goddess, possibly Pārvatī (=Āryā). Bhadra is a name of Śiva.

2 The rest of the record is lost.

3 From representation in Allan's Catalogue, No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13ff.

4 On some specimens of the Garuḍa type, we have the word **वर्षे** and date behind king's head. The definite dates on Skanda Gupta's silver issues are Gupta years 146 and 148 (A.D. 465-66 and 467-68).

5 The full legend can be got from a study of several coins, as the legend is often imperfect. On some silver specimens we see Śiva's bull in place of alter and **क्रमादित्य** instead of **विक्रमादित्य** in the legend, while in others the legend is विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोयं or ०पतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति (Metre: उपगीति).

No. 31—Sārnāth Buddhist Stone Image inscription of Kumāra Gupta II[1]—Gupta year 154 (= 473 A. D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Benares Dist., U. P.

GUPTA, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, p. 124.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : V. 1 उद्गीति ; V. 2 आर्या ; V. 3 गीति (?).

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1 Some scholars identify this Kumāra Gupta with the Kumāra Gupta of *infra*, No. 32; others however point out that in that case the reigns of Pura Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta (who are placed after Skanda Gupta's death about 467 A.D. and before Budha Gupta whose earliest known date is A.D. 476) would be abnormally short, and take this Kumāra Gupta as a different king, the successor of Skanda and predecessor of Budha. But abnormally short reigns are sometimes found in history. We have moreover to consider the troubled period (cf. verses 4-6 of *supra*, No. 28) that followed Kumāra Gupta's death (455 A.D.). Some scholars suggest that Pura Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta represent a rival line ruling (or merely claiming to rule) side by side with the line represented by Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta. It is also suggested that the Dāmodarpur grant of Gupta year 224 (=A.D. 543) belongs to Kumāra Gupta [III of the seal] and that his grandfather Pura Gupta succeeded Budha Gupta as supreme ruler after A.D. 495. In that case Pura Gupta must have been very young at the time of his father's death. None of these suggestions is impossible; but it is difficult to substantiate them in the present state of our knowledge. A recently discovered seal (see the Summaries of papers contributed to Ind. Hist. Cong., Hyderabad, 1941, p. 16) is said to prove that Kumāra Gupta of No. 32 had a son named Vishṇu Gupta. An inscription found at Mangraon (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), dated in the 17th year [सम्वत्सरे सप्तदशे सम्वत् १०(+*)७; see *I.H.Q.*, March, 1941, p. 129] may belong to this Vishṇu Gupta. But the absence of the Gupta date suggests his identification with Vishṇu Gupta (grandson of Ādityasena) of the Later Gupta dynasty. A. S. Altekar believes that the inscription is dated "in his 17th regnal year and in the 117th year obviously of the Harsha era" (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, III, p. 57).

TEXT[1]

1 वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे [।*][2]
भूमिं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते मासि ज्येष्ठे[3] द्वितीयायाम् ॥ **1**

2 भक्त्यावर्ज्जित-मनसा यतिना पूजार्त्थमभयमित्रेण [।*]
प्रतिमा-प्रतिमस्य गुणै[र]प[रि]यं [का]रिता शास्तुः ॥ **2**

3 माता-पितृ-गुरु-पू[र्व्वं]:[4] पुण्येनानेन सत्व-कायो(ऽ*)यं [।*]
लभतामभिमतमुपशम-ि * * * * म्[5] ॥ **3**

No. 32—Bhitarī Seal of Kumāra Gupta II or III[6]

Bhitarī, Ghāzīpur Dist., U.P.

Hoernle, *J. A. S. B.*, L VIII, pt. i, p. 89; J. F. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX (1890), p. 225.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT[7]

1 [सर्व्व]-राजोच्छेत्तु ≍पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज-श्री[गुप्त]-प्रपौ[त्र]स्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य म[हा]-

2 [राजा]धिर[ा]ज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्रस्य] म[हादे]व्य[ां] [कुमा]रदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-

3 [श्री]समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि[गृही]तो म[हादेव्या[न्दत्तदेव्या]मुत्पन्नस्स्वयं च[ा]प्रतिरथ ≍परमभाग-[8]

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1 From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15, Pl. lxix, N.

2 Read सचतुः० to rectify the metre. 3 ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ. शास्ता=बुद्ध.

4 Gupte: पूर्त्तिः ; D.R. Sahni : पूर्व्विः, पूर्व=ancestors.

5 May we suggest ०मुपशमं हितसुखं तदेव भवतु सत्त्वानाम् ? सत्त्वकाय=a person who is an abode of virtue. 6 See p. 320, n. 1. For the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta surnamed Śrī-Kramāditya, see Allan, *Cat.*, p. 140f.

7 From the facsimile in *J.A.S.B.*, LVIII, part i. The upper part of the seal of this charter is occupied by emblems the chief of them being Garuḍa in relief on a counter-sunk surface. 8 Hoernle: च प्रति०

4 [वतो]]महाराजा]धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य [पुत्र]स्तत्पाद[ा]नु[द्धया]तो महा-
देव्य[ां] [ध्रु]वदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हारा]-

5 [जाधि]राज-श्रीकुमार[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धया[तो] महादेव्यामनन्त-
देव्य[ा]मुत्पन्नो महा[रा]-

6 [जाधिरा]ज-श्री[पुरगुप्त]स्तस्य[1] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धय[ातो] महादे[वयां] श्रीचन्द्र-[2]
देव्यामुत्प[न्नो] म[हा]-

7 [राजाधिरा]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तस्तस्य[3] [पु]त्रस्त[त्प]ादा[नुद्धयातो] मह[ादेव्यां]
श्रीम[न्मित्र]-[4]

8 [देव्या]मु[त्प[न्नश्चपरमभ[ा]गवतो मह[ाराजाधिरा]ज-श्रीकुम[ा]र[गुप्तः ॥]

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1 Allan (*Catalogue*, p. 134, Pl. XXI, No. 23) describes a gold coin of Pura Gupta with the legend पुर on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and श्रीविक्रमः (or श्रीविक्रमादित्यः ?) on the reverse. The *akshara* read as प however looks like a ब, and Mr. S. K. Saraswati may be right in suggesting that the name is बुध (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 691f.). Pura Gupta has been identified with king Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti (Ayodhyā), who was the father of Bālāditya and a patron of Vasubandhu and is known from Buddhist traditions (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 210f.).

2 Fleet reads वत्सदेवी. On the Nālandā seal the name has been read as वैरायदेवी by H. Shastri and चन्द्रदेवी by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77; *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1934-35, p. 63).

3 For some gold coins with the obverse legend नर beneath the king's left arm and the incomplete verse [जयति ?] नरसिङ्हगुप्तः, and the reverse legend बा(बा)लादित्यः, see Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 137f. According to Buddhist traditions, Bālāditya, a Buddhist king of Magadha, was a contemporary of Mihirakula. Mihirakula invaded Bālāditya's territory; he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards set free. See Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 288f. If Pura Gupta ascended the Imperial Gupta throne after Budha Gupta (495 A.D.) the contemporaneity of this Narasimha Gupta with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (*circa* 515-35 A.D.) is apparent. But Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 503) relies on the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* which suggests that Buddha (Budha) Gupta was succeeded by Tathāgata Gupta, after whom Bālāditya [II, contemporary of Mihirakula] succeeded to the empire.

4 Fleet reads महा[लक्ष्मी?]देव्या०. But cf. the Nālandā seal, *loc. cit.*

No. 33—Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of Budha Gupta[1]—Gupta year 157 (=476 A.D).

SĀRNĀTH, Benares Dist., U. P.

Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, pp. 124-25.

Language : Sanskrit.
Script : Brāhmī of the Nothern class.
Metre : Verses 1-4 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

1 **गुप्तानां** समतिक्रान्ते **सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे** [।*]
शते समानां[3] पृथिवीं **बुधगुप्ते** प्रशासति ॥ **1**
[वैशाख-मास-सप्तम्यां मूले श्याम-गते*][4]

2 मया [।*]
कारिताभयमित्रेण प्रतिमा शाक्य-भिक्षुणा[5] ॥ **2**
इमामुद्दण्ड-[6]सच्छत्र-पद्मास[न-विभूषितां ।*]
[देवपुत्रवतो दिव्यां*]

3 चित्रवि[द्या]-सचिवितां ॥ **3**
यदत्र पुण्यं प्रतिमां कारयित्वा मया भृतम् [।*]
माता-[पित्रोर्गु][रूणां च लोकस्य च समाप्तये ॥*] **4**

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1 Buddhist traditions refer to a Buddha Gupta, son of Śakrāditya who was king of the territory including Nālandā (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 164). If Buddha may be taken to be a mistake for Budha and Śakrāditya to be the same as Mahendrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I), Budha Gupta may be suggested to have been a son of Kumāra Gupta I.

2 From the facsimile in Plate LXIX, P in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15. The restorations are made with the help of a similar record in Pl. LXIX, O.

3 The metre requires a short fifth and long sixth syllable. We may have समानां पृथिवीं शते.

4 मूले श्यामगते=at the time of the asterism Mūlā belonging to the dark fortnight.

5 Śākya was the name of the clan to which Buddha belonged. Later it was also used to indicate a follower of the Śākyamuni Buddha.

6 Gupte: ०मुद्दस्त०. देवपुत्रवत्=आदि-बुद्ध, the origin of the Dhyāni-Buddhas ?

No. 34—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta—Gupta year 163 (=482 A. D).

Dāmodarpur, Dināj pur Dist., Bengal

R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 135f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

First Side.

1 [सं १००*] (+*) [६०] (+*) ३ आषाढ-दि १० (+*) ३ परमदैवत-परम-
भट्टा[र]क-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगुप्ते [पृथि]वी-पतौ तत्पाद-[परि]गृहीते पुण्ड्र[व]-
2 [र्द्धन]भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-ब्रह्मदत्ते संव्यवहरति [।*] स्व[स्ति] [।*] पलाश-
वृन्दकात्सविश्वासं महत्तराद्यष्टकुलाधि[क]-
3 [र]ण-ग्रामिक-कुटुम्बिनश्च[2] चण्डग्रामके ब्राह्मणाद्यान्नच्चुद्र-प्रकृति-कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-
मुक्तानुदर्शयन्ति [यथैवं ?]
4 [वि]ज्ञापयती नो[3] ग्रामिक-नाभको(ऽ*)हमिच्छे[4] मातापित्रोस्स्वपुण्याप्यायनाय
कदिचिद्ब्राह्मणाय्यान्प्रतिवासयितु[5]

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1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

2 Read कुटुम्बि० and ०नच्चुद्र०. महत्तर=elders or leading men of the village. The passage means "the village jury (consisting of eight members) headed by the village elders, the headman of the village, and the householders (or agriculturists)." ग्रामिक=headman of a village; Manu (VII, 115-19) seems to suggest that he was the king's representative in the village. Palāśavṛindaka was the centre of local administration of a number of villages, one of which was Chaṇḍagrāma. Two villages called Palāśbāṛi and another called Palāśdāṅgā lie not far off from Dāmodarpur. स्वस्ति (may it be well) introduces the record proper, the preceding part being considered as the date portion.

3 Basak suggests the correction विज्ञापयतीतो. Read ०पयति. नः=अस्मान्. सविश्वासं अनुदर्शयन्ति = tell (or, inform as follows) with confidence.

4 Read इच्छये or इच्छामि. 5 Read कति०.

5 [तद]र्हथ ग्रामानुक्रम-विक्रय-मर्य्यादया मत्तो हिरण्यमुपसंगृह्य समुदयबाह्याप्रद-[खिल-
क्षेत्राणा[ं]

6 [प्र]सादं कर्त्तुमति[1] [।*] यतः पुस्तपाल-पत्रदासेनावधारितं युक्तमनेन विज्ञापित-
मस्त्ययं विक्रय-

7 मर्य्यादा-प्रसङ्गस्तद्दीयतामस्य परमभट्टारक-महाराज-पा[दे]न पुण्योपचयायेति[2] [।*]
पुनरस्यैव

8 [पत्रदा]सस्यावधारणयावगृह्य नाभक-हस्तादीनार-[द्वय]मुपसंगृह्य[3] स्थायपाल-[4]
कपिल-श्रीभद्राभ्यायायक्ष[ल][5] च समुदय-

Second Side

9 [बाह्याप्रद*]-[खि]ल-क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकमस्य **वायिग्रामको**त्तर-पार्श्वस्यैव च सत्य-
मर्य्यादाया[6] दक्षिण-पश्चिम-पूर्व्वेण

10 मह[त्त]राधिकरण-कुटुम्बिभिः[6] प्रत्यवेक्ष्याष्टक-नवक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविच्छ्य[7]
चतुस्सीमोल्लिङ्ग्य[8] च नागदेवस्य

11 [दत्तं] [।*] [तदु]त्तर-कालं संव्यवहारिभिर्द्धर्म्ममवेक्ष्य प्रतिपालनीयमुक्त्व[9]
महर्ष्पिभिः [।*]

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1 Read ०मिति. ग्रामानुक्रमविक्रयमर्यादया (the same as सत्यमर्य्यादया)=according to the custom of sale prevalent in the villages. समुदयबाह्य=free from all dues or yielding no revenue. अप्रद=non-transferrable property. In this case it may also indicate "not previously settled." 2 Cf. *infra*, p. 352, n. 5.

3 द्वय was at first omitted and was then engraved in the lower margin of the plate. Note that two *dīnāras* instead of three are accepted in this case.

4 Possibly स्थानपाल=watchman, policeman.

5 Read ०भ्यामायीकृत्य (*infra*, No. 41, l. 14). Possibly the remaining *dīnāra* was realised by or from the two persons. 6 Read मर्य्यादया and ०म्बिभिः

7 Read ०ष्टक-नवक-नला० as in other records. It may be suggested that the unit of the measurement was 8×9 reeds (measuring rods). But the *deivachana* may also indicate that two rods were used in measuring a plot of land. In that case, the custom may have been to measure the length with rods 9 cubits long and the breadth by those 8 cubits long. अपविच्छ्य=having severed, i.e. having measured out.

8 Basak तुष्टिमो०. Read सीमा उ०. उल्लिङ्ग्य=having painted or marked (*infra*, No. 41, l. 19). ०देवस्य=देवाय. Bāyigrāma=Baigrām, near Hili, Bogra Dist. (*loc. cit.*) 9 Better read नोयम्। उक्त्व.

स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां[1]।

12 [स विष्ठा]यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [॥*] **1**

बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

13 तदा फलं [॥*] **2**

षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[2] ॥ **3**

No. 35—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Budha Gupta—Gupta Year 165 (=484 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 89; *ibid*, p. 88 for other references.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 आर्य्या.

TEXT[3]

1 जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरर्ण्णव-विपुल-सलिल-पर्य्यङ्कः [।]

जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि*]-[4]

2 हेतुर्ग्गरुड-केतुः [॥*] **1**

शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च **बुधगुप्ते**।

आषाढ-मास-[शुक्ल]-

3 [द्वा]दश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे[5] ।[।*] **2**

सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ [॥*]

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1 Properly, ०न्धराम् and फलम् .

2 Properly वसेत् ॥ इति ॥ 3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

4 The restoration is due to Hall. न्यय=क्षय=प्रलय·

5 Prinsep: बयो०. The date is Thursday, 21st June, 484 A.D. This is an early use of the name of the weekdays which the Indians learnt probably from works of the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. Greek influence on Varāhamihira (d. 587 A.D.) is wellknown. His *Paulisasiddhānta* is based on the works of Paul of Alexandria (c. 378 A.D.); cf. also his *Romakasiddhānta*; *Romaka*=Graeco-Roman.

कालिन्दी-नर्म्मदयोर्म्मध्यं पालयति लोकपाल-गुणै-[1]

र्ज्जगति महा[राज]-

4 श्रियमनुभवति **सुरश्मिचन्द्रे** च ।[।*] **3**

अस्यां संवत्सर-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्वायां[2] स्वकर्म्माभिरतस्य क्रतु-याजि[नः]

5 अधीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेर्म्मैत्रायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्रेण पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुण[विष्णोः]

6 पौत्रेण पितरमनुजातस्य[3] स्व-वंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्रेणात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तेन विधातुरिच्छया स्वयंवरयेव र[ा]ज-

7 लक्ष्म्याधिगतेन चतुःसमुद्र-पर्य्यन्त-प्रथित-यशसा अक्षीण-मानधनेनानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णुना महाराज-**मातृविष्णुन**[ा][4]

8 तस्यैवानुजेन तदनुविधायिन[ा] तत्प्रसाद-परिगृ[ही]तेन **धन्यविष्णुना** च ।[5] मातृ-प्रित्रोः[6] पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतः ।[5]

9 पुण्यजनार्द्दनस्य[7] **जनार्द्दनस्य** ध्वजस्तम्भो(ऽ*)भ्युच्छ्रितः [॥*] स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-[पु]रोगाभ्यः सर्व्व-प्रजाभ्य इति ।[।*]

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1 Read गुणैः । जगति. With the province called कालीन्दी-नर्म्मदा-मध्य, compare अन्तर्वेदी of *supra*, No. 27, l. 4. Rivers were apparently taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta *vishayas*.

2 पूर्व्वायां (=during the above) is an idiomatic use for पूर्व्वायां तिथौ.

3 पितरम् अनुजातः=one who takes after or resembles his father (in merits).

4 The Eraṇ inscription of Toramāna and Dhanyavishṇu (*infra*) proves that the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūṇas almost immediately after Budha Gupta (possibly during the reign of Bhānu Gupta; cf. *infra*, No. 38), and it is not impossible that the western part of Central India had been gradually conquered by them during the later years or after the death of Skanda Gupta. But the evidence of the *Harshacharita* suggests that the Guptas regained power in Mālwā (East Mālwā?) after the short rule of the Hūṇas and of the local line represented by Yaśodharman (cf. Mandasor ins., *infra*).

5 The sign of punctuation is unnecessary

6 Read मातापित्रोः.

7 पुण्यजनार्द्दन=troubler of the demons (पुण्यजन).

No. 36—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta (c. 476-94-95 A.D.).

Dāmodarpur, Dināj pur Dist., Bengal

R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 138f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 ... ... फाल्गुन-दि १० (+*) [५] परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगु[प्ते][2] [पृथिवी*]-

2 [पतौ*] [त*]त्पाद-परिगृहीतस्य **पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन**-भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-**जयदत्तस्य**[3] भोगेनानु[वहमा]-

3 नके [को]टि[वर्ष्ये]-विषये च तन्नियुक्तकेहायुक्तक-**शण्डके**[4] अधिष्ठानाधि-करण[*] नगरश्रेष्टिरिभु-

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1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

2 Read बुध°.

3 Jaya Datta appears to have belonged to the family of Chirāta Datta and Brahma Datta of *supra*, No. 34 (cf. names of the *śreshṭhins* Dhṛiti Pāla and Ribhu Pāla; the *sārthavāhas* Bandhu Mitra and Vasu Mitra; the *Kulikas* Vara Datta and Mati Datta; the *Kāyasthas* Śāmba Pāla, Vipra Pāla and Skanda Pāla). The cognomens like *Gupta* show that the second member of the father's name was usually continued in the son's, and thus gave rise to a cognomen. The successors of Chandra Gupta I and Gopāla had names ending in *Gupta* and *Pāla* and thus the lines came to be known as the Gupta and Pāla families. In the fifth century A.D. such cognomens appear to have been widely recognised in Bengal as also in other parts of India. Most of the mod. Bengali family-names are of this type, though some (e.g. Niyogī) are derived from official titles (some of them being of Mahomedan times) and from *mūlagrāmas* or *gaṇis*, i.e. villages where the families claimed to have originally lived (e. g. Vandyopādhyāya from a village called Vandya).

4 Read इहायु° and ऋभु°. The reading may possibly be आयुक्तक and गण्डक.

4 पा[ल]-सार्थवाहवसुमित्र-प्रथमकुलिकवरदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थविप्रपाल-पुरोगे च स[म्व्य]-
वहरति[1]

5 अनेन श्रेष्ठि-रिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं **हिमवच्छिखरे**[2] **कोकामुखस्वामिनः**[3]
चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः [**श्वे**]**तव**-[4]

6 **राहस्वामिनो**(ऽ*)पि सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्सिनो[5] पुन्याभिवृद्धये[6]
डोङ्गाग्रापे[7] पूर्व्वं मया

7 अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तत्क्षेत्त्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ[8] तयोराद्य-**कोकामुखस्वामि-**
श्वेतवराह-

8 **स्वामिनोर्ना**[**म**]**लिङ्गमेकं**[9] देवकुल-द्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिका-द्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यर्हथ वास्तुना

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1 Read सं**व्य**०. The correct form of the Sreshṭhin's name is **ऋभुपाल**.

2 **हिमवच्छिखर** literally means "the summit of the Himalayas". Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit (called a forest in No. 39). The situation of the land granted to the gods (cf. *infra*, n. 7 and l. 14; No. 39. l. 17) suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof that the Koṭivarsha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal.

3 **कोका**=she-wolf; but **कोक** also means a ruddy goose, cuckoo, frog or wild lizard, also Vishṇu. In the **दुर्गास्तोत्र** of the *Mahābharata*, VI, 8, the goddess Durgā (female form of Śiva's energy) is called **कोकामुखा**. It is therefore possible to think that **कोकामुख** is a form of Śiva **आद्या** is another name of Durgā and **आद्य** (primeval) may possibly indicate Śiva. A *tīrtha* called **कोकामुख** is mentioned in *Mbh.*, III, 84, 158; XIII, 25, 52. A *Yakshī* named Kshudra-Kokā is mentioned in a Barhut inscription.

4 One of the incarnations of Vishṇu is the Varāha. **श्वेतवराहस्वामी** therefore appears to be a form of the god Vishṇu.

5 Read ०**शंसिना**. 6 Read **पुण्या**०

7 Read **ग्रामे**. This village has also been mentioned in *supra*, No. 18.

8 Better ०**सृष्टकाः** (=**दत्ताः**)। **तद**०

9 ०**मेनं** ? Possibly **नाम-लिङ्ग**. This expression appears to indicate "Liṅga named after a person (possibly Ribhu Pāla, the name of the Liṅga in that case be ng Ribhupāleśvara)." That there is reference to a Śaivite god in this passage seems to be evident from the fact that only one Liṅga was made. Of the two gods, only one was a form of Śiva. Cf. the expressions **स्वाह्य-लिङ्ग** (=**स्वनाम-लिङ्ग** a Liṅga named ofter one's own name) in the Malkāpur stone inscription. **देवकुल**=te nple; **कोष्ठिका**=store-room, or surrounding wall.

9 सह [कुल्य]वापान्यथाक्रय-मर्य्यादया दातुमिति [।*] यतः पुस्तपाल-विष्णुदत्त-विजय-[नन्दि]-स्थानु-[1]

10 नन्दिनामवधारणयावधृतमस्त्यनेन **हिमवच्छिखरे** तयोः कोकामुखस्वामि-श्वेतवरा[ह]-स्वामि[नोः]

11 अप्रदा-क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापा एकादश दत्तास्तदर्थञ्चेह देवकुल-कोष्ठिका-करणे[2] युक्त[मे]त-[द्विज्ञा]-

12 [पितं] [क्र]मेण तत्क्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ वास्तु दातुमित्यनुवृत्त-विदीनारिक्यक्र[ल्यवा]प-विक्रय[मर्य्या]द-[3]

Second Side

13 [या*]... ... ...

14 ... ... पु[ष्करि]णी पू[र्व्वेण] रिभु[पा]ल-पु[ष्करिणी ?] [दक्षिणेन]

15 ... ... दत्ताः [।*] [त]दुत्तरकालं [सं]व्यवहारिभिर्द्देवभ[क्रया]नु-मन्तव्या[4] [उक्तं] व्यासेन [।*]

स्व-दत्तां परदत्ता-

16 [म्वा[5] यो हरेत] वसुन्धराम् [।*]

स विष्टा[यां] कृमिर्भूत्वा[6] पि[तृ]भिस्स[ह पच्यते] [॥*] **1**

पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

17 [यत्नाद्रक्ष यु]धिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं [महीमतां] श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं][7] [॥*] **2**

[बहु]भिर्व्वसु[धा द]त्ता

18 [राजभिश्च] पुनः पुनः [।*]

[य]स्य [य]स्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य तस्य] त[दा] फलमिति[8] [॥*] **3**

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1 Read स्थाणु॰. वास्तु=building ground.

2 करणे=करणाय or करणविषये. क्रमेण=in proper order.

3 क्रयमर्यादा (l.9) from the purchasers' viewpoint is the same as विक्रयमर्यादा from the sellers' viewpoint. Ll. 13-15 contained a description of the boundaries of the land.

4 Better ॰मन्तव्याः। उक्तं. 5 Read ॰त्तां वा.

6 The usual spelling is कृमि. विष्टा=विष्ठा. Read ॰र्भूत्वा

7 Properly ॰नम्. 8 Properly फलम् ॥ इति ॥

No. 37—Guṇaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainya Gupta—Gupta year 188 (=507 A.D.)

GUNAIGAR, Tippera Dist., Bengal.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, p. 53ff; M. GHOSH, *ibid*, p. 561.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] महानौ[2]-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात्**कीपुरा**द्भगवन्**महादेव**-पादानुद्ध्यातो[3] महाराज-श्री**वैन्यगुप्तः**[4]

2 कुशली * * * * * * * * * [5] स्वपादोपजीविनश्च कुशलमाशंस्य समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितं भवतामस्तु यथा

3 मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु[ण्या]भिवृ[द्ध]ये(ऽ*)स्मत्पाददास-महाराज-**रुद्रदत्त**-विज्ञाप्यादनेनैव माहायानिक-शाक्यभिक्षवा-

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1 Prepared with the help of Bhattacharya's transcript. The plates published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, are not quite serviceable. The seal has the figure of a recumbent bull to right and the ins. महाराज-श्रीवै[न्यगुप्तस्य].

2 महानौ=ship. Note that the Navy gradually became an important factor in the army of Indian kings, though the conventional units are said to have been हस्त्यश्व-रथ-पादातं सेनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुष्टयम् . Note also the omission of the chariot.

3 The king was a devotee of Siva; but the way in which it is expressed is only rare in inscriptions; cf. वामदेव-पादानुध्यात in the Kalachuri and नागदेवपादानुध्यात in the Chalukya records. For अनुध्यात, see *supra*, p. 271, n. 6.

4 Usually वैण्य०. It is interesting that his पाददास and उपरिक are also styled महाराज (ll. 3 and 16). His title महाराज therefore connot prove that Vainya Gupta was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as महाराजाधिराज. His dominion spossibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihār.

5 Some 8 *aksharas* are lost and may be restored as ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बिनः or समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः .

4 चार्य्य-**शान्तिदेव**मुद्दिश्य गोप (?) ... ... [दिग्भागे?] कार्य्यमाण-कार्य्यावलोकितेश्वराश्रम-विहारे[1] अनेनै-

5 वाचार्य्येण प्रतिपादित[कं?]-माहायानिक-वैवर्त्तिक-भिक्षु-संघनाम्परिग्रहे[2] भगवतो **बुद्धस्य** सततं त्रिष्कालं[3]

6 गन्ध-पुष्प-दीप-धूपादि-प्र[वर्त्तनाय*] [त*]स्य भिक्षुसंघस्य च चीवर-पिण्डपात-शयनासन-ग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यादि-

7 परिभोगाय[4] विहारे [च] खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्कार-करणाय[5] **उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्ते-डदक**ग्रामे[6] सर्वतो भो-

8 गेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः[7] पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्र-पट्टे नातिसृष्टाः [।*] अपि च खलु श्रुति-स्मृती-

9 [ति*]हा[स]-विहितां[8] पुण्यभूमिदान-श्रुतिमैहिकामुत्रिक-फल-विशेषे स्मृतो[9] भावतः समुपगम्य स्वतस्तु पी-

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1 Mahāyāna is a developed school of Buddhism, the early orthodox school being called Hīnayāna. The Mahāyānists worshipped many gods and goddesses, such as the five *Dhyānī*-Buddhas derived from Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajñā, the numerous Bodhisattvas, etc. Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva. See *supra*, p. 129, n. 5.

2 Read सङ्घानां. Vaivarttikas (following the doctrine of *Vivartta* or Māyā?) otherwise unknown were apparently a sect of the Māhāyānikas.

3 Possibly त्रिकालं (=त्रिसन्ध्यं) is intended.

4 चीवर=cloth; पिण्डपात=giving alms; here possibly, getting food; शयनासन=bed and seat; ग्लानप्रत्यय-भैषज्य=पीडाहेतुक०=medicine or medical treatment for diseases.

5 फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

6 *I.e.*, in the village of Kāntedadaka in the division called Uttaramaṇḍala.

7 पाटक is the name of a measurement. According to Hemachandra, it means half of a village (cf. Beng *pārā*). By calculation of the area of the five plots, we see that 8¾ *pāṭakas*+90 *droṇavāpas*=11 *pāṭakas*; or 2¼ *pāṭakas*=90 *droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* was therefore=40 *droṇavāpas*. For the *droṇ* of Chittagong Dist. as noticed by Hunter (*Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, p. 164), see *supra*, p. 286, n. 9. *Ib*, p. 301, suggests that in Noākhāli Dist., the *droṇ* in Shāistānagar=about 48 acres, in Sandvīp=about 34 acres, and in Government states=about 25 acres. 1 acre=$3\frac{1}{20}$ *bighās*. The scheme is 4 *karā*=*gaṇḍā*, 20 *g.*=*kānī*, 16 *k.*=*droṇ*; but measuring rod=14, 16 or 22 cubits, and cubit=18 or 20 ½ inches (sometimes, reference is to the hand of a particular person, i.e. a cubit of uncertain length).

8 Bhattacharya: हापविहिता 9 Read ०पेण स्मृतौ. Some suggest स्मृतां.

10 डामप्यूरीकृत्य पात्रेभ्यो भूमिं[1] * * * * * * * * * * ० ० [।०] द्विप(?)द्विरस्म-
द्वचन-गौरवात्स्व-यशो-धर्म्मावाप्तये चैते
11 पाटका अस्मिन्वि(?)हारे शश्वत्कालमभ्य[नुपालयितव्याः ॥*][2] अनुपालनम्प्रति च
भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्या-
12 सेन व्यासेन गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति [।०]
षष्टिं वर्ष-स[हस्रा]णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।०]
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
13 न्येव न(र*)के वसेत् [॥*] 1
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तांवा[3] यो हरेत [वसु]न्धरां [।*]
[स] विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते [॥*] 2
14 पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]
महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानात्श्रयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं[4] [॥*] 3
वर्त्तमानाष्टाशीत्यु-
15 **त्तर-शत-संवत्सरे** पौष-मासस्य चतुर्व्विन्शतितम-दिवसे[5] दूतकेन महाप्रतीहार-
महापीलुपति-पञ्चाधि-
16 करणोपरिक-पाठ्युपरिक-[पुर?]पुरपालोपरिक-[6]महाराज-श्रीमहासामन्त-**विजयसेने-**[7]
नैतदेकादश-पाटक-दा-

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1 Restore नापहरेत, बाधाञ्च न कुर्यात्. पीडामप्यूरीकृत्य=even courting (pecuniary) troubles. 2 Bhattacharya suggests ०भ्यनुमन्तव्याः.

3 Read दत्तां वा. 4 Read दानाच्छ्रेयो०. 5 Read ०विंशति.

6 पुर seems to have been engraved twice owing to mistake.

7 This Vijayasena has been identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Mallasārul inscription (*infra*). महाप्रतीहार=the chief officer superintending the doorkeepers of the royal palace (i.e. palace-guards and possibly also the royal body guards). पञ्चाधिकरणोपरिक=chief superintendent of five administering offices. पाठ्युपरिक=chief officer of the accounts department (cf. पाटी=arithmetic). पुरपालोपरिक=the chief police officer of the royal city. उपरिक=superior officer. पीलु (originally Persian)=elephant (Medinīkara, 14th cent.). See *supra*, n. 264, n. 7. पीलुपति=leader of the elephant force, or keeper of the elephants (cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 30, mentioning *pīlupati* and *gajapati* side by side), or both. Words like पीलु and दिविर were introduced into Indian administration by foreign invaders.

17 नायाज्ञामनुभाविताः कुमारामात्य-रेवज्जस्वामी भामह-वत्स-भोगिकाः[1] [॥*] लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहारिकरण-काय-[2]

18 स्थ-नरदत्तेन [॥*] यत्रैक-क्षेत्रखण्डे नव-द्रोणवापाधिक-सप्त-पाटक-परिमाणे सीमा-लिङ्गानि [।*] पूर्व्वेण **गुणेका-**

19 **ग्रहार**ग्राम-सीमा विष्णुवर्धकि-क्षेत्रञ्च[3] [।*] दक्षिणेन मिदुविलाल(?)-क्षेत्रं राज-विहार-क्षेत्रञ्च [।*] पश्चिमेन सूरी-नाशी-रम्पूरणेंक-

20 क्षेत्रं [।*] उत्तरेण दोषी-भोग-पुष्करिण[ी][4] ... ... [ए*]वम्पियाकादित्य-बन्धु-क्षेत्राणाञ्च सीमा [॥*]

21 द्वितीय-खण्डस्याष्टाविन्शति[5]-द्रोणवाप-परिमाणस्य सीमा [।*] पूर्व्वेण **गुणिका-**[5] **ग्रहार**ग्राम-सीमा [।*] दक्षिणेन पङ्क-

22 विलाल(?)-क्षेत्रं [।*]पश्चिमेन राजविहार-क्षेत्रं [।*] उत्तरेण वैद्य(?)-क्षेत्रं [॥*] तृतीय-खण्डस्य त्रयोविन्शति[6]-द्रोणवाप-

23 परिमाणस्य सीमा [*] पूर्व्वेण ... ... क्षेत्रं [।*] दक्षिणेन नखद्या-र्च्चरिक(?)-क्षेत्र-सीमा [।*] पश्चिमेन

Second Side

24 ज(जो?)लारी-क्षेत्रं [।*] उत्तरेण नागी-जोडाक-क्षेत्रं [॥*] चतुर्थस्य त्रिंशद्द्रोणवाप-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा [।*] पूर्व्वेण

25 बुद्धाक-क्षेत्र-सीमा [।*] दक्षिणेन कालाक-क्षेत्रं [।*] पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य्य-क्षेत्र-सीमा [।*] उत्तरेण महीपाल-क्षेत्रं [॥*] [प]ञ्चमस्य

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1 Read ०गिकौ च. It appears that the *dūtaka* (executor) Vijayasena entrusted the business to the Kumārāmātya Revajjasvāmin, and two other officers called *Bhogikas*. *Bhogika* (keeper of the horses) may indicate an officer connected with the royal stables. Sometimes the word possibly also indicates a *jāgīrdār*.

2 Read विग्रहाधि०. Naradatta seems to have been a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.

3 Read क्षेत्रञ्च. वर्धकि=carpenter in profession or caste.

4 भोग may be a personal name. It may also indicate Doshi's temporary possession of the tank.

5 Read विंशति.

6 Guṇekāgrahāra of ll. 18-19 and Guṇikāgrahāra of l. 21 are apparently identical and the same as modern Guṇaighar.

26 पादोन-पाटक-द्वय-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा [।*] पूर्व्वेण खण्ड-वि[ड्ड]ग्गुरिक-क्षेत्रं [।*] दक्षिणेन मणिभद्र-

27 क्षेत्रं [।*] पश्चिमेन यज्ञरात-क्षेत्र-सीमा [।*] उत्तरेण **नादडदक**ग्राम-सीमेति [॥*] विहार-तलभूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि [।*]

28 पूर्व्वेण **चूडामणिनगरश्रीनौयोग**योर्म्मद्धये जोला[1] [।*] दक्षिणेन गणेश्वर-विलाल-पुष्करिण्या नौ-खातः [।*]

29 पश्चिमेन प्रद्युम्नेश्वर देवकुल[2]-क्षेत्र-प्रान्तः [।*] उत्तरेण **प्रडामार**-नौयोग-खातः [॥*] एतद्विहारप्रावेश्य-शून्यप्रतिकर-

30 हज्जिक[3]-खिल-भूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि [।*] पूर्व्वेण प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-क्षेत्र-सीमा [।*] दक्षिणेन शाक्यभिक्षवाचार्य्य-जित-

31 सेन-वैहारिक-क्षेत्रावसा(?)नः[4] [।*] पश्चिमेन ह(?)चात-गंग उत्तरेण दण्ड-पुष्किणी[4] चेति ॥ **सं** १०० (+*) ८० (+*) ८ पोष्य[5]-दि २० (+*) ४ [॥*]

No. 38—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta—Gupta year 191 (=510 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ind. Ind.*, III, p. 92f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) ; Vv. 3-4 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT[6]

1 १[7] [॥*] **संवत्सर-शते एकनवत्युत्तरे** श्रावण-बहुलपक्ष-स[प्त]म्य[ां] [।*]

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1 Beng. जोला (=खात) means a ditch. Between Chūḍāmaṇinagara and Śrī-nauyoga, or, between the *nauyogas* (places for parking boats) of Chūḍāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī?

2 For another temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva, see the Deopārā ins. (*infra*).

3 Cf. Beng. हाजा in the expression हाजा-शुखा, flood and draught; loss caused by them. Here हज्जिक may mean marshy land. विहारप्रावेश्य=property of the monastery (प्रावेश्य=right of प्रवेश or income, revenue.) शून्यप्रतिकर=free from compensatory dues. तलभूमि=low land. विलाल=possibly, a mechanic caste like वर्धकि. गंग (Beng. गाङ्), rivulet.

4 Read ०सानं and पुष्करिणी.

5 Read पौष०.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

7 सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

2 संवत् १०० (+*) ९० (+*) १ श्रावण-ब-दि[1] ७ ॥

* * क्र[2]-वङ्शादुत्पन्नो[3] * *-[4]

3 राजेति विश्रुतः [।*]

तस्य पुत्रो(ऽ*)तिविक्रान्तो नाम्ना राजाथ माधवः ॥ I

गोपराज[ः]

4 सुतस्तस्य श्रीमान्विख्यात-पौरुषः [।*]

शरभराज-दौहित्रः स्व-वङ्श[5]-तिलको(ऽ*)धुना(?) [॥*] 2

5 श्री भानुगुप्तो[6] जगति प्रवीरो

राजा महान्पार्थ-समो(ऽ*)ति-शूरः [।*]

तेनाथ सार्द्धन्त्विह गोपर[राजो]

6 मित्रानु[गत्येन][7] किलानुयातः ॥ 3

कृत्वा (च*) [यु]द्धं सुमहत्प्रक[।]शं

स्वर्ग[8] गतो दिव्य-न[रे?][न्द्र-कल्पः*] [।*]

7 भक्तानुरक्ता च[8] प्रिया च कान्ता

भ[र्य्याव]ल[ग्न]नुगता[ग्नि]र[।]शिम् ॥ 4[9]

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1 व is an abbreviated form of बहुलपक्ष and दि of दिवस. Sometimes we have व (=वद्य) instead of व (=बहुल).

2 प्रशुक्र or अशुक्र? Fleet suggested that of the three letters the third is क्र and the second may be ल. 3 Read वंशा°.

4 The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscribed *r* sign which may suggest that the name was something like ध्र वराज. Or, गोपराज ? 5 Read वंश.

6 It is not impossible that when Vainya Gupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire, Bhānu Gupta was ruling the western part and the line of Pura Gupta had control over the central part.

7 The *aksharas* are indistinct. Fleet conjecturally reads वल्यार ; but the last *akshara* appears to be न.

8 Fleet thinks that the metre is faulty as this च has been lengthened by the influence of प्रि. But the conjuncts प्र and ह्र as also व्र and क्र are said to be exceptions to the rule वर्णसंयोगपूर्व्वश्च and before them the vowels may be short by a sort of poetical license ; cf. *Kumāra.*, VII, 11, *Śiśupāla.*, X. 60, etc.

9 Here is an early reference to the Suttee. The battle referred to may represent a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇas in Central India.

No. 39—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of * * Gupta—Gupta year 224 (=543 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dināj pur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 142f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid*, XVII, p. 193f.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT[1]

Seal

कोटिवर्ष्याधिष्ठानाधि[करणस्य][1] ।

First Side

1 स[म्व][2] २००(+*) २०[3] (+*) ४ भाद्र-दि ५ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-म[हा]-राजाधिराज-श्री...[4]

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1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. "[The seal] of the administrative office , i.e., the governing body of the city of Kotivarsha".

2 Read संव which is a contraction of संवत्सरः or ०रे. 3 Basak: १०.

4 Basak suggests बुधगुप्त, while Krishna Shastri wants to restore कुमारगुप्त, sometimes identified with the king mentioned in *supra*, No. 32, though Vishṇu Gupta's name may also the thought of (p. 320, n). It may be pointed out that another Kumāra Gupta lived about the same time. According to the Aphsar inscription of Ādityasena, his predecessor Kumāra Gupta III (of the Later Gupta dynasty which was probably an offshoot of the Early Imperial Gupta line) was a contemporary of the Maukhari Iśānavarman whose Haraha Inscription is dated in A.D. 554. But his case seems to be less probable. It may also be noted that the आर्य्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 671-76) gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as बालाख्य (बालादित्य)-कुमार-उकाराख्य-देव. If this Deva [Gupta?] may be identified with Devabhaṭṭāraka (who appears to have been the emperor's son made governor of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana) of the present inscription, the missing name may be conjecturally restored as उपगुप्त. The possibility of an Upa Gupta in the Gupta geneaology has been suggested by Raychaudhuri on the basis of the name of Upa Guptā, mother of Maukhari Iśānavarman (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 500 n). It is also possible to suggest the identification of उकाराख्य with Vishṇu Gupta.

2 **गुप्ते** पृथिवीपतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहोते[1] **पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन**-भुक्तावुपरि[क-महाराज]स्य [महा*]-

3 राजपुत्र-**देवभट्टारकस्य** हस्त्यश्व-जन-भोगेनानुवहमा[न]के **को[टिव]र्ष**-विष[ये] च त-

4 न्नियुक्तकेहविषयपति-**स्वयम्भुदेवे**[2] अधिष्ठानाधिकरण(म्*) आर्य्य[न]गर-[श्रेष्ठिरिभु]पाल-

5 सार्थवाहस्थाणुदत्त-प्रथमकुलिकमतिदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थस्कन्दपाल-पुरोगे [स]'व्य[वह]रति

6 **आयोध्यक**-कुलपुत्रक-अमृतदेवेन[3] विज्ञापितमिह-विषये समुदयबाह्याप्रहत-[4] खिल-[क्षे]त्रा-

7 णां लिदीनारिक्यकुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः तदर्हथ मत्तो दीनारानुपसंगृह्य मन्मातुः [पु]ण्या-

8 भिवृद्धये अक्षयणये[5] भगवतः **श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो** देवकुले खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रति-[6] [सं]स्का[र]-[क]-

9 रणाय बलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्त्तन-गव्यधूपपुष्पप्रापण-मधुपर्क्क दीपाद्युप[यो]गा[य] च

10 अप्रदा-धर्म्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्र-स्तोकन्दातुमिति[7] [।*] यतः प्रथमपुस्तपाल-नर[न]न्दि-

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1 Read गृहीतस्य. The technical difference between अनुध्यात and परिगृहीत is not known. One of them possibly indicates appointment and the other acceptance of an appointment or position.

2 Basak's corrections इह० and स्वयम्भू० are unnecessary.

3 Read ०पुत्रकामृत०. Ayodhyā is mod. Oudh. The city of that name has been located near mod. Faizābād. कुलपुत्र=born of a noble family.

4 *Supra*, p. 284, n. 10. It may also be suggested that of the two terms खिल and अप्रहत, one indicates land never tilled (or not tilled for a long time), and the other land whose cultivation has been stopped for some time (or for a short period). Some scholars translate खिल as 'fallow' and अप्रहत as 'untilled'.

5 Note that the territorial unit called Himavachchhikara (*supra*, No. 36) has been indicated here as a forest.

6 Prakrit फुट्ट is for Sanskrit स्फुटित. *I.e.*, "for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn."

7 "For instituting बलि, चरु and सत्र ; for supplying cow's milk, incense and flowers, and for applying मधुपर्क, lamp, etc." बलि=oblation, animal offered to a diety; चरु=oblation of rice or barley usually boiled in milk; सत्र=oblation; here possibly, distribution of food (प्रसाद), or giving food and shelter to guests. मधुपर्क=usually दधि सर्पिर्जलं क्षौद्रं सिता चैतैश्च पंचभिः। प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः. स्तोक=small plot. गव्य=milk (sometimes क्षीरं दधि तथा चाज्यं मूत्रं गोमयमेव च).

11 गोपदत्त-भट(?)नन्दिनामवधारणया युक्त[त]या ध[र्म्माधि]कार-[बु]द्धया विज्ञापित(*)[1]
ना[त्र*] [वि*]-

12 षय-पतिना(*) कश्चिद्विरोधः केवलं श्री-परमभट्टारकपादेन धर्म्मेप[र]-

13 [तावाप्ति] [:*][2]

Second Side

14 इत्यनेनावधारणाक्रमेण एतस्मादमृतदेवात्पञ्चदश-दीनारानुपसंगृह्य एतन्मातु[:*]

15 अनुग्रहेण **स्वच्छन्दपाटके**(ऽ*)[र्द्ध]टी-प्रावेश्य-**लवङ्गसिका**याञ्च[3] वास्तुभिस्सह
कुल्यवाप-द्वयं

16 **साटुचनाश्रमके**(ऽ*)पि वास्तुना सह कुल्यवाप एकः **परस्पतिका**यां पञ्च-कुल्य-
वापकस्योत्त[रे]ण

17 **जम्बून[द्या]:**[4] पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः **पूरणवृन्दिकहरौ** पाटक-पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप
एकः इत्येवं खिल-क्षेत्र-

18 स्य वास्तुना सह पञ्च कुल्यवापाः अप्रदा-धर्म्मेण[5] भग(व*)ते **श्वेतवराहस्वामिने**
शश्वत्कालभोग्या दत्ताः [।*]

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1 Basak: विज्ञापितवा...; see No. 41, ll. 12-13; No. 42, ll. 15-17. Basak's translation has "...a quarrel with the Vishayapati. However through his Highness *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* the victory of right is assured." There is however no doubt that श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादेन धर्मपरतावाप्तिः is the same as भट्टारकपादानां धर्मफल-षड्भागावाप्तिः of *infra*, No. 41, l. 13. परता=फल=result; धर्मपरतावाप्ति=धर्मरूपफलप्राप्ति. See also *infra*, p. 352, n. 5. विरोध=अर्थविरोध (No. 41, ll. 12-13)=opposition to one's interest. Or, विषयपतिनां विरोधः=opposition on the part of the District Magistrates.

2 These *aksharas* are engraved below the closing words of the previous line. Better इति। अनेनाव०.

3 मातुः अनुग्रहेण=out of consideration for his mother. अर्द्धटी-प्रावेश्य=belonging to a person named Ardhaṭi. प्रावेश्य=right of प्रवेश (=revenue, income).

4 Read जम्बू०. The plots of land referred to simply as पञ्चकुल्यवापक, etc. possibly already belonged to the god. Pūraṇa-vṛindikahari may be mod. Brinda-kooree, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur.

5 *I.e.*, "according to the custom relating to अप्रदा (see p. 284, n. 10; p. 325, n. 1)." वास्तु=building land; खिल-क्षेत्र=fallow land.

19 तदुत्तरकालं संव्यवहारिभिः[1] देवभक्तयानुमन्तव्याः [।*] अपि च भूमि[दा]न-
सम्वदाः[2] श्लोका भवन्ति [।*]

20 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा[3] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां[4] [।*]
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा[5] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [॥*] I
वहुभिर्व्वसुधा[6] दत्ता

21 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] 2
षष्टिं वर्ष्ण-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[7]

22 आच्छेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[8] [॥*] 3

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1 संव्यवहारिन्=officers of administration.

2 Read सम्व°.

3 Read दत्तां वा.

4 Properly °न्धराम् and फलम्.

5 Usually कृमि°. Read °र्भूत्वा.

6 Read वहु°.

7 Properly, भूमिदः। आच्छेप्ता.

8 Properly वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND SUBORDINATES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF BENCAL

No. 40—Susuniyā Rock Inscription of Chandravarman[1]

Susuniyā Hill, near Bānkuṛā, Bānkuṛā Dist., Bengal.

N. N. Vasu, *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, III, p. 268f; H. P. Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 317ff; XIII, p. 133; Dikshit, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 188f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 4th century A. D.

TEXT[2]

Part I

1 पुष्करणाधिपतेर्म्महाराज[3]-श्रीसिङ्हवर्म्मणः[5] पुत्रस्य

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1 This king is usually identified with the Āryāvartta king Chandravarman mentioned in *supra* No. 2. Some scholars wrongly identify Pushkaraṇā with Pushkara near Ajmer and suggest that the king was a brother of Naravarman of Mālwā and was the same as king Chandra of *supra*, No. 14. Pushkaraṇā is however modern Pokharṇā, a place on the Dāmodar river in the Bānkuṛā Dist. and Chandravarman was apparently a local ruler of Southeast Bengal.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is found on the back wall of a ruined cave. ण in Part I is different in shape from the ण in Part II.

3 ॰पते॰ looks like पुते ; but the subscript does not appear to be due to the engraver.

4 Shastri: रज.

5 Read ॰सिंह॰.

2 महाराज[1]-श्रीचन्द्रवर्म्मणः कृतिः [।*]

Part II

1 चक्रस्वामिनः दोसग्रणतिसृष्टः[2] [॥*]

No. 41—Baigrām Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (=448 A.D.)

BAIGRĀM, Bogrā (Bagurā) Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 81f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[3]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] **पञ्चनगर्य्यां**[4] भट्टारक[5]-पादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्य-**कुलवृद्धिरेत**-द्विषयाधिकरणञ्च

2 **वायि**ग्रामिक-**त्रिवृत**(।*)-**श्रीगोहाल्यो**ः[6] ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्सम्व्यवहारि-प्रमुखान्ग्राम-[7] कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनु-

---

1 This line begins from below ०णाधि of पुष्करणाधि० of the previous line.

2 Shastri: ०दास. The vowel mark of the first consonant is *o*, and the consonant itself looks like फ. But we have to accept Shastri's correction दासाग्रे णातिसृष्टः (better ०सृष्टा). Chakrasvāmin is Vishṇu to whom possibly the cave, Candravarman's *kṛiti* (work), was dedicated.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Cf. the text with that of the Nandapur copperplate inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 54f.

4 Pañchanagarī was apparently the chief town of the district where Kulavṛddhi's court was situated. Mod. Pāñchbibi in Bogrā Dist.?

5 The word evidently refers to the Gupta Emperor Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), as the date of the record (128 G.E. = 448 A.D.) falls in his reign.

6 Trivṛitā and Śrīgohālī were localities connected with Vāyigrāma which is also mentioned in *supra*, No.34, l. 9, and is the same as mod. Baigrām.

7 Read संव्य०, संव्यवहारिन्=officers of administration, apparently the members of the अष्टकुलाधिकरण, (the village jury) possibly consisting of 8 members.

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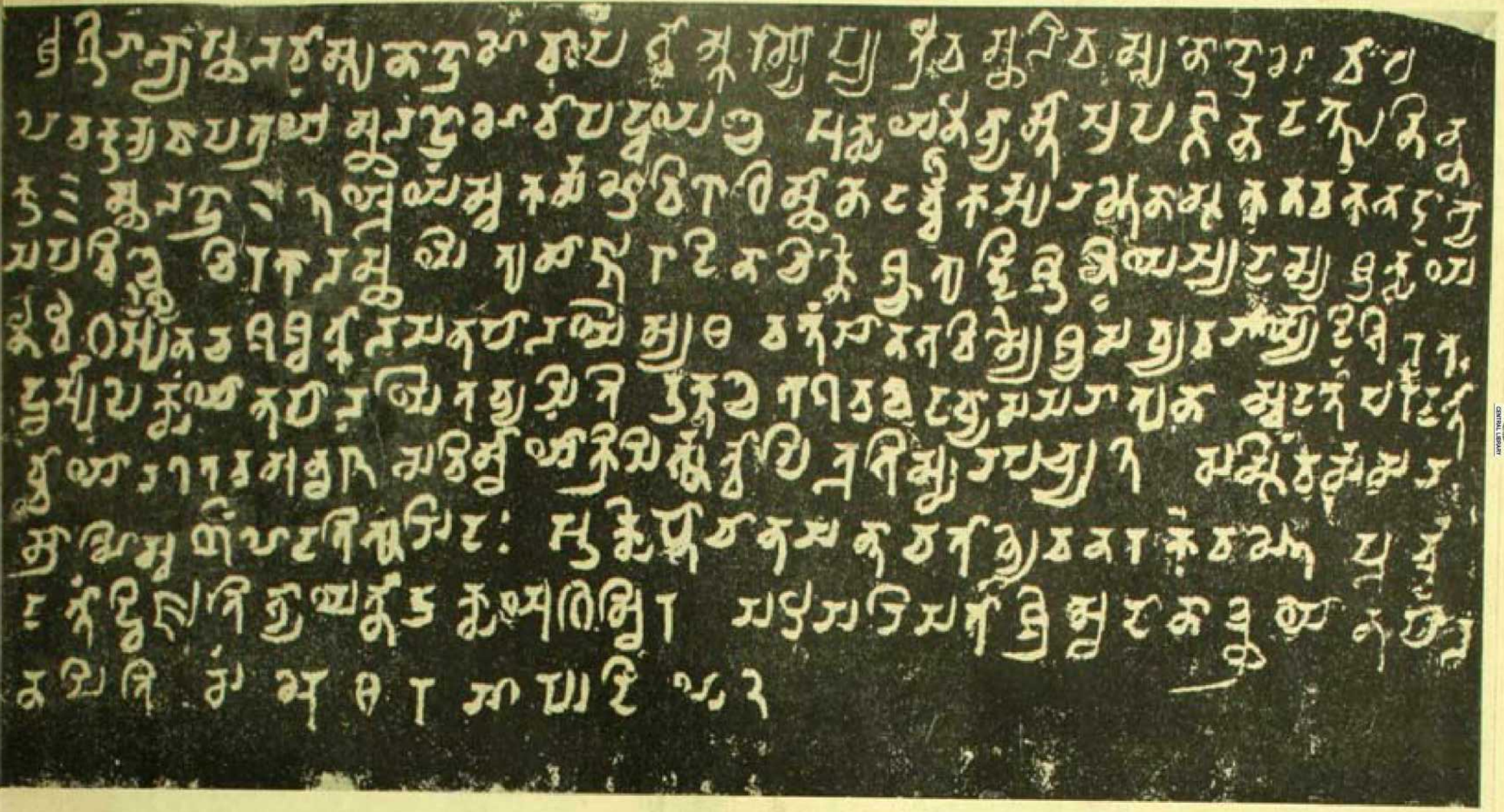

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

Baigrām C. P. Inscription (Bk. III, No. 41). Second Side.

3 वगर्य बोधयन्ति[1] [।*] विज्ञापयतोरत्रैव[2] वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि-भोयिल-भास्करावावयोः पिता शिवनन्दि-

4 ना कारि[त]क(*) भगवतो **गोविन्दस्वामिनः** देवकुलस्तदसावल्पवृत्तिकः[3] [।*] इह-विषये समुदय-

5 बाह्यायस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्कतारक-भोज्यानां-[4] मक्षय-नीव्या

6 द्विदीनारिक्क्यकुल्यवाप-विक्कयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्हथावयोस्सकाशात्षड्डीनारानष्ट च रूप-कानार्यो-[5]

7 [कृ]त्य भगवतो **गोविन्दस्वामिनो** देवकुले [ख]ण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्क(।*)र करणाय[6] गन्ध-धूप-दीप- √

8 सुमनसा(*) प्रवर्त्तनाय च **त्रिवृतायां** भोगिलस्य[7] खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं **श्रीगोहाल्या**श्चापि[8]

9 तल-वाटकार्थं(*)[9] स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापमेकं भास्करस्यापि स्थलवास्तुनो द्रोण-वापञ्च दातु-

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1 Basak's correction ०धयति is wrong, as the order was issued by Kulavṛddhi and the governing body of the *vishaya*.

2 Read ०पयतोऽत्रैव. 3 Read देवकुलं । तददोऽल्पवृत्तिकम्.

4 Read भोज्यानामक्षय०. समुदयबाह्य=rent-free, or not yielding any revenue to the state. अस्तम्ब=shrubless. अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर (l. 12) ; cf. शून्यप्रतिकर (*infra*, No. 37, l. 39, etc.). प्रतिकर=compensation. As in the *Rāj. Tar.*, here it apparently indicates a compensatory allowance paid by the State to dispossessed owners of temple lands; cf. ll. 12-13. अप्रतिकर=for which no compensation is to be paid by the State. कुटुम्बि=householder (or agriculturist).

5 *I.e.*, Six *dīnāras* (gold coins) and eight *rūpakas* (silver coins). These apparently indicate the Gupta gold and silver issues. The price of 3 *kulyavāpas* and 2 *dronavāpas* (=¼ *kulyavāpa* of the value of ½ *dīnāra*) was 6 *dīnāras* and 8 *rūpakas* (=½ *dīnāra*); see l. 17. One gold coin was therefore equal to 16 silver coins. The rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, while 3 *dīnāras* were the rate at Dāmodarpur, indicates less demand and therefore less populousness of the district in question.

6 फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

7 The same as भोयिलस्य. भोगिल may be another form of the name, or a mistake for भोयिल. 8 Read ०ल्याश्चा०.

9 तल=dwelling site (Basak); but possibly, pit (to be dug when earth or mud is required for constructing plinth, etc.). वाटक=path ; garden. स्थलवास्तु= homestead land. But तलवाटक may actually mean a class of persons serving in temples ; see *C. I. I.*, III, p. 216-17.

10 मि[ति] [।*] यतो युष्मान्बोधयाम(:*) पुस्तपाल-दुर्ग्गदत्तार्क्कदासयोरवधारणया[1] अवधृत-

11 मस्तीह-विषये समुदय-व्याघ्रायस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणा(ं*) शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-भोज्यानां द्विदी-

12 नारिक्यकुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः [।*] एवंविधाप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-विक्रये च न कश्चिद्राजार्थ-

13 विरोध उपचय एव भट्टारक-पादानां धर्म्मफल-षड्भागावाप्तिश्च तद्दीयतामिति [।*] एतयोः

14 भोयिल-भास्करयोस्सका(शा*)त्पट्टीनारानष्ट च रूपकानायीकृत्य भगवतो **गोविन्द-स्वामिनो**

15 देवकुलस्यार्थे भोयिलस्य **विवृतायां** खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं तलवाटकाद्यर्थम्[2]

Second Side

16 **श्रीगोहाल्या**(ं*) स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापं भास्करास्याप्यत्रैव स्थले-वस्तुनो[3] द्रोणवाप-

17 मेव(ं*) कुल्यवाप-त्रयं स्थल-द्रोणवाप-द्वयञ्च अक्षयनीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन[4] दत्तम् [।*] निम्न-[5]

18 कु ३ स्थल-द्रो २ [।*] ते[6] यूयं स्वकर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने[7] दव्वीं-कर्म्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-नवक-नळाभ्या-

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1 Note the nature of the work the *pustapālas* (record-keepers) did. They tried to determine whether the purchaser had a religious motive and whether the land could be sold rent-free without any loss to the State. Loss of revenue was supposed to be compensated by the spiritual gain. Basak : दुर्गा०.

2 Read ०र्थं. 3 Read भास्कर० and स्थल-वास्तु०. 4 Read ०नीव्या ताम्र०.

5 As H. Shastri suggests, it stands for (or, is a mistake for) निम्न. Thus we have निम्न(=निम्नभूमि)-कुल्यवापाः ३, स्थल-द्रोणवापौ २ ।

6 The Paharpur plate has तद् which is better. यूयं refers to the villagers.

7 स्वकर्षणाविरोधिस्थाने=in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, i.e., in places which do not belong to any of the villagers. दव्वींकर्म्म (cf. also the Nandapur ins., l. 14) may have been the technical designation of the person who measured the area; cf. दूतकर्म=दूतक. Or, दवीकर्महस्त indicates a cubit of special length. *Infra*, Nos. 43-45 have a proper name in this place. हस्त here may not indicate the fact that the measuring was done by the person. Even in records of the 19th century reference is found to the hand of a person as a cubit of unspecified length. अपविच्छ्य=having measured out.

19 मपविञ्छ्य चिरकाल-स्थ(।*)यि-नुपाङ्कारादिना[1] चिह्नै श्चातुर्द्दिशो नियम्य दास्यथाक्षय-

20 नीवी-धर्म्मेन[2] च शश्वत्कालमनुपालयिष्यथ [।*] वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहार्य्यादि-

भिरेत-

21 द्धर्म्मापेक्षयानुपालयितव्यमिति [॥*] उक्तञ्च भगव(ता*)[3] वेदव्यास-महात्मना [।*]

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां

22 व्वा[4] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।

स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा[5] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [॥*] **1**

षष्टिं वर्ष-सह-

23 स्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] **2**

पूर्व्व-

24 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाल-

25 नमिति[6] [॥*] **3**

सं १००(+*)२०(+*)८ माघ-दि[7] १०(+*)६ [॥*]

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1 Read ०रादीनां. Cf. Yājñavalkya: सीम्नो विवादे क्षेत्रस्य सामन्ताः स्थविरादयः । गोपाः सीमाकृषाणाश्च सर्वे च वनगोचराः ॥ नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमैः । सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैत्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम् ॥ (व्यवहाराध्यायः, १५०-५१) ; also Manu: अश्मनोऽस्थीनि गोबालांस्तूषान् भस्मकपालिकाः । करीषमिष्टकाङ्गाराञ्छर्करा वालुकास्तथा ॥ यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि कालाद्भूमिर्न भक्षयेत् । तानि सन्धिषु सीमायाम-प्रकाशानि कारयेत् ॥ (VIII, 250-51). According to Brihaspati, प्रक्षिप्य कुम्भेष्वेतानि सीमान्तेषु निधापयेत् ।

2 Read धर्म्मेण. 3 Basak: भगवद्वेद०.

4 Read वा. The duplication is due to the *sandhi* rule वा पदान्तस्य ; cf. संवत्सरः and सव्वँत्सरः.

5 Usually कृमि.

6 Propelry पालनम् ॥ इति ॥ 7 सं=संवतसरे ; दि=दिवसे.

No. 42—Pāhārpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (=479 A.D.)

PĀHĀRPUR, Rājshāhī Dist., Bengal.

K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 61ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) .

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] **पुण्ड्र[वर्द्ध]ना**दायुक्तका[2] आर्य्यनगरश्रेष्ठि-पुरोगाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम्[3]
दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-**नागिरट्ट**-

2 माण्डलिक-**पलाशाट्ट**पार्श्विक - **वटगोहाली** -जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्य**पृष्ठिमपोत्तक**गोपाट-
पुञ्जक-मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-

3 **नित्वगोहालीपु**[4]ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्महत्तरादि-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनुवर्ण्यानुबोधयन्ति[।*]
विज्ञापयत्यस्मान्ब्राह्मण-नाथ-

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX.

2 Dikshit: ०युक्तकः. There were more Āyuktakas than one at Puṇḍravardhana, the headquarters of the province.

3 Read ०र्णं. The *adhikaraṇa* (governing body) of the city was headed by the *nagara-śreshṭhin* and others who are known from *supra*, No. 18, etc. The order was jointly issued by the Āyuktakas and this governing body.

4 *I.e.*, in Vaṭa-gohālī, in Nitva-gohālī in the possession of Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa, and in Pṛishṭhimapottaka and Goshāṭapuñjaka in the possession of Jambudeva—all situated in the Palāśāṭṭa-*pārśva*, in the Nāgiraṭṭa-*maṇḍala*, in the Dakshiṇāmśaka-*vīthi*. The word *gohālī* (Sanskrit *gośālā*; Bengali *goāl*) suggests that either Vaṭa-gohālī or Nitva-gohālī (possibly the former which was a more important place owing to the situation of the Jaina Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of Goālbhiṭā near Pāhārpur. प्रवेश=income, revenue; प्रावेश्य=right of revenue. It seems that Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa and Jambudeva were not entitled to get the प्रतिकर or compensatory dues. The villages owned by them possibly contained some plots of State land. *Vithi*=district on the banks of a river, according to some.

4 शर्म्मा एतद्भार्य्या रामी च [।*] युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि-दीनारिक्कय-कुल्य-
वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्याक्षयनीवी-समुदयबाह्या-[1]

5 प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्हथानेनैव वक्रमेणावयोस्सकाशादीनार-
लयमुपसङ्गृह्यावयो(ः*) स्व-पुण्याप्या-

6 यनाय **वटगोहाल्या**मवास्याङ्काशिक[2]-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थश्रमणाचार्य्य-गुह-[3]
नन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे

7 भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यर्थन्तलवाटक-निमित्तञ्च अ(तः*) एव **वट-
गोहाली**तो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धञ्च-

8 म्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-**पृष्ठिमपोत्तके** क्षेत्रं[4] द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं **गोपाटपुञ्जा**द्द्रोणवाप-
चतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरट्ट-

9 प्रावेश्य-**नित्यगोहालीतः** अर्द्धलिक-द्रोणवापानित्येवमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-[5]
नीव्या दातुम[ति] [।*] यतः प्रथम-

10 पुस्तपालदिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालधृतिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि-
[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण-[6]

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1 Read बाह्या°. The rates of 2 and 3 *dīnāras* in 2 *vishayas* of North Bengal suggest that one region was more populous and land was more in demand there. As fallow land of a district is referred to, there can be no question of the character of the soil. But the *kulyavāpa* in this district may have been smaller in area; cf. पट्टक-नड in l. 19, and p. 33², n. 7.

2 Read °ल्यामेवा°. H. Shastri connects the name with Navyāvakāśikā and Dikshit with Benares. Guhanandin and the Pañchastūpa sect appear to have belonged to Benares.

3 निग्रन्थ=निर्ग्रन्थ=Jain. निग्रन्थ-श्रमण=a Jain monk. पञ्चस्तूप is suggested to have been the name of a locality. पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक=belonging to the sect called पञ्चस्तूपनिकाय or पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकाय.

4 Read क्षेत्रं.

5 कुल्य was engraved upon द्रोण which had been originally engraved. अध्यर्द्ध=1½ and अर्द्धलिक=2½. So the lands were: 1½ *vāstu-droṇavāpas* at Vaṭa-gohāli+4 *droṇavāpas* at Pṛishṭhimapottaka+4 *droṇavāpas* at Goshāṭapuñja[ka]+2½ *droṇavāpas* at Nitva-gohāli=in all 1½ *kulyuavāpas* (=12 *droṇavāpas*, 1 *kulyavāpa* being=8 *droṇavāpas*). 4 *āḍhavāpas*=1 *droṇavāpa*. Dikshit: दातुमि[त्यत्र].

6 Or मनुदासा° ? Dikshit: शशिनन्दिषु प्रथम-नु...नामव°.

11 यावदृतम् अस्त्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि-दीनारिक्क्य-कुल्यवापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-
क्षयनीवी-समु[दय]बाह्याप्रतिकर-[1]

12 [खिल*]क्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तत्रयुष्माम्ब्राह्मण-नाथशर्म्मा[2] एतद्भार्य्या रामो
च **पलाशाट्ट**पार्श्विक-**वटगोहाली**-स्थ[ायि]-

Second Side

13 [**काशि***]**क**-पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकायिक[3]-आचार्य्य-निग्रन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-
सद्विहारे अरहतां[4] गन्ध-[धूप]ाद्युपयोगाय

14 [तल-वा*]टक-निमित्तञ्च तत्रैव **वटगोहाल्यां** वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्रञ्चम्बुदेव-
प्रावेश्य-**पृष्ठिमपोत्तके** द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं

15 **गोपाटपुञ्जा**द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरट्ट-प्रावेश्य-**नित्यगोहाली**तो द्रोणवाप-द्वय-
माढवा[प-द्व]याधिकमित्येवम-[5]

16 ध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापम्प्रार्थयते(ऽ*)त्र[6] न कश्चिद्विरोधः गुणस्तु **यत्परमभट्टारक**-
पादानामत्यौपचयो[7] धर्म्म-षड्भागाप्याय-

17 नञ्च भवति [।*] तदेवङ्क्रियतामित्यनेनावधारणा-क्रमेणास्माद्ब्राह्मणनाथशर्म्मत
एतद्भार्य्यारामियाश्च[8] दीनार-त्र-

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1 Read ०बाह्या०. 2 Read ०ष्मान्ब्राह्मण.

3 Read ०यिकाचार्य्य. 4 Read अर्हतां.

5 आढवाप here follows the formula **चतुराढको भवेद्द्रोणः**. Āṛhā is even now a land measure in some parts of Bengal. The Āṛhā in Mymensingh Dist. is said to be 100×100 square yards (*Journ. Dep. Let.*, XVI, *E. Hist. Beng.*, p. 45), the scheme being 4 *kākas=gaṇḍā*; 20 *gaṇḍās=kāṭhā*; 20 *kāṭhās=kānī*; 4 *kānīs=āṛhā*; 16 *āṛhās=droṇ*. See p. 332, n. 7. But as regards Mymensingh, Hunter (*op. cit.*, V, p. 447f.) speaks of *āṛhā* (a little above 1¼ acres) as $\frac{1}{16}$ of *purā* (=25 acres, 3 roods, 12 poles) in some Parganās, and of *droṇ* which is equal to 5 acres, 2 roods, 12 poles in some Parganās, but to 16 acres, 3 roods, 1 pole in others.

6 Read प्रार्थयेते.

7 The emperor referred to is no doubt Budha Gupta (c. 476-95 A.D.)

8 Read राम्याश्च.

18 यमायोक्तर्य्यताभ्यां विज्ञापितक-क्रमोपयोगायोपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम-**गोहालिकेषु** तल-वाटक-
वास्तुना सह क्षेत्रं
19 कुल्यवाप(:*) अध्यर्द्धो(र्ध*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्म्मेण दत्तः [।*] कु १ द्रो ४[1] [।*]
तद्युष्माभिः स्व-कर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने[2] षट्ट-नडैरप-
20 विच्छिद्य[3] दातव्यो(र्ध*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्म्मेण च शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क्क-तारक-कालमनुपाल-
यितव्य इति [॥*] **सम्** १००(+*)५०(+*)९
21 माघ-दि[4] ७ [।*] उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन [।*]
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]
22 स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा[5] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [॥*] **1**
षष्टि-वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः [।*]
23 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] **2**
राजभिर्ब्बहुभिर्द्दत्ता[6] दीयते च पुनः पुनः [।*]
यस्य यस्य
24 यदा भूमि[7] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥*] **3**
पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]
महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ
25 दानाच्छ्रेयो(र्ध*)नुपालनं [॥*] **4**
विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्सु[8] शुष्क-कोटर-वासिन(:*) [।*]
कृष्णाहिनो[9] हि जायन्ते देव-दायं हरन्ति ये [॥*] **5**

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1 कु=कुल्यवाप ; द्रो=द्रोणवाप.

2 Dikshit reads स्वकर्म्मणा ; but see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 82, note 4. षट्ट-नल= measuring rod 6 cubits long, and not possibly a unit of land measure 6×6 reeds. नड=नल.

3 N. P. Chakravarti connects the word with Bengali वाछा, to select, to choose.

4 सम्=संवत्सरे ; दि=दिवसे. 5 Usually कृमि°. 6 Read र्ब्बहु°.

7 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

8 Dikshit reads °म्बुन्षु° and suggests the correction °म्बुषु°.

9 Read कृष्णाहयो. दाय=gift, donation ; or, share.

No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of Dharmāditya[1]—Regnal Year 3.

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 195f; *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 710ff; R.G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Vol.*, III, part ii, p. 475ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1722 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : V. 1 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य [॥*][3]

First Side

1 ॥[4] स्वस्त्यस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे ययात्यम्बरिष-सम-धृतौ[5] म-

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1 It is difficult to determine whether Dharmāditya was a scion of the Gupta family or a local prince who assumed independence during the decline of the Imperial Guptas. His name ending in *āditya* seems to connect him with the Guptas. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 844-46) appears to refer to the rule of a king called व and of his successor (or, younger brother) called ध. It is tempting to suggest that व=वैन्यगुप्त and ध=धर्म्मादित्य. But the text of the work is corrupt and the statements are often confused; it is therefore not easy to rely on them.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record is spurious; but he was later convinced of its genuineness (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, Beng., I, 2nd ed.,p. 94)

3 वारक was originally the name of a मण्डल (subdivision); but वारक-मण्डल afterwards became the name of a विषय (district); cf. खेटक, खेटकाहार and खेटकाहार-विषय. I cannot accept Pargiter's translation "a district in the province of Vāraka". The seal apparently belonged to the government of the *vishaya* called Vārakamaṇḍala which seems to have included parts of the Goalundo Subdivision and the Koṭālipārā region in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur Dist. See p. 352, n. 11.

4 Symbol for सिद्धं. Better स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां

5 Read ०म्बरीष.

2 हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्म्मादित्य-राज्ये तत्प्रसाद-लब्धास्पद-महाराज-स्था-
3 णुदत्तस्याध्यासन-काले स्तद्विनियुक्तक-वारकमण्डले[1] विषयपति-ज-
4 जावस्यायोगो(ऽ*)धिकरणं विषयमहत्तरेटित-कुलचन्द्र-गरुड-वृहच[2]-
5 द्दालुकानाचार-भाशैल्य-शुभदेव-घोषचन्द्रानिमित्र-[3]गुणचन्द्र-कालस(सु?)-
6 ख-कुलस्वामि-दुर्ल्लभ-सत्यचन्द्रार्ज्जुन-वप्प[4]-कुण्डलिप्त-पुरोगा(ः*) प्रकृतयश्च
7 साधनिक-वातभोगेन[5] विज्ञाप्ताः[6] [।*] इच्छाम्यहं भवतान्सकाशा(त्*)[7] क्षेत्र-खण्डमुप-
8 कीय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिपादयितुं [।*] तदर्हथ मत्तो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विषये विभ-[8]
9 ज्य दातुमिति [।*] यतः एतदभ्यर्थनमधिकृत्य(।*)स्माभिरकात्ये[9] भूत्वा पुस्तपाल-
वि[न]-[10]
10 यसेनावधारणया अवधृतमस्मीह-विषये प्राक्समुद्र-मर्य्यादा चतुर्द्दं-[11]
11 नारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयमानकानि [।*] तथा वाप-क्षेत्रखण्डल(ः*)

1 Read तद्वि० and ०मण्डल-विषय०. Note that Jajāva was appointed governnor of the Vāraka maṇḍala not by Dharmāditya, but by Sthāṇu Datta (cf. तत् in तद्वि-नियुक्तक), apparently a viceroy of Navyāvakāsikā. आस्पद=authority, office. अध्यासन=occupation=government. आयोग=appointment. Read आयोगे.

2 Read वृह०. 3 Pargiter suggested अनमित्र.

4 Pargiter took अर्ज्जुनवप्प ("father of Arjuna") as one name. Evidently however there are two names अर्ज्जुन and वप्प. वप्प is used as a personal name in many inscriptions; cf. the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman.

5 Cf. दौःसाधिक, दौःसाधनिक or दौःसाधसाधनिक of later Bengal grants. साधन=payment of debt; infliction of fine; and साधनपत्र=document of evidence. साधनिक may have been an agent in the court of justice.

6 Read विज्ञापिताः. 7 Read भवतां सका०. 8 *Infra*, p. 262 n.

9 Read ०रैकात्म्ये. Pargiter: भूत्वा. 10 Or, वि[ज]० ?

11 Read चातुर्द्दीना० and ०माणकानि. Pargiter's view that the *kulyavāpa* was land 8×9 reeds (of 16 cubits), i. e., a little more than an acre, is apparently wrong (cf. the high rate of price). It is interesting that the Faridpur Dist. is connected with the Eastern Sea. In the Sāhitya Parishat grant, l. 47, a village in the Nāvya (lit. navigable) district is said to have had the sea to its east. This Nāvya may be connected with Navya (Nāvya?)-Avakāśikā mentioned in No. 44. Samudra in some cases may indicate a *bil* (lake) like the Dhol-Samudra (near Faridpur). But Prāksamudra no doubt refers to the Bay of Bengal which touches the Faridpur Dist. through several estuaries and was probably nearer that Dist. in the Gupta age. As the Madaripur region (Faridpur) is called South Vikrampur and apparently formed a part of the Vikramapurabhāga (Dacca) in ancient time, the main course of the Padmā must then have reached the sea through a mouth many miles to the west of the present Goalundo-Chandpur course. प्राक्समुद्र-मर्य्यादा=custom in the countries bordering the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal).

12 कृत-कलना दृस्ति-मात्र-प्रवन्धेन[1] ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा[2] विक्रयमानका(:*)[3] [।*] तच्च

13 परमभट्टारक-पादानामत्र[4] धर्म्म-षड्भाग-लाभः[5] [।*] तदेतां प्रवृत्तिमधिगम्य न्यासा-

14 धा[6] स्व-पुण्य-कीर्त्ति संस्थापन-कृताभिलाषस्य यथा संकल्पाभि तथा[7] कृय[याद्द][8]

15 ल्य साधनिक-वतभोगन[9] द्वादश-दीनारानग्रतो दत्वा[10][।*] शिवचन्द्र-ह[स्तेनाष्ट]-

16 क-नवक-नलेनामपविञ्छय[11] वातभोग-सकाशे(ऽ*)स्माभि ध्रुविलाट्यां[12] क्षेत्र-[कुल्य]-

17 वाप-त्रयं तांम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा[13] विक्कीत(ं*) [।*] अनेन(।*)पि वातभोगेन

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1 Read दृष्टि and प्रवन्धेन. वाप-क्षेत्र=cultivated field (as opposed to अप्रहत० or खिल-क्षेत्र). खण्डल=खण्ड, a plot. कृतकलन=कृतचिह्नाङ्क=whose boundary marks are fixed. दृष्टिमात्रप्रवन्धेन=by a plan that can be settled in a moment. Note the different rate for the cultivated land.

2 Read धर्म्मेण. *I.e.*, according to the custom of granting copper-plate charters.

3 Read विक्रीयमाण०. Pargiter suggested०मानिका. 4 Pargiter: ०मंत्र.

5 Following Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 197), Basak suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 483, 487) that the State was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions and that the remaining five-sixths of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies. The text (cf. also *supra* No. 34, l. 7; Nos. 39, 41 42, etc.) however shows that the land was sold rent-free in view of the religious motive of the purchase. धर्मषड्भाग thus apparently refers to the king's share of ⅙ part of the merit in lieu of the customary share of grain. In regard to the Brāhmaṇas' exemption from taxes, Vasishṭha quotes three Vedic texts to the effect that the king shares ⅙ of the Brāhmaṇa's spiritual merit acquired by the performance of sacrifices and charitable works. The *Viṣṇu-saṃhitā* (III, 13-14) also says. ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् ; ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकरदाः । राजा प्रजाभ्यः सुकृत-दुस्कृत-षष्ठांश-भाक् । See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Rev. Sys.*, p. 186.

6 Pargiter read न्यासाधो and suggested न्यासाधेः. Possibly न्यासतः or न्यसनात् is intended.

7 ०कल्पितं तथा ? Pargiter suggested ०कल्पाभिस्तथा.

8 Read क्रिययाद्दृत्य. आद्दृत्य=supporting.

9 Read वातभोगेन. 10 Pargiter: ०नाग्रतो. Read दीनारा अग्रतो दत्ताः.

11 Dhruvilāṭi is identified with mod. Dhulaṭ. (near Pansha. B. & A. Ry., Goalundo Subdivision) about 28 miles to the northwest of the Faridpur town.

12 Read नलेनापविञ्छय ; or possibly नलाभ्यामप०. 13 Read ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण

18 चन्द्रतारार्क्क-स्थितिकाल-संभोग्यं य(।*)वत्परत्रानुग्रह-कांक्षिणा भ(।*)रद्वाज-सगो[1]-

19 त्र-वाजसनेय-षलङ्गाध्यायिनस्य[2] **चन्द्रस्वामिन**स्य मातापित्रोरनुग्रहा-

20 य[3] मुदक-पूर्व्वेण[4] प्रतिपादितमिति [।*] तदुपरिलिखितकागाम-सामन्त-[5] राजभि(:*) सम-

21 धिगतशास्त्रभि[6] भूमि-दानानुपालन-क्षेपानुमोदनेषु सम्य(ग*)-दत्तान्यपि दानानि

22 राजभिरन्यै[7] प्रतिपादनीयानिति[8] प्रत्यवगम्य भूमिदानं सुतरामेव प्रतिपालनी-

23 यमिति [॥*] सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र पूर्व्वेण हिमसेन-पाटके[9] दक्षिणेण[10] त्रिघटिका[11]

24 अपर-ताम्रपट्टश्च पश्चिमेण[12] त्रिघट्टिकायाः शीलकुण्डश्च उत्तरेण [ना]वाता-[13]

25 क्षेणी हिमसेन-पाटकश्च [॥*] भवति चात्र श्लोकः[14] [।*]

स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा[15] यो ह-

26 रेत वसुन्धरां [।*]

श्व-विष्ठाया(:*) कृमिर्भूत्वा पच्यते पितृभिस्सह[16] ॥ **1**

27 **सम्वत्**[17] ३ वैशा दि ५ [॥*]

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1 Pargiter: सागो०. 2 Read ०षडङ्गाध्यायिने चन्द्रस्वामिने.

3 *I. e.*, ब्राह्मणात् पारलिकानुग्रहलाभायः.

4 Read उदक०. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद्दानीति तथावदेत् । तोयं दद्यात्ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ अग्निपुराण, २०६।४६-५०.

5 Pargiter suggested ०कागम. The reading intended seems to be लिखितकम् आगामि०. ०लिखितकं qualifies भूमिदानं in l. 22.

6 Read सामन्तराजैः समधिगत-शास्त्रैर्भूमि०. क्षेप=transgressing.

7 Read ०रन्यैः. Pargiter suggested एभिः or एतैः. 8 Read ०नीति.

9 Read पाटको (=land measuring a *pāṭaka*.) 10 Read ०णेन.

11 Read त्रिघट्टिका which was possibly a very big village, named after three *ghāṭs* (landing places) of a river. ताम्रपट्ट=०पट्टग्राम-भूमि

12 Read ०मेन. Sīlakuṇḍa was a small village (No. 45, l. 25).

13 ना may also be read भा. नौ+आता (=door-frame)+क्षेणी (=क्षयण, harbour)= =ship-building harbour, according to Hoernle and Pargiter. 14 Bead श्लोकः.

15 Read दत्तां वा. 16 Read पितृभि०.

17 Read संवत. *I. e.*, संवत्सरः तृतीयः वैशाख-दिवसः पञ्चमः

No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 200f; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1723 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 स्वस्त्यस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे[2] नृग-नघुष-ययाख्य-[3]

2 म्वरीष-सम-धृतौ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्म्मादित्यभट्टारक-रा

3 ज्यै[4] तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्पदो[5] नव्यावकाशिकायां[6] महाप्रति-

4 हारोपरिक-नागदेवस्याद्धासन-काले(ऽ*)नेनापि वारकमण्डल-

5 विषयाधिनियुक्तक-व्यापार-कारणडय-गोपालस्वामी[7] [।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record (also Nos. 43 and 45) is spurious ; but later he was convinced about its genuineness. The mistakes are due to the carelessness and incompetence of the engraver and to the fact that he could not follow the draft of the scribe.

2 Read स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां पृथिव्या०.

3 Read नहुष. These are the names of some famous kings of Brahmanical traditions.

4 Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति.

5 Read लब्धास्पदस्य.

6 अवकाश=opening. The district had it headquarters at Navyāvakāśikā which may have derived its name from a canal. Nāgadeva seems to have originally been a Mahāpratihāra ; but later he was appointed Uparika (here, viceroy) of the Navyāvakāśikā district. The name of this city reminds one of Kāśiyā-nī in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur Dist. Bhaṭṭasali (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 85) suggests Sābhār (Dacca).

7 व्यापारकारणडय=one who has to regulate trade, according to Pargiter. But there may be some mistakes in the text.

6 यतो(ऽ*)स्य सम्ववहरतो[1] वसुदावस्वामिना[2] सादरमभिगम्य

7 ज्येपुकायस्थ[3]-नयसेन-प्रमुखमधिकरणम्महत्तार-[4]

8 सोमघोष-पुरस्सराश्च विषयान(।*)ं महत्तरा विज्ञाप्ताः[5] [।*]

9 इच्छेयम्भवतान्प्रसादायथार्घेण[6] भवद्धोरेव[7] क्षेत्रा-खण्डलकै-[8]

10 क्रीत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये गुणवत्काण्व-द्वा-[9]

11 जिसिनेय-लौहित्यसगोत्राय ब्राह्मणे[10] सोमस्वामिने प्रति-

12 पादितु[11] [।*] तदर्हत्यस्सद्विज्ञाप[12]-वसान्यानमांसम्वितकुम्वि[13] [।*] एतदावा-[14]

13 भ्यर्थानमधिकृत्यास्त्येतत्प्रार्क्रियमानक-मर्य्यादा[15] चतुर्द्दीनारिक्य-[16]

14 कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयन्तानोत्यस्माद्वसु(देव*)स्वामिनः[17]

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1 Read संव्यवहरतो.

2 Read वसुदेव०.

3 Read ज्येष्ठ०. ज्येष्ठकायस्थ is the same as प्रथमकायस्थ of other records.

4 Read ०हत्तर०.

5 Read विज्ञापिताः.

6 Read ०वतां प्र०.

7 Read भवद्भ्य एव.

8 Read क्षेत्र-खण्डलकं (or, ०कान्) क्रीत्वा.

9 Read वाजसनेयि. I.e., belonging to the Kāṇva śākhā, Vājasaneyi charaṇa and Lauhitya gotra.

10 Read ब्राह्मणाय, or ब्राह्मण-सोम०.

11 Read ०पादयितुं.

12 Read तदर्हन्त्यास्मद्वि०.

13 Pargiter suggested अस्मद्विज्ञाप-वशा न्यानमांसं विभक्तुमिति. ०दस्माद्विज्ञाप्य-वशाद्यथान्यायेन प्रसादं कर्त्तुमित्ति ?

14 Read एतदेवाभ्यर्थन०.

15 Read प्राक्क्रीयमानक० or प्राग्विक्रयमर्या०.

16 Better read चातुर्द्दीनारिक्य.

17 Pargiter suggested विक्रीयन्त इति. Read विक्रीयमानानीति । अस्मा०.

Second Side

15 खिल[सत्वात्प्रप्यर्ध ?]कुल्यवापस्य [प्रवर्त्त]वापाधिकस्य दीनार-

16 द्वंयमादाय[1] यथार्हञ्च [षष्ठग्गंरुडयवाप्स्ययुरस्मानि ?]

17 शात्पलानि श्रीमान्महत्तर[2]-थोड-सम्बद्ध[3]-क्षेत्र-खण्डलका तसनी (?)

18 पुस्तपाल-जंमभूतेरवधारणयावधृत्य [पूर्त्तेंदुनिवद][4] [प्रतीत?]-

19 धर्म्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविञ्छय [व*]सुदे-

20 व-ब्राह्मण(य*) विक्कीतमतेनापि[5] क्कीत(*)। सीमालिङ्गानि चात्र

21 पूर्व्वस्यां [सो]ग-ताम्रपट्ट[6]-सीमा। (दक्षिणस्यां*) वृद्धस्थ-पट्टुकि-पक्कर्कटी-वृक्ष-सी-[7]

22 मा [।*] पश्चिमस्यां गोरक्ष्य-सकृत्परभास्तटकस्थ-द्वण्डेरस्यापि-

23 ण्डेतिश्च्य-नौदण्डक-सीमा[8]। उत्तरस्यां गर्ग्गस्वामि-ताम्रपट्ट-सीमा [॥*]

24 भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मा-शास्त्र-श्लोकानि[9] ॥

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि

25 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद(:*) [।*]

आक्षेप्त(।*) चानुमन्ता च त्यान्येव[10]

26 नरके वसेत् ।[।*] **1**

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा[11] यो हरेत वसु-

27 न्धरा(म्*) [।*]

श्व-[वि]ष्ठायां(*) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि(:*) सह पच्य[ते] [॥*] **2**

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1 Read द्वय०. खिलखत्वात् प्राप्यम् अर्द्धकुल्यवापस्य त्रिद्रोणवापाधिकस्य ?

2 Read श्रीमन्म०. षड्गरुडकाधिकरूपकत्रयम् अस्माभिः ?

3 Read संबद्ध (belonging to). खण्डलकान्दीयतामिति, or ०कान्ताम्रशासनीकृत्य ?

4 पट्टेषु निबद्धं, or ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण ? 5 Read ०मनेनापि.

6 ताम्रपट्ट is possibly the same as शासन found in other records. The words appear to mean "land possessed or owned on the strength of a charter".

7 Read पर्कटि. Vrddhastha and Paṭṭuki may be proper names.

8 Read पश्चिमायां. गोरक्ष्य-सकृत्प्रभ-तटाकस्थ-दण्डोऽस्मन्दण्डे तिर्यग्नौ० ? नौदण्ड= oar ; दण्ड=post to fasten boats?

9 Read भवतः चात्र धर्म-शास्त्र-श्लोकौ.

10 Read तान्येव. 11 Read ०त्तां वा.

No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal year 18[1]

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 204; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1724 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य [॥*][3]

First Side

1 स्वस्त्यस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिर[थे] [य]या[त्यम्बरी][प-सम-धृतौ म*]हा-

2 राजाधिराज-श्री**गोपचन्द्र**भट्टारक-राज्ये [तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्प*]-

3 [द*]स्य **नव्यावकाशिकायां** महाप्रति[हार-व्या] [पारगव्य-धृ?]तमूल-कु-[4]

4 [मारा ?]माल्य-उपरिक-**नाग[देवस्या*]**द्ध्यासन-[का*]पे[5] **वारुक[मण्ड*]**लविषय-

5 व्यापाराय विनियुक्त-**वत्सपाल[स्वामी]**[6] [।*] [यतो*](ऽ*)[स्य] [सं*]व्यवहर-

6 [तो] ज्येष्ठकायस्थ-नयसेन-प्र [मुखम*][धिक][र]ण...[मह?]-

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1 Gopachandra apparently belonged to a local family which assumed independence about the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. See *infra*, p. 359, n. 4. Gopachandra's dominions extended over a wide area including the Faridpur Dist. in Central Bengal and the Burdwan Dist. in south-east Bengal. The king of the East called Gopa in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. R. Sankritayana, v. 760) may be the same as Gopachandra. From a consideration of the developed from of य in this record, Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 207) suggested that Gopachandra was later than Dharmāditya. He read the date as 19.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX.

3 I.e., [seal] of the administrative office of the district called Vārakamaṇḍala.

4 Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति. Pargiter suggested क्रियामाल्य. Read ०माल्योपरिक. व्यापारगव्य=the business of managing trade, according to Pargiter. But the reading is doubtful and the text corrupt.

5 Read काले वारक०.

6 Pargiter read स्वामि[ना]...ष्ट(स्य ?) and suggested स्वामिना तस्य.

7 त्तर-विषयकुण्ड-प.....ह.....घो-

8 षचन्द्रानाचार-रा[ज्य].....ल.....व[ह]...मह-

9 त्तरा(:*) प्रधान-व्याप[ारिणः ?].....[य].....र.....मन-

10 सा यथार्ह[ं विज्ञाप्ताः] [।*] [इ*][च्छेयं] भवत[ां*] [प्रस*][ादाद]...[महाको?]-

11 ट्टिक-[ना*]म.....[प].....[त्त]...द्भयो[1] क्षेत्र-कुल्य-

12 वापैकं यथा[र्घं*]णो[पक्को]य मा[तापि*]त्रो[रा][त्मनश्च*] पुण्याभिवृद्धये [गु]-

13 णवन्त-कण्व-[वज]सिनय-[लौहित्य-भ]ट्टगो[मि]दत्तस्वामि[2] प्र-

14 [ति]पा[दितुं] [।*] त[द*]र्हथ [भा]रद्वाज-सगोत्र(त्रो*) [भ]वन्तो(ऽ*)स्मत्तो मूल्यमादा-

15 य.....धैनमस.....[3]ङ्कतमत [।*] [यत एतद] भ्य*]र्थनमधिकृ]-

Second Side

16 [ल्य]मगम्यमाना प्राक्प्रवृ[त्ति*]-मर्य्यादा चतु[र्दीना*]रि[क्क्य*]-[कुल्य]वा[पे]न [क्षेत्रा]-

17 णि विक्क्रीयमानानीति पुस्तपाल-[न]य[भू*]तिस्त्र[4] स्थलावधारण-

18 यावहृत्य विषयाधिकरणेनाधिकरणकज्ञन कुलवारान्प्रकल्प्य[5] प्र-

19 तीत-धर्म्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविञ्छ्य वत्सपाल-

20 स्वामि(नि*) क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापैकम्विक्रीतं[6] [।*] अनेनापि क्रीत्वा भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामि-

21 ने पुत्र-पौत्र-क्रमेण विधिना प्रतिपादितं[।*] सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र

22 पूर्व्वस्यां **ध्रुविलाट्या**प्रहार-सीमा दक्षिणस्यां **करङ्क**(:*)

23 पश्चिमस्यां[7] **शीलकुण्ड**ग्राम-सीमा उत्तरस्यां **करङ्क**-सी-

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1 Read ०द्भ्यः. Ll. 7-9 contained the list of persons who were approached by Vatsapālasvāmin. The names Ghoshachandra and Anāchāra are the same as in *supra*, No. 43. The name of Sivachandra is also found in Nos. 44-45. There could not therefore have been a long interval between Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

2 Read गुणवते काण्व-वाजसनेयि-लौहित्य-भट्टगोमिदत्तस्वामिने प्रतिपादयितुं.

3 Pargiter suggested अंशमङ्कितुमिति. Possibly ०न्दातुमिति

4 Possibly नयभूतेस्तु स्थूलावधारणया or नयभूति-सुस्थलावधारणया. Read ०माणानीति

5 Pargiter: ज्वन or शुण. Read ०करणिक-जनान्कु० or ०णिकज्ञेन. N. G. Majumdar read ०करणिकज्ञान्कु० (those who are acquainted with administrative affairs) in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 156, n. कुलवार possibly means witness or arbitrator.

6 Read ०कं विक्रीतं.

7 Read पश्चिमायां. Karaṅka seems to be the name of a village. For Dhuvilāṭi, see *supra*, p. 352, n. 11

24 मा [।*]

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां[।*]

25 सम्वत्[1] १०(+*) ८[2] [॥*]

श्व-विष्ठाया(ं*) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि(ः*) सह पच्यते [॥*] **1**

No. 46—Mallasārul Copper-plate Inscription [of Vijayasena] of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal year 3[3]

MALLASĀRUL, Burdwan Dist., Bengal.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 159ff.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the 6th century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्य्या ; V. 2 उपगीति ; Vv. 3-10 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

Seal

[महा*]राज-विजय[से]नस्य [॥*][5]

First Side

1 [१ॅ स्वस्ति ।*][6]

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1 Read दत्तां वा and संवत्.

2 Pargiter takes the figure to be ६. The date portion should be read after the second half of the stanza in अनुष्टुभ्.

3 Note that this record is earlier than No. 45.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

5 This Vijayasena has been identified with the person of the same name mentioned in *supra*, No. 37. This would place Gopachandra almost about the time of Vainya Gupta (507 A.D.). "The seal bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity (Lokanātha?) with a *chakra* in the background, representing perhaps the wheel of Law." Vijayasena may have been a Buddhist; cf. adoration to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha in ll. 1-2.

6 The restorations are conjectural but probable.

[जयति श्री-**लो***]**कनाथः**[1] यः पुंसां सुकृत-कर्म्मफल-हेतुः [।*]
सत्य-तपो-मय-मूर्त्तिर्लोक-द्वय-साधनो धर्म्मः [॥*] **1**
तदनु जितदम्त[2]-लोभा जय-
2 [न्ति चिरा*]य[3] [पर]हितार्थाः [।*]
नि[र्म]त्सराः सुचरितैः पर-लोक-जिगीषवः सन्तः [॥*] **2**
पृथिवीं पृथुरिव[4] प्रथित-प्रताप-नय-शौ[र्य्ये] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-**गोप-**
3 [**चन्द्रे***][5] प्रशासति तदनुज्ञप्तायां पुण्योत्तर-जनपदाध्यासितायां[*] सतत-धर्म्म-
क्रिया-वर्द्धमानायां **वर्द्धमान**भुक्तौ[6] पूज्यान्वर्त्तमानोपस्थितत[7]-कार्त्ताकृतिक-कु-
4 मारामात्य- [चौरो]द्धरणिकोपरिकौद्रङ्गिकाग्रहारिकौर्णस्थानिक-भोगपतिक-विषयपति-
तदा(।*)युक्तक-हिरण्यसामुदायिक-पत्तलकावसथिक-देवद्रोणीसम्व-[8]
5 द्धादीन्विधिवत्सम्पूज्य[9] **वक्कत्तक**-वीथो-सम्वद्धार्द्ध**करका**ग्रहारीण-महत्तरः हिमदत्तः

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1 Read ०नाथो.

2 Read दम्भ०.

3 The restoration is conjectural but probable.

4 Read पृथाविव.

5 This probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

6 Vardhamānabhukti was the province round mod. Burdwan.

7 Read वर्त्तमानोपस्थित (those who are serving at the present time and are present on the spot).

8 With the single exception of the actual व sign in ब्राह्मणस्य in l. 16, in all other cases व has been indicated by the sign for व. This shows the gradual dying out of the old sign for व. Read सम्वद्ध, वाहृच, etc.

9 कार्त्ताकृतिक (from कृताकृत, business done and to be done), possibly superintendent or manager of state-affairs. कुमारामात्य, executive officer of the same status as the Kumāra. चौरोद्धरणिक, possibly Police Inspector. उपरिक, any superior officer ; sometimes, viceroy. औद्रङ्गिक (from उद्रङ्ग, possibly a tax on permanent tenants), collector of the tax called उद्रङ्ग, or enjoyer of the right of that tax. आग्रहारिक, owner of an *agrahāra* (gift-village belonging to a Brāhmaṇa [or a god]) or, officer superintending the *agrahāras*. और्णस्थानिक (from ऊर्ण, wool), owner of a wool market or factory producing wool ; or, officer superintending the *ūrṇasthānas*. भोगपतिक, possibly the same as भोगिक or भोगपाल, officer connected with the stable. It may also indicate a Jāgīrdār. विषयपति, ruler of a district. तदायुक्तक, possibly an आयुक्त, a magistrate or treasury officer, appointed by particular officers like the Vishayapati. हिरण्यसामुदायिक, head of the royal

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII).

Seal of the Mallasārul C. P. Inscription (Bk. III, No. 46).

निर्वृत्तवाटकीय-महत्तर-सु[व*]र्ण-यशा(:*) कपिस्थवाटकाग्रह[1]रीण-

6 महत्तर-धनस्वामि[1] वटवल्लकाग्रहारीण-महत्तर-यष्टिदत्त-श्रीदत्तौ कोट्टवीराग्रहारीण-भट्ट-वामनस्वामि[1] गोधग्रामाग्रहारीण-महिदत्त-राज्य-

7 दत्तौ शाल्मलिवाटकीय-जीवस्वामि[1] वक्कत्तकीय खाड्डि-हरिः[2] मधुवाटकीय-खाड्डि-गोइक(:*) खण्डजोटिकेय-खाड्डि-भद्रनन्दि[3] विन्ध्यपुरेय-वाह-नायक-

8 हरि-प्रभुतयो[4] वोथ्यधिकरणञ्च[5] विज्ञापयन्ति [।*] पूज्यं-महाराज-विजयसेनेन[6] वयमभ्यर्थिता इच्छे(ऽ*)हमेत(द्*)-वीथी-सम्बद्ध-वेत्रगर्त्तग्रामे युष्मभ्यो य-

9 था-न्यायनोपकीयाष्टौ[7] कुल्यवापान् मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कल्पान्तर-स्थायिन्या प्रवृत्त्या पुत्र-पौत्रान्वय-भोग्यत्वेन कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय

10 वाह्वृच-वत्सस्वामिनो[8] पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय प्रतिपादयितुमिति[9] [।*] यतो-

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treasury or collector of revenue. पत्तलक, possibly ruler of a territorial division called पत्तला. आवसथिक, possibly superintendent of the *avasathas* or Dharamśālās. देवद्रोणी-संबद्ध, officers superintending the processions of idols of the temples, or probably, of temple-property (cf. l. 12 of the Veraval ins. where देवद्रोणी seems to mean temple or temple-property). These are technical terms the actual meanings of which are uncertain. The suggested interpretations are sometimes no better than conjectures. It is better to take them all as officers' designations.

1 Read स्वामी.

2 खाड्गि० is possibly the same as खड्गिन्, swordsman. वाहनायक=head porter or coach-driver; but it is better to suggest that the expression represents one personal name or two. आग्रहारीण=अग्रहारिन्.

3 Read ०नन्दी. 4 Read प्रभृतयो.

5 *I.e.*, the governing body of the territorial division known as Vīthī. विज्ञापयन्ति=declare. Note that the *mahattaras* and others as well as the *Vīthī* government were approached by Vijayasena. The charter was issued by the elders and the *Vīthī* government.

6 Read पुज्य० and इच्छये (or इच्छामि).

7 Read न्यायेन०. 8 Read ०स्वासिने. प्रवृत्ति= continuance.

9 Read ०पादयितु०. The word पञ्चमहायज्ञ actually refers to a Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. They are अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् । होमो दैवो (or देवयज्ञो) बलिर्भौतो (or भूतयज्ञो) नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥ मनु । ३।७०-७१. They are sometimes mentioned as बलि, चरु, वैश्वदेव, अग्निहोत्र and अतिथि.

(ऽ*)स्माभिरस्याभ्यर्थ(न*)यावधृतमस्त्योषो(ऽ*)नुक्रमः[1] उभयलोक-विजिगीषुभि(:*)

11 [सा]धुभिः क्रियमाण-पुण्य स्कन्धेषु श्री-परमभट्टारक-प(।*)दानां[2] धर्म्म-षड्भागो-(प*)चयो(ऽ*)स्माकमपि प्रतिपालयतां कीर्त्ति-श्रेयोभ्यां योगः [।*] उक्तञ्च [।*]
यः क्रियां धर्म्म-सं-

12 युक्तां मनसाप्यभिनन्दति [।*]
(व*)र्द्धते स यथेष्टं[3] च शुक्ल-पक्ष इवोडुराट्[॥*] 3
तत्सम्पद्यतामस्याभिप्राय इत्यस्मन्वारकृतैरनेन[4] दत्तक-दीनारा(न्*) वीथ्यां सम्विभज्यास्मद्वेश्र-

13 गर्त्ता-ग्रामे(ऽ*)ष्टाभ्यः[5] कुल्यवापेभ्यो यथोचितं दानं त[द्वी]थी-समुदय एव प्रनाघ्यं वोढव्यमित्यवचूर्ण्यार्थौ[6] कुल्यवापा महाराज-**विजयसेनस्य** दत्तोः[7] [।*]

14 [अनेना*]पि[8] राज्ञास्मै कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय वाह्रच-**वत्सस्वामिने** पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय ताम्र-भट्टेन[9] प्रतिपादिता(:*) [।*]
अथ च[10] चैषां चतुर्षु दिक्षु सीमा भवन्ति[॥*] पू-

15 [र्व्वस्यां दि*]शि **गोधग्राम**-सीमा[।*] दक्षिणस्यां[11] **गोधग्रामा**[12] [ए]व [।*] उत्तरस्यां

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1 Read ०मस्त्ये०.

2 Read परम०. 3 Read यथेष्टं च.

4 Read इत्यस्मद्वार०. वारकृत=persons appointed for the occasion (the same as वारनियुक्त in the Chammak grant, l. 45), seems to refer to some official duty, and is possibly connected with the word कुलवार=arbitrator, witness. वारकृतैः may be related to अवधृतं in l. 10 and not to संविभज्य. The fact that the *dīnāras* were divided in the *vīthī* (a territorial division, on the banks of a river according to Majumdar) suggests that the money was proportionately divided amongst the *grāmāshṭakulādhiraṇas* within the jurisdiction of the *vīthyadhikaraṇa* or any other persons having the प्रावेश्य of the lands. Cf. विषये विभज्य of No. 43, ll. 8-9, which is usually but wrongly taken to indicate division of the land.

5 Read संविभज्या०.

6 Read प्रणाघ्यं=honestly. वीथी-समुदये=in the revenue (or, treasury?) of the *vīthī*. वोढव्य= to be borne. दान=देय=dues. अवचूर्ण्य=अपविच्छद्य.

7 Read दत्ताः. ०सेनस्य=०सेनाय.

8 This very probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

9 Read ०पट्टेन. 10 Read अथ चैषां चतसृषु.

11 Read दक्षिणस्यां. 12 Read ०ग्राम.

वटवल्लकाग्रहार-सीमा [।*] पश्चिमस्यां[1] दिशि अर्द्धेन **आम्रगर्त्तिका**-सीमा [॥*][2]
कीलकाश्चात्र कम[ला]-

Second Side

16 च्च-मालाङ्किता(:*) चतुर्षु[3] दिक्षु न्यस्ता भवन्त्येवमेषां कृत-सीमाङ्कानामस्य ब्राह्मणस्य[4]
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनेनोपभुञ्जानस्य न
17 केनचिदेतद्वन्शजेनान्यतमेन[5] वा स्वल्प(।*)प्यावाधा[6] हस्तप्रक्षेपो वा क[।]र्य्यः [।*]
एवमवृते यो(ऽ*)थ करोति स वध्यः पञ्चभिर्म्म-
18 हापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादपि च [।*][7]
नास्य देवा न पितरो हविः-पिण्डं समाप्नुयुः [।*]
[छि]न्न-मस्तक-वेत्तालः[8] अप्र-
19 तिष्ठः पतिष्यति [॥*] 4
भूमि-दानापहरण-प्रतिपालन-गुण-दोस-व्यञ्जकाः[9] आर्षाः श्लोका भवन्ति [।*]
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
20 स्वर्गे नन्दति भूमिदः [।*]
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] 5

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1 Read पश्चिमायां.

2 The identifications suggested are the following. Godhagrāma = Gohagrām on the Dāmodar to the southeast of Mallasārul. Āmragarttikā = Āmbahulā to the south of Mallasārul. Khaṇḍajoṭikā = Khāṇḍjuli between Gohagrām and Mallasārul. Vakattaka = Baktā to the east of Gohagrām. Sālmali = Mallasārul, also called Sārul.

3 Read चतसृषु. Better भवन्ति । एव॰.

4 This is the only instance in the inscription of the use of the real sign for ब.

5 Read ॰द्वंश॰.

6 Read ॰बाधा

7 Better स्यात् । अपि

8 Better वेतालो ह्यप्रतिष्ठः. Majumdar: ॰वत्तालः.

9 Read ॰दोष॰.

आस्कोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः [।*]

भूमिदो-

21 (ऽ*)स्मन्कुले[1] जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति [॥*] **6**

यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते[2] पापं नरो लोभ-समान्वितः[3] [।*]

अपि गो-चर्म्म-मात्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुध्यति [॥*] **7**

पू-

22 र्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो य[ना]द्दत्त युधिष्ठिर [।*]

भूमिं भूमि(म*)तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे यो(ऽ*)नुपालनं [॥*] **8**

इयं राजशतैर्द्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः

23 पुनः [।*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] **9**

तडित्तरङ्ग-वहुलां श्रियं मत्वा च मर्त्यानां [।*]

न धर्म्म-स्थितय-

24 स्सद्भिः[4] युक्ता लोके विलोपितुम् [॥] **10**[5]

कुल्य[6] ८ [।*] दूतकः **शुभदत्तो** लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिक-**भोगचन्द्रेण**[7] [।*]

25 तापितं[8] पुस्तपाल-जयदासेन [॥*] **संव्वद्**[9] ३ श्राव-दि २० (+*) ७ [॥*]

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1 Read ०स्मत्कुले.

2 Read ०ञ्चित्कुरुते.

3 Read समन्वितः.

4 Read वहुलां and ०स्सद्भिर्युक्ता.

5 The verse is defective in the sixth syllable of the first *pāda* which ought to have been long. The seventh syllable of the second *pāda* should also have been short.

6 I.e., कुल्यवापाः

7 Cf. सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लेखकः । स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टः स लिखेद्राज-शासनम् ॥ quoted in the *Mitākṣharā* on Yājñavalkya, *Āchārādhyāya*, v. 320.

8 तापित=heated. This seems to be a technical expression indicating that this officer was responsible for the final examination of the charter, especially for soldering the seal, which required heating. The *pustapāla* may have supervised the actual engraving which however hardly required heating.

9 Read संवत् (=संवत्सरे) ; see *supra*, p. 345, n 4. श्राव-दि=श्रावण-दिवसे.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES AND NEPĀL.

No. 47—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadra Magha—[Śaka?] Year 86 (=A.D. 164?)[1]

Hasanābād, near Kosam, Allahābād Dist., U.P.
D. R. Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160.

Language : Sanskrit, influenced by Prakrit.
Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 [स्वस्ति][3] महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रम[घस्य*][4]

2 [संवत्सरे*] ८० (+*) ६[5] वर्षा-पक्ष ३ दिवस ५

3 * * * कस्य[6] शम(प?)रस्य पुत्र-हेमाङ्गन[7]

4 * * * * [दत्ता][8] अयाया[9] देवदार[10] ।

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1 Sahni reads 88, refers the year to the Gupta era and assigns the record to 407 A.D. Palaeographically however the record seems to be earlier. At that date moreover no महाराज of Kosam could have failed to mention the name of the Gupta महाराजाधिराज. Jayaswal refers it to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*Hist. Ind.*, pp. 230-31), while A. Ghosh prefers a local era connected with the dynasty (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715). The inscriptions of the Maghas and others like that of Bhīmavarman dated in the year 139 (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 267), if referred to the Gupta era, would suggest a less developed state of the Brāhmī script in the Kosam region than in other parts of the country. Jayaswal's theory however cannot be accepted until the use of the Kalachuri era in the above region is proved satisfactorily. Ghosh's suggestion is better than that of Jayaswal. As indicated above, p. 132, n. 1, the foundation of an era was possible with any independent ruling dynasty. As these kings ruled apparently before the Gupta emperors, the era may have started about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. But since almost the whole of U.P. formed part of Kaṇishka's empire, I prefer the Kaṇishka or Śaka era to an otherwise unknown local era.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

3 The indistinct *aksharas* may also be सिद्धं.

4 Generally corrected to ०मेघ and sometimes to ०माघ.

5 Sahni reads ८. Read वर्षापक्षे (or ०क्षः) and दिवसे (or ०सः)

6 Are we to restore कौशाम्बिकस्य ?

7 Read हेमाङ्गेन. पुत्रे(ण०) ?

8 Possibly दत्तं is intended.

9 Possibly आर्यायाः is intended.

10 Possibly देवद्वारं (=दिव्य-तोरणं) is intended. Sahni suggests आर्या यादवदारा.

No. 48—Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription of Mānadeva—[Śaka?][1] Year 386 (=A.D. 464?)

Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa[2] temple, near KĀTMĀNDU, Nepāl.

Bhagawānlāl INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 1880, p. 163 ff; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Intro., p. 95; S. LEVI, *Le Nepal*, II, p. 126.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 4th-5th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-17 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[3]

First Face

1 संवत् ३०० (+*) ८० (+*) ६ ज्येष्ठ-मासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १ [।*]

1 There is difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of the era to which the date of this record is to be referred. Bhagwānlāl Indrājī referred it to the Vikrama era starting in 58 B.C. and assigned it to 329 A.D., while Fleet referred it to the Gupta era starting in 320 A.D. and ascribed it to the 28th April, 705 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 210; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Intro., p. 95). Fleet depended on the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription of the year 316 [or 318] (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 97; also IX, p. 168) which mentions the *Mahāsāmanta* Aṃśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī dynasty (who later became king of Nepāl) as a contemporary of the Lichchhavi or Sūryavaṃśī king Śivadeva I. As Aṃśuvarman has been mentioned by Yuan Chwang and was therefore a contemporary of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.), the epoch of the era to which year 316 of the Golmāḍhiṭol ins. is to be referred was ascribed by Fleet to A.D. 320. Sylvain Lèvi points out that the astronomical data in the Kisipidi inscription of the year 449 which had an intercalary Āshāḍha agree only with Śaka 482 current. According to this scholar therefore the Lichchhavi era of Nepāl started in (482-449)=33 Śaka=110 A.D. That is suggested to be supported by the details of the date of the present record. The year of the Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa record would then be (386+110=) 495-96 A.D. The date of the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription has been read by Lèvi as 518. He reads 519 and 520 in two other records mentioning both Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman (*Le Nepal*, II, p. 126; II, pp. 61-64; 70-81). It is rather difficult to be definite on this point. Indraji's theory, though palaeographically alright, is improbable, as the early use of the Vikrama era in Nepāl is unlikely. Fleet's theory seems to be wrong, as the alphabet of the present record is earlier than the 7th-8th century script (e.g., the records of Aṃśuvarman); cf. initial and medial इ, ख, च, ट, ण, थ, ल, ह, the numerical figures, etc. I prefer Kaṇiska's era (p. 365, n. 1).

2 चाङ्गु in the Nepālī language means Garuḍa (literally, 'one with a beak'). The name therefore means Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, or Nārāyaṇa on the Garuḍa. The temple contains an old image of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa.

3 From the eye copy in *Ind. Ant.*, IX.

2 [रो*]हिणी-नक्षत्र-युक्ते[1] चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्त्ते प्रशस्ते (ऽ*)भिजिति[2] [॥*]

3 [श्री*]वत्साङ्कित-दीप्त-चारु-विपु[ल*]-प्रोद्वृत्त-व[क्षः]स्थलः

4 —वक्त्र—न-पद्मबाहु[रुचिरः*] स्म[र्त्तृ*]-प्रबुद्धोत्सवः [।*]

5 [वै*]लोक्य-भ्रमयन्नव — — — —व्यासङ्ग-निर्व्यो(ऽ*)व्ययः

6 [दो*]लाद्रौ[3] निवसञ्जयत्यनि[मि*]षैरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः [॥*] [१*]

7 — — त्सा — — — — य प्रताप-विभ[वैर्व्या]याम-संक्षेपकृत्

8 [राजाभू*]द्भूपदेव इत्य[नुपमः] [स]त्य-प्रतिज्ञोदयः [।*]

9 [संवृद्ध*]-सवितेव दीप्त-किर[णै*] सम्यग्भृ[तैः*] स्वैः सुतैः

10 [विद्व*]द्भिर्ब्बहु-गर्व्वितरच[पलैः*] [ख्याते*]र्विनीतात्मभिः [॥*] २

11 [त*]स्याभूतनयः समृद्ध-[विष*]यः सङ्ग्रामध्वजेयो(ऽ*)रिभिः

12 [राजा*] शङ्करदेव इत्यप — — — तिप्रदः सत्यधीः [।*]

13 [प्रज्ञा*]-विक्रम-दान-मान-वि[भवै]र्ल्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम्

14 — — — — ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ]त्यै[र्भृगे*]न्द्रोपमः [॥*] ३

15 [तस्या*]प्युत्तम-धर्म-कर्मय[शसः*] [पुत्रोऽर्थ*]विद्धार्मिकः

16 [क*]र्म्मा[त्मा*] विनयेप्सुरुत्त[मगुणः] [श्री-ध*]र्म्मदेवो नृपः [।*]

17 [ध*]र्म्मेणैव कुलक्रमागत — — — — राज्यं महत्[4]

... ...

Second Face

27 देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्य्याभिधाना[5] सती

28 श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी [।*]

29 यस्याज्ञात इहानवद्य-चरितः श्री-मानदेवो नृपः

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1 We may have a stanza in Āryā in ll. 1-2, if we read वर्षे षडष्टविके for संवत् ३८६, and रोहिणि for रोहिणी.

2 The eighth of the 15 *muhūrtas* of a day is called अभिजित्.

3 Dolādri or Dolaparvata is the hill on which the temple stands.

4 Nine lines following this line and containing verses 5-6 and the 4th *pāda* of v. 4 are buried in the ground.

5 Indraji suggests ०धानात्.

30 कान्त्या शारद-चन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्व्वदा [॥*] ७

31 प्रत्यागत्य स-गद्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्वस्य च

32 प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रु-वदना यातः पिता ते दिवं [।*]

33 हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्व्वृथा किम्मम

34 राज्यम्पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्त्तुर्ग्गतिम्[1] [॥] [८*]

35 किम्मे भोग-विधान-विस्तर-कृतैराशामयैर्ब्बन्धनैः

36 माया-स्वप्न-निभे समागम-विधौ भर्त्रा विना जीवितुम् [।*]

37 यामीत्येवमवास्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सूनुना

38 पादौ भक्तिवशान्निपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः [॥*] ९

39 किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवित-सुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति

40 प्राणान्पूर्व्वमहञ्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् [।*]

41 इत्येवम्मुखपङ्कजान्तर-गतैर्न्नेत्राम्बु-मिश्रैर्ह्दं[2]

42 वाक्पाशैर्व्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी [॥*] १०

43 सत्पुत्रेण सहौर्द्ध्वदेहिक-विधिं भर्त्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मनः[3]

... ...

Third Face

51 अस्त्रापास्त्र-विधान-कौशल-गुणैः प्रज्ञात-सत्वोरु[भिः][4]

52 श्रीमच्चारुभुजः प्रमृष्ट-कनक-श्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः [।*]

53 पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पल-दल-प्रस्पर्द्धमानेक्षणः

54 साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवान्नरपतिः कान्ता-विलासोत्सवः [॥*] १०(+*)३

55 यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छ्रितैर्व्वसुमती पिला ममालङ्कृता

56 क्षात्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितो(ऽ*)हं स्थितः [।*]

57 यास्यामि प्रलयरि-सङ्क्षयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्व्वान्दिशम्

58 ये चाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् [॥*] [१०(+*)४]

59 इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्

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1 This is another early reference to the prevalence of the Suttee. For कारय better read धारय.

2 Read दृढं.

3 Seven lines containing v. 12 and the last 3 *pādas* of v. 11 are under the ground.

4 Read सत्त्वोऽरिभिः.

60 नाम्बानृणयमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः [।*]

61 किन्त्वाप्तेन यथावदस्र-विधिना तत्पाद-संसेवया

62 यास्यामीति ततो(ऽ*)म्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः [॥*] १०(+*)१

63 प्रायात्पूर्व्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये **पूर्व्वदेशा**श्रयाः

64 सामन्ताः प्रणिपात-बन्धुर-शिरः-प्रभ्रष्ट-मौलिस्रजः [।*]

65 तानाज्ञा-वश वर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः

66 निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कट-सटः **पश्चाद्भु**वमुग्रिमवान् [॥*] १०(+*)६

67 सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्ट-चरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्

68 बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाब्रवीद्भूब्बितम् [।*]

69 आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेश्यत्यसौ[1] मे वशं

70 किं वाक्यैर्ब्बहुभिर्व्विधातृ-गदितैः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते [॥*][2] [१०(+*)७*]

... ...

... ...

1 Read ०देष्यत्यसौ

2 Possibly 8 lines or 2 stanzas more are under the ground.

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

(i) Eastern Part of Central India

(a) Uchchakalpa Family.

No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—Gupta year 193 (=513 A.D.)[1]

KHOH, Nāgaudh State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 126 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT[2]

First Plate[3]

1 १०[4] [॥*] स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पात्महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य[5] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो महा-
देव्या(*)

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1 Some scholars refer the date to the Kalachuri era the first year of which corresponds to 248-49 A.D. The Bhumara ins. (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1661), the date of which is possibly A.D. 508 rather than A. D. 484 or 520 shows that Hastin of the Parivrājaka family with dates between 156 and 191 and Sarvanātha of Uchachakalpa with dates between 191 and 214 were contemporaries. The dates should better be referred to the Gupta era as the region in question either formed part of or, at least, bordered on the Gupta empire. There is no evidence of the Kalachuri era being used in that area in early times. See also Mirashi in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 171ff.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 Fleet says, "The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible, and only detatched words can be read here and there..... And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words तमसा-नद्या उत्तरपारे, between महाराज-शर्वनाथः कुशली and ब्राह्मणा-दीन्कुटुम्बिनः, in line 7."

4 सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

5 Read ०कल्पान्महा०. May the place be the same as mod. Uchchaharā in the Nāgaudh State? *Khoh* literally, means 'a cave.'

2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-**कुमारदेव**स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-

3 द्धयातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-**जयस्वामी** तस्य

4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-**व्याघ्र**स्तस्य[1]

5 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यामभिकतदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-**जय-**

6 **नाथ**स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-

7 **शर्व्वनाथः**[2] कुशली **तमसा**-नद्या उत्तर-पारे **आश्रमके** ब्राह्मणा-

8 दीन्कुटुम्बिनस्सर्व्व-कारून्श[3] समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितम्वास्तु[4] यथैष

9 ग्रामो मयाचन्द्रार्क्क समकालिकस्सद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः[5] अ-चाट-

10 भट-प्रावेश्यश्चोर-दण्ड-वर्ज्जितः चतुभिरन्शै[6] प्रतिपादितः [।*] अतो-

11 (ऽ*)न्श-द्वयं[7] विष्णुनन्दिनः [।*] अपरो(ऽ*)प्यन्शः[8] स्वामिनाग-पुत्र-वणिज-

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1 This Vyāghra is identified by Bhandarkar with Vyāghrarāja of *supra*, No. 2 and with the feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīsheṇa mentioned in the Nachne and Ganj inscriptions. But the dates 174 and 177 (=493 and 496, or 421 and 424 A.D.) of his son Jayanātha (Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1194-95) are too late for Vyāghra to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta.

2 Fleet: शर्वं॰ 3 Read कारूंश्च. Tamasā=Tons, tributary of the Ganges. Muruṇḍadevī is also called Muruṇḍasvāminī. 4 Read विदितं वोऽस्तु.

5 Read ॰स्सोद्रङ्ग॰. उद्रङ्ग=उद्धार, उद्रन्थ (Śāsvata)=probably a tax on permanent tenants; cf. Marāṭhī *Udhār-jamābandī*, assessing the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions. उपरिकर (cf. Marathī *uprī*)=tax paid by temporary tenants.

6 Read ॰भिरंशैः. चाट=swindler; irregular troops. भट=soldier; an outcast or barbarian; a Bhaṭṭa (professional genealogist, usually working as a spy) Brāhmaṇa. Cf. चाट-भाट, चट्ट-भट्ट, चड-भड of later records. The entrance of undesirable persons like the above into the gift village was prohibited. Fleet translates, "not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops," while Indraji points out (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 81f) that according to the *Kumārapālacharita* Siddharāja despatched Chāṭas and Bhāṭas to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla and refers to the Bhāṭ community of Western India. Passages like अभटप्रवेश्य, अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य (छात्र=छत्रवाह ?), प्रतिनिषिद्धचाटभट-प्रवेश, समस्तराजकीयानाम् अप्रवेश्य, राजसेवकादीनां वसतिदण्डप्रयाणदण्डौ न स्तः (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 98 n), सर्व्वसपदराजपुरुषप्रवेशविवर्ज्जित, etc. suggests that by चाट-भाट royal officers are intended (cf. चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः। पीड्य-मानाः प्रजा रक्षेत कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः॥ याज्ञवल्क्य। आचाराध्याय, ।३३६). The fines imposed on thieves were not exempted in favour of the donee.

7 Read अतोऽंश॰. 8 Read ॰प्यंशः. वणिज=trader.

12 शक्तिनागस्य [।*] अपरोऽ*)प्यन्शः कुमारनाग-स्कन्दनागयोः [॥*] एतत्पु-

13 त्र-(पौत्र*)-प्रपौत्र-तत्पुत्रायनुक्कमेण[1] ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्ट[ः] (।*) एभिरप मय(।*)-

14 नुमोदितकं यथोपरिलिखितक-क्कमेणैव स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्धये स्व-प्रति-

15 ष्ठापितक-**भगवत्पादानामादित्सा**-भट्टारकपादानाञ्च[2] खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसं-[3]

16 स्कार-करणाय बलि-चरु-सत्र-गन्ध-धूप-माल्य-दीप-[प्र]वर्त्तनाय[4] च(।*)ति

सृ[ष्टः][5] [।*]

Second Plate.

17 तै[6] यूयमेषां समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि-प्रत्यायोप-[7]

18 नय(*) करिष्यथाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयाश्च भविष्यथ [।*] ये चास्मद्वन्शोत्पद्य-[8]

19 मानक राजानस्तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया यथोकालञ्च[9]

20 [प्रति]पालनीया समुचित-राजाभाव्य-कर-प्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्याः [।*] यः

21 [10]इमान्दत्तिन्लोपयेत्स ≍पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च[11] संयुक्त(:*)

22 स्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*]

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता-

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1 Fleet is inclined to supply a word like उपभोग्यः after it. Read एभिरपि.

2 Evidently ०दित्य. The subscript *y*, owing to the engraver's carelessness, has got the shape of a subscribed *s*. Supply मन्दिरयोः. Bhagavat is possibly Vishṇu.

3 This is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit स्फुटित. Cf. वराहदिन्न (for वराहदत्त) in line 30.

4 Read बलि०

5 ष्टः is engraved below च for want of space at the end of the line.

6 Read ते.

7 भाग=royal share of produce. भोग=periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which the viliagers had to furnish to the king. कर=tax to be paid beside the grain share. हिरण्य=king's share of certain crops paid in cash. प्रत्याय=revenue. आज्ञाश्रवणविधेय=obedient to commands.

8 Read ०द्वंशो०. दत्ति=gift. Cf. दत्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यन्तु कारयेत् । आगामि-भद्र-नृपति-परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥ पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् । अभि-लेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः ॥ प्रतिग्रहपरीमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम् । स्वहस्त-कालसम्पन्नं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya, Āchārādhyāya*, vv. 318-20.

9 Read यथा०. आभाव्य=भाव्य=accruing in future.

10 Read इमान्दत्तिं लो०. 11 Read ०त्स पञ्च०. Better स्यात् । उक्त०

म्वा[1] यन्नादत्त युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीम्महीमताञ्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं [॥*] **1**

प्रायेन[2] हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते न शुभा[3] गतिः [।*]

पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्र-

यच्छन्तो वसुन्धरा(म्*) [॥*] **2**

बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]

यस्य

यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य[4] तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] **3**

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोद-

ति भूमिदः [।*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-[5] **4**

त्सर्व्व-सस्य-समृ-

द्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*]

श्वविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जते [॥*] **5**

लिखितं **सम्वत्सर-शते**[6] **तृनवत्युत्तरे**[7] चैत्र-मास-दिवसे दशमे

भोगिक-फाल्गुदत्तामात्य-नप्त्रा[8] भोगिक-वराहदित्र-पुत्रे[ण] महा-

सान्धिविग्रहिक-**मनोरथेन** [।*] दूतकर्म-(म*)हावलाधिकृत-क्षत्रिय-[9]

शिव[गु]प्त[:] [॥*]

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1 Read दत्तां वा.

2 Read प्रायेण.

3 नाशुभा, usually found in inscriptions for न शुभा, is better.

4 Read भूमि°.

5 Properly °वसेत् ॥ सर्व्व°.

6 Read संवत्सर.

7 Read त्रि°.

8 Properly फल्गु° and वराहदत्त.

9 भोगिक=keeper of the horses; or *bhoga=jāgīr*. दूतकर्म=दूतक. For the other offices, see *supra*, p. 360, n. The specific mention of क्षत्रिय may indicate that the Kshatrī caste is meant.

B—PARIVRAJAKA FAMILY

No. 50—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Saṃkshobha—Gupta Year 209 (=529 A.D.)

KHOH, Nāgaudh State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 114 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्); V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +उपेन्द्रवज्रा).

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 ॥[*2] [॥*] नमो भगवते **वासुदेवाय** ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] **नवोत्तरे**(ऽ*)व्द-शत-**द्वये**[3] **गुप्तनृप**-र(ा*)ज्य-भुक्तौ

2 श्रीमति प्रवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्ये **महाश्वयुज-स**(ं*)**वत्सरे**[4] चैत्र-मास-शुक्ल-

3 पक्ष-त्रयोदश्य(ा*)मस्यां संवत्सर[5]-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्वायां[']6 [।*] चतुर्द्दशविद्यास्थान विदि-

4 त-परमार्थस्य कपिलस्यव[7] महर्षेः सर्व्व-तत्वज्ञस्य[8] भरद्वाज-सगोत्रस्य नृपि-

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

3 Read व्द. The record generally does not distinguish between ब and व. The true form of ब is however used in संबत्सर (l. 3.).

4 Here is a reference to the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years being named after the lunar months in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. According to this system there are 11 Jupiterian years in 12 solar years, one year being altogether omitted.

5 Read संवत्सर. 6 पूर्व्वायां=during the above (date).

7 Read कपिलस्येव. For the 14 sections of the sciences, cf. षडङ्गमिश्रिता वेदा धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणकम्। मीमांसा तर्कमपि च एता विद्याश्चतुर्दश ॥

8 Usually तत्त्व.

5 पि[1]-परिव्राजक-**सुशर्म्मणः** कुलोत्पन्नेन महाराज-श्री**देवाढ्य**-पुत्रप्रनप्त्रा महारा-

6 ज-श्री**प्रभञ्जन**-प्रनप्त्रा महाराज-श्री**दामोदर**-नप्त्रा गोसहस्र-हस्त्यश्व-हिरण्यानेक-

7 भूमि-प्रदस्य गुरुपितृमातृ-पूजा-तत्परस्यात्यन्त-देव-ब्राह्मण-भक्तस्यानेक-समर-[2]

8 शत-विजयिनः **साष्टादशाटवी-राज्या**भ्यन्तरं **डभाला**[3]-राज्यमन्वयागतं समडि-

9 पालयिप्नोरनेक[4]-गुण-विख्यात-यशसो महाराज-श्री**हस्तिनः**[5] सुतेन

10 वर्णाश्रम-धर्म्म-स्थापना-निरतेन परमभागवतेनात्यन्त-पितृ-भक्तेन स्व-वं-

11 शामोदकरेण महाराज-श्री**संक्षोभेन**[6] माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभि-

12 वृद्धये[7] **छोडुगोमि**-विज्ञाप्त्या तमेव च स्वर्ग[8]-सोपान-पंक्तिमारोपय-

Second Plate

13 ता भगवत्याः **पिष्टपुर्याः**[9] कारितक-देवकुले बलि[10]-चरु-सत्रोपयो-

14 गार्थः खण्ड-स्फुटित-संस्कारार्थञ्च **मणिनाग**-पेठे[11] **ओपाणि**ग्राम-

15 स्यार्द्धं चोर-द्रोहक-वर्ज्जः[12] ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टं [।*]

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1 Read नृपति. 2 Read ब्राह्मण.

3 Fleet suggests that डहाला may also be the reading. In that case however we have to ignore the lower stroke of भ in the second *akshara*. The 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Dāhala or the Jubbulpore region. Cf. the *āṭavika* kingdoms mentioned in *supra*, No. 2.

4 Read समधिपालयिष्णो०.

5 Read श्री.

6 Read ०भेण.

7 Read ०वृद्धये. विज्ञाप्ति=विज्ञप्ति.

8 Read स्वर्ग्ग. तम् possibly refers to Chhodugomin, who may have been the priest of the temple.

9 Pishṭapuri was the name of a goddess (possibly identical with Annapūrṇā) established in a temple made by the king. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 29 calls her Pishṭapurikadevī.

10 Read बलि and ०योगार्थं.

11 Peṭha is a territorial term; cf. Marāṭhī *peṭā*.

12 Read वर्ज्जं. द्रोहक=evil-doer. चोर-द्रोहक-वर्ज्ज (cf. चोरवर्ज्ज=चोरदण्ड-वर्ज्ज)= with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers.

तदस्मत्कुलोत्थौः[1] म-

16 त्पादपिण्डोपजीविभिर्व्वा कालान्तरेष्वपि न व्याघातः कार्य्यः [।*]

एवमाज्ञा-

17 प्त[2] यो(ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्यात्तमहं देहान्तर-गतो(ऽ*)पि महतावध्यानेन निर्द्दहेयं [॥*]

18 उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनः[3] [।*]

पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

19 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः[4] [।*]

महीम्महिमता(ं*) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे योऽनुपालनः[5] [॥*] **1**

वहुभिः[6]

20 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

21 फलं [॥*] **2**

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

22 व नरके वसेत् [॥*] **3**

भूमि-प्रदानान्ना[7] परं प्रदानं

दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनञ्च[8] [।*]

23 सर्वे(ऽ*)तिसृष्टा(ं*) परिपाल्य भूमि(ं*)

नृपा नृगाद्यास्त्रिदिवं प्रपन्नाः ॥ **4**

लिखितञ्च[9]

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1 Read ०लोत्थैः.

2 Read ०ज्ञप्ते. अवध्यान=contempt.

3 Read ०व्यासेन.

4 Read युधिष्ठिर.

5 Read पालनम्.

6 Read वहुभिर्व्वसुधा.

7 Read प्रदानान्न.

8 Read पालनञ्च.

9 Read लिखितञ्च.

24 जीवित-नप्ता भुजंगदास-पुत्रेश्वरीदासेनेति [।*]स्व-मुखाज्ञा[1] [।*] चैत्र-दि २०
(+*) ८ [॥*]

(ii) KINGS OF THE WESTERN PART OF CENTRAL INDIA.

No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Naravarman—Mālava (=Vikrama) year 461 (=A.D. 404)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class

Metre : Verses 1-13 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धम् [।*]
सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने [।*]
चतुस्समुद्र-पर्य्यङ्कतोय-निद्रालवे नमः [॥*] **1**
श्रीम्मालव-गणाम्नाते[3] प्रशस्ते कृत-संज्ञिते [।*]
2 **एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समा-शत-चतु**[ष्टय] [॥*] **2**
प्रावृट्कालें[4] शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् [।*]
मघे[5] प्रवृत्ते शक्कस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा [॥*] **3**

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1 आज्ञा stands for आज्ञप्ति or दूतक in some records. Here the king appears to have given the order of execution personally. स्वमुखाज्ञा may also be the same as अविवेन आणतं of the Prakrit records. Fleet : पुवेश्वरदा० and २० (+*)६.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. The record begins with an adoration to the thousand-headed Purusha identified with Vishṇu. Naravarman was the father of Viśvavarman (No. 52) and grandfather of Bandhuvaraman (No. 21).

3 Read श्रीमालव० and चतुष्टये. आम्नात=handed down. Kṛita was an early name of the Vikrama era.

4 Shastri : प्रावृत्काले.

5 Read मेघे. Shastri : मघे(हे) प्रवृत्ते.

3 निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवसा काश-पुष्पैरलंकृता [।*]
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी सस्य-मालिनी [॥*] **4**
दिने आश्वोज-शुक्लस्य[1] पंचम्यामथ सत्कृते [।*]
4 ईदृक्कालवरे रम्ये प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् [॥*] **5**
प्राक्पुण्योपचयाभ्यासात्संवर्द्धित-मनोरथे [।*]
जयवर्म्म-नरेन्द्रस्य पौत्रे देवेन्द्र-विक्रमे [॥*] **6**
5 क्षितीशे **सिङ्हवर्म्मण**स्सिङ्हविक्रान्त-गामिनि[2] [।*]
सत्पुत्रे श्रीर्म्महाराज-**नरवर्म्मणि** पार्थिवे [॥*] **7**
तत्पालन-गुणोद्देशाद्धर्म्म-प्राप्त्यर्थ-विस्तरः [।*]
6 [3]पूर्व्व[ज]न्मान्तराभ्यासाद्बलादाक्षिप्त-मानसः[4] [॥*] **8**
स्व-यशः-पुण्य-संभार-विवर्द्धित-कुतोद्यमः [।*]
मृगतृष्णाजल-स्वप्न- विद्दीपशिखा-चलम्[5] [॥*] **9**
7 जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणङ्गतः [।*]
त्रिदशोदार-फलदं स्वर्गस्त्री-चारु-पल्लवम् [॥*] **10**
विमानानेक-विटपं तोयदांबु-मधु-स्रवम्[6] [।*]
8 **वासुदेवं** जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं विभुम् [॥*] **11**

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1 आश्वोज is Prakrit for Sanskrit आश्वयुज or अश्वयुज=आश्विन. Better read आश्विन०. निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवस=with rising up paddy and grass.

2 Read सिंह०. The identification of this king with the father of Chandravarman of the Susuniyā ins. (*supra*, No. 40) is impossible. According to some scholars सिंहविक्रान्तगामिन् indicates that Naravarman was a feudatory of Siṃhavikrānta (i.e. Siṃhavikrama, or Chandra Gupta II). Read श्रीमहा०.

3 ज was witten with an unnecessary curve below ; but that seems to have been cancelled. Shastri read ज.

4 सं: seems to have been originally engraved 5 Read विद्यु०

6 Shastri : स्रावम्. र्धु was originally engraved; but the sign for the superscript *r* seems to have been afterwards cancelled. Note that Vāsudeva is here represented as a tree with the gods (not heaven, as suggested by Shastri) as its fruits, with the *apsarases* as its shoots, and similar branches, etc. फलद=वृक्ष ; त्रिदशोदार-फलदः=सुररूपफलानां महावृक्षः. The reference seems to be to the Viśvarūpa conception.

मित्र-भृत्यार्त्त-सत्कर्त्ता स्व-कुलस्य(।*)थ चन्द्रमाः [।*]
यस्य वित्तं च प्राणाश्च देव-ब्राह्मण-सागता[ः][1] [॥*] **12**
9 महाकारुणिकः **सत्यो** धर्म्मार्ज्जित-महाधनः [।*]
सत्पुत्रो वरुणवृद्धेस्तु सत्पौत्रो(ऽ*)थ जयस्य वै [॥*] **13**
दुहितुर्ब्बलशूरायाः(ः*) सत्पुत्रो जयमित्र(।*)या[ः] [।*]
10 ... ...

No. 52—Gangdhār Stone Inscription of Visvavarman—Mālava (=Vikrama) year 480 (=423 A.D.)

GANGDHĀR, Jhālāwāṛ State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 ff ; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 4

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre : Verses 1-18 वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 19-20 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 21 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 22 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 23 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; V. 24 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता.

TEXT[2]

1 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ मस्य
विष्णोर्ब्भुजस्सुरपति-द्विप-हस्त-[स]र्प्पः[ः*] [।*]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑
2 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **1**
प्रख्यात-वीर्य्य-यशस[ां] [क्षिति]पाधिपानां
वंशोद्भवो [ज*]गति वि[श्रुत-कीर्त्ति-भाजाम्*] [।*]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

1 Better read °सात्कृताः or सङ्गताः.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Viśvavarman was the son of Naravarman (No. 51) and father of Bandhuvarman (No. 21).

3 ⏑ — ⏑ कान्त-

श्श्रीमान्बभूव **नरवर्म्म**-नृपः प्रकाशः[1] ॥ **2**

यज्ञै स्सुरान्मुनि-गणा[न्नय]मैरुदारै[ः]

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

4 [माने]न भृत्य-जनमप्रतिमेन लोके

यो(ऽ*)तोषयत्सुचरितैश्च जगत्समग्रं ॥ **3**

हस्त्यश्व-साधन ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

5 ⏑ खड्ग-मरीचमत्सु[2] ॥

सङ्ग्राम-मूर्द्धसु मुखं समुदीक्ष्य यस्य

नाशम्प्रयान्त्यरि-गणा भयन[ष्ट-चेष्टाः] [॥*] **4**

[तस्यात्मजः*][3] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

6 ⏑ ो महात्मा

बुद्धया बृहस्पति-समस्सकलेन्दु-वक्त्रः ॥[2]

औपम्य-भूत इव राम-भगीरथाभ्यां

रा — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

7 ⏑ — [भु*]वि **विश्ववम्मा** ॥ **5**

धैर्य्येण मेरुमभिजाति-गुणेन वैरय-

मिन्दुं प्रभा-समुदयेन बलेन विष्णुं [।*]

[सं*]-

8 [व]र्त्तकानलमसह्यतमञ्च दीप्त्या

यो विक्रमेण च सुराधिपतिं विजिग्ये ॥ **6**

व्यावृत्त-मार्ग्ग इव भा-

9 [नुरस*]द्य-मूर्त्ति-

र्व्यभ्रोदयाधिकतरोज्वल[4]-घोर-दीप्तिः ॥[2]

---

1 प्रकाश=famous.

2 Read मरीचि०. Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

3 तस्यानुजः is also possible.

4 Read ०ज्ज्वल. व्यभ्र=free from clouds. व्यभ्रोदय=rise that is unshadowed by clouds.

यश्शक्यते न रिपुभिर्भय-विह्वलाक्षै-

रुद्वी-

10 [क्षितुं क्ष*]णमपि प्रगृहीत-शस्त्रः ॥ **7**

निर्भूषणैरविगताम्र-जलार्द्र-गण्डै-

र्विच्छिन्न-मण्डनतयोज्वल-नष्ट-

11 [शोभै*]: ॥[1]

यस्यारि-कामिनि[2]-मुखाम्बुरुहैर्ब्बलस्य

पूर्व्वं प्रताप-चकितैरकियते प्रणामः ॥ **8**

रत्नोद्गम-द्युति-

12 [विर*]ञ्जित-कूल-तालै-

रुत्तस्त-नक्र-मकर-क्षत-[फे]न-मालैः ॥[1]

चण्डानिलोद्धत-तरङ्ग-समस्त-हस्तै-

13 र्य्यस्या[र्ण्णवै*]रपि बलानि नमरकियन्ते ॥ **9**

भूरुद्भित[3]-द्रुम-विकम्पित-शैल-कील-

वित्रस्त-विद्रुत-मृग-द्विज-शून्य-गु-[4]

14 [ल्मा*] [।*]

यस्योन्नत-प्रविष[मो]कित[5]-राजमार्ग्गो

स्सैन्य-प्रयाण-समये[6] विनिमज्जतीव ॥ **10**

प्रत्यस्त-मौलि-

15 [म*]णि-रश्मि-नख-प्रभान्धै-

रभ्युद्यताञ्जलितया शबलाग्र-गण्डैः ॥[7]

विद्याधरैः प्रियतमा-भुज-पाश-ब-

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1 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation. Read ०ज्ज्वल.

2 नी has been made नि for metre's sake. This reminds one of the saying मात्रामपि मात्रं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं विवर्जयेत. बल=prowess ; army.

3 Read ०रुद्भूत. 4 Read शून्य. कील=lance ; मृग-द्विज=beasts and birds.

5 Read प्रविषमीकृत (made uneven). 6 Read सैन्य. प्रत्यस्त=directed towards. शबल=variegated.

16 [द्धै*]-

[र्य्य*]स्यादराद्दिवि यश[i]सि नम×क्रियन्ते ॥ **11**

अग्रे(ऽ*)पि या[1] वयसि सम्परिवर्त्तमान-

श्शास्त्रानुसार-परि-

17 [वर्द्धित*]-शुद्ध-बुद्धिः ॥[2]

सद्धर्म्म-मार्ग्गमिव राजसु दर्शयिष्य-

न्नृत्ता-विधि भरतवज्जगत×करोति ॥ **12**

तस्मिन्प्र-

18 [शास*]ति महीन्नृपति-प्रवीरे

स्वर्गं यथा सुरपतावमित-प्रभावे ॥[2]

नाभूदधर्म्म-निरतो व्यसनान्वितो

19 [वा*]

[लोके*] कदाचन जनस्सुख-वर्जितो वा ॥ **13**

यातेषु **चतु[र्षु]**[3] **कृतेषु शतेषु** सौम्यै-

ष्वाशीत-सोत्तरपदेष्विह वत्स-

20 **[रेषु*]** ॥[2]

शुक्ले त्रयोदश-दिने भुवि कार्त्तिकस्य

मासस्य सर्व्वजन-चित्त-सुखावहस्य ॥ **14**

नीलोत्पल-प्र-

21 [सूत-रे*]णवरुणाम्बु-कीर्णे

---

1 Read यो, अग्रे वयसि संप०=when he was still in early youth.

2 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

3 The reading चतुर्षु appears to be correct, but the first of the syllables ought to have been long. Read कृतेषु and सौम्येष्वाशी०. We may suggest सौम्ये-ऽष्टाशीत ; but सौम्येषु and not सौम्ये is required in the text. We may correct the metre if we suggest the correction यातेषु चातुर-शतेषु कृतेषु सौम्येष्वाशीत-सोत्तरपदेष्विह वत्सरेषु.

बन्धूक-बाण-कुसुमोज्वल[1]-काननान्ते ॥[2]
निद्रा-व्यपाय-समये मधुसूदनस्य
का-
22 [ले प्रबु*]द्ध-कुमुदागर-शुद्ध-तारे ॥ 15
वापी-तडाग-सुरसद्म-सभोदुपान-[3]
नानाविधोपवन-सङ्क्रम-दीर्घिक[ा]-
23 [भिः*] ॥[2]
शिष्टामिवाभरण-जातिभिरङ्गनां[4] स्वां
यो गग्गरा-तट-पुरं सकलञ्चकार[5] ॥ 16
राज्ञस्तितीयमिव[6] चल्लुरुदा-
24 [र-वृत्ति*]-
र्देव-द्विजाति-गुरु-ब[ा]न्धव-साधु-भक्तः ॥[2]
शास्त्रै स्तुते च विनय[7] व्यवहार-हीने
यो(ऽ*)पक्षपात-रहितो निद[धौ]
25 [स्व-चिन्त*]ाम् ॥ 17
सर्व्वस्य जीवितमनित्यमसारवच्च
दोला-चलामनुविचिन्त्य तथा विभूतिम् ॥[2]
न्यायाग[ते*]-

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1 Read ०ज्ज्वल. काल=शरत्काल. Note that Vishṇu sleeps during the four months of the rainy season from Ashāḍha śukla 11 to Kārttika Śukla 11.

2 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation. आगर=अमावास्या ; Fleet takes it in the sense of आगार. प्रबुद्धकुमुदागर-शुद्धतार=adorned with blossomed lilies and shining stars of the new moon.

3 Read ०भोदपान. उदुपान (=well or cistern) is Prakrit from Sanskrit उदपान. सुरसद्म=temple. सभा=shelter ; hall. सङ्क्रम=bridge. 4 Fleet सेष्टा०.

5 Read समल०. Gargarā has been supposed to be the ancient name of mod. Kālisindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The city referred to (Gaṅgdhār?) seems to have been a provincial capital of Viśvavarman. The main capital was Daśapura = Mandasor. 6 Read ०स्तृतीय०

7 Read विनये. For the omission of *visarga* in शास्त्रै, see p. 384, n. 7. व्यवहार= litigation ; dispute.

26 [न वि*]भवेन पराब भक्ति
विक्ख्यापयन्नुपरि चक्क-गदा-धरस्य[1] ॥ **18**
पीन-व्यायत-वृत्त-लम्बि-सुभुज×खड्ग-ब्र[णौ]-
27 [रङ्गि*]तः ॥[2]
करणान्त-प्रतिसर्प्पमान-नयन[3] श्यामावदातच्छविः[4] ॥
दर्प्पाविष्कितसोर-शत्रु-मथनो[5] दुष्टाश्व-[6]
28 [यन्ता*] बली ॥[2]
भक्त्या चासुहृदाब बान्धव-समो धर्म्मार्त्थ-कामोदितः ॥ **19**
प्रज्ञा-शौर्य्य-कुलोद्गतो दिशि
29 [दिशि*] प्रक्ख्यात-वीर्य्यो वशी ।[2]
पुत्रे विष्णुभटे तथा हरिभटे सम्बद्ध- वङ्ग-क्रियः ॥[4]
एत-
30 [त्पाप*]-पथावरोधि विपुलश्री-वल्लभेरात्मजैः[7] ॥[2]
विष्णो स्थानमकारयद्भगव-
31 [तश्री*]मान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ **20**
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमस्य यस्य
दृष्ट्वाकिर्ति[8] प्र-
32 [मुदितै*]र्व्वेदनारविन्दिः[9] ॥[4]
विद्याधराः प्रियतमा-सहिताः सु-शोभ-
मादर्शि-विम्ब-[10]

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1 Vishṇu is the wielder of both the discus and the club. उपरि=on.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 Read माण०. The correction नयनः is unnecessary (see n. 7 below).

4 Read श्यामा० and वंश. Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

5 Read ०ष्कृत-सार०. 6 Read दुष्टाश्व (=दुष्टजनरूपाश्व०).

7 Read वल्लभै०. Note that the omission of *visarga* after विष्णोः (as also after शास्त्रैः in l. 24 and नयनः in l. 27) is supported by the *vārttika* खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः on Pāṇini's *sandhi* rule वा शरि ।८।३।३६. 8 Read ०कृति.

9 Read ०विन्दैः 10 Read ०दर्श.

33 [मिव*] यान्त्यवलोकयन्तः ॥ **21**

यान्दृष्ट्वा सुर-सुन्दरी-कर-तल-व्यावृष्ट-पृष्ठ-क्षणम् ॥[1]

प्रत्या-

34 [वर्त्त*]न-शङ्किनो रथ-हयानाकृष्य चञ्चत्सटान् ॥[2]

पुण्योदर्क-मति-प्रभाव-मुनिभिस्सं-

35 [स्तू*]यमानो(ऽ*)म्बरे ॥[1]

संरज्याञ्जलि-कुट्मलन्नत-शिरा[3] भीतः प्रयात्यद्भुमान् ॥ **22**

मातृणाञ्च[4]

36 [प्रमु*]दित-घनाल्यर्त्थ-निहादिनीनाम् ॥[1]

तन्त्रोद्भूत-प्रबल-पवनोद्वर्त्तिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ॥[2]

37 — — — — ⏑ ⏑ गतमिदं डाकिनी-संप्रकीर्ण्णम् ॥[1]

वेश्मात्युग्रं नृपति-सचिवो(ऽ*)कारयत्पुण्य-हेतोः ॥ **23**

पाताले ⏑ ⏑ —

38 ⏑ — ⏑ रतिभिर्गुप्तं भुजङ्गो(प*)मैः ॥[1]

शीत-स्वादु-विशुद्ध भूरि-सलिलं सोपानि-मालोज्वलम्[5] ॥[2]

द — — ⏑ ⏑

39 — ⏑ — ⏑ गहनं क्षीरोदधि-स्पर्द्धिनम् ॥[1]

कूपश्चैनमकारयद्गुण-निधिः श्रीमान्**मयूराक्षकः** ॥ **24**

यावच्च — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

40 ⏑ ⏑ — सागरा रत्नवन्तो

नाना-गुल्म-द्रुम-वनवती यावदुर्व्वी स[शै]ला ॥[2]

यावच्चेन्दुर्ग्रह-गण-चितं व्योम भा[सीक*]-

41 [रोति*]

[ता*]वत्कीर्त्तिर्भवतु विपुला श्री**मयूराक्षक**स्येदिति[6] [॥*] **25**

सिद्धिरस्तु [॥*]

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1 The punctuation mark is unnecessary. यां = आकृतिं. Possibly ०पृष्ठेक्षणान्.

2 Read ०नाकृष्य. चञ्चत्सट=with tossing manes. उदर्क=result. Only one *danda* is necessary for proper punctuation. 3 Read संकुच्याञ्जलिकुट्मलन्न० and ०त्त्यंशु०.

4 Read मातृ०. तन्त्र=spell. वेश्मन्=abode. The temple for the Mothers indicates the influence of the Tantra cult.

5 Read सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्. 6 Read ०कस्य ॥ इति ॥. चित=full of.

No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman alias Vishṇuvardhana—

Mālava (=Vikrama) year 589 (=A.D. 532)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 152 ff; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 220; XX, p. 188ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 9.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा ; V. 2 शिखरिणी ; V. 3 मालिनी ; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 5 मालिनी ; Vv. 6-7 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 8 स्रग्धरा ; V. 9 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 10 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 11 मालिनी ; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 13 मालिनी ; Vv. 14-16 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) ; Vv. 17-18 मालिनी ; V. 19 स्रग्धरा ; Vv. 20-22 मालिनी ; V. 23 शिखरिणी ; V. 24 आर्य्या ; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; V. 26 मालिनी ; V. 27 स्रग्धरा ; V. 28 शालिनी.

TEXT[2]

1 सिद्धम् [*॥]

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1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 In interpreting verses 5 and 6 of the record Fleet suggests that Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were not identical and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. He thinks that Yaśodharman was a जनेन्द्र=tribal ruler, and Vishṇuvardhana a नराधिपति=king of men. But both the words mean 'a king' and the context shows that they were used for the sake of alliteration. It should further be noted that Yaśodharman is also called a *samrāṭ* (the same as *rājādhirāja-parameśvara* of this record) in *infra*, No. 54. The passage स एव, Vishṇuvardhana's title राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर, and the facts that Mandasor was possibly the capital of Yaśodharman and that the engraver was very probably an officer of Yaśodharman (cf. No. 54, l. 9), go very strongly to suggest that Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were names of one and the same king. पुनश्च="further more" does not introduce a new person but only new details about the king. आजौ जितो विजयते जगतीं पुनश्च=besides, having been victorious in batle (referred to in v. 5), he acquired the earth (by conquest). See also p. 338, n. 2. Yośodharman's relations with Naravarman's line is not known.

स जयति जगतां पतिः **पिनाकी**

स्मित-रव-गीतिषु यस्य दन्त-कान्तिः ।

द्युतिरिव तडितां निशि स्फुरन्ती

तिरयति च स्फुटयत्यदश्च विश्वम् ॥ **1**

स्वयम्भूर्भूतानां स्थिति-लय-[समु*]-

2 त्पत्ति-विधिषु

प्रयुक्तो येनाज्ञां वहति भुवनानां विधृतये ।

पितृत्वं चानीतो जगति गरिमाणं गमयता

स **शम्भूर्भू**यान्सि[1] प्रतिदिशतु भद्राणि भव[ताम्*] ॥ **2**

फण-मणि-गुरुभार[ाक्रा]-

3 न्ति-दूरावनम्रं

स्थगयति रुचमिन्दोर्म्मण्डलं यस्य मूर्ध्नाम् [।*]

स शिरसि विनिबध्नत्रन्ध्रिनीमस्थिमालां

सृजतु भव-सृजो[2] वः क्लेश-भङ्गं भुजङ्गः ॥ **3**

षष्ट्या सहस्रैः सगरात्मजानां

खात[ैः*]

4 ख-तुल्यां रुचमादधानः ।

अस्योदपानाधिपतेश्चिराय

यशान्सि[3] पायात्पयसां विधाता ॥ **4**

अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री-**यशोधर्म्म**-नामा

प्रमद-वनमिवान्तः शत्रु-सैन्यं विगाह्य [।*]

व्रण-

5 किसलय-भङ्गैर्य्यो(ऽ*)ङ्गभूषां विधत्ते

तरुण-तरु-लतावद्वीर-कीर्त्तींर्व्विनाम्य ॥ **5**

---

1 Read °भूयांसि. तिरयति च स्फुटयति=envelops and brings into full view.

2 Note that the Saivas consider Siva to be Creator, Preserver and Destroyer all in one. रुच् (fem.)=splendour. मण्डल=multitude.

3 Read यशांसि. Note the epic story of the 60000 sons of the Ikshvāku king Sagara, who dug out the earth and went to the nether world in search of the horse let loose in connection with their father's Aśvamedha. Thus they excavated the bed of the ocean, called *sāgara* after their father.

4 अन्तः = in the interior. विनाम्य for विनमय्य is not grammatically happy.

आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च
श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन-नराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकर-लाञ्छन आत्म-
6 वंशो[1]
येनोदितोदित-पदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ 6
प्राचो नृपान्सुबृहतश्च बहूनुदीचः
सान्त्रा युधा च वशगान्प्रविधाय येन [।*]
नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं
राजाधिराज-परमे-
7 श्वर इत्युद्दृढम् ॥ 7[2]
स्निग्ध-श्यामाम्बुदाभैः स्थगित-दिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्य-धूम्रै-
रम्भोमेघ्यं मघोनावधिषु विदधता गाढ-सम्पन्न-सस्याः ।
संहर्षाद्वाणिनीनां कर-रभस-हृतो-
8 द्यानचूताङ्कराघ्रा
राजन्वन्तो रमन्ते भुज-विजित-भुवा भूरयो येन देशाः ॥ 8
यस्योत्केतुभिरुन्मद-द्विप-कर-व्याविद्ध-लोध्र-द्रुमै-
रुद्धूतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनि-नदद्विन्ध्याद्रि-रन्ध्रैर्ध्वलैः [।*]
बाले-

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1 Read वंशो. जितौ=conqueror. The meaning of औलिकर is unknown. Fleet suggests the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon. लाञ्छन=mark or token, is taken by that scholar to mean "the crest" which is the principal emblem impressed by kings on the seals attached to their charters and is different from the emblem on their *dhvajā* or banners. The Raṭṭas of Saundanti and Belgaum had सुवर्णगरुडध्वज and सिन्धुरलाञ्छन; the Kadambas of Banawasi and Goa had शाखावरेन्द्रध्वज or वानरमहाध्वज and सिंहलाञ्छन. But Fleet's view may not be true to all cases; the Guptas, e.g., appear to have had the Garuḍa both in their seals and their banners.

2 The verse indirectly refers to Yaśodharma-Vishṇuvardhana's victory over the Guptas of the east and the Hūṇas of the north, which afforded him the right to the title of universal monarch. मघोना=by Indra; अम्भोमेघ्यं=प्रचुरसजलमेघान्; possibly अम्भोमेघ्य = purification by rain water. वाणिनी=wanton woman.

9 य-च्छवि-धूमरेण रजसा मन्दाङ्शु[1] संलक्ष्यते
पर्यावृत्त-शिखण्डि-चन्द्रक[2] इव ध्यामं रवेर्मण्डलम् ॥ 9
तस्य प्रभोर्व्वंङ्श[3] कृतां नृपाणां
पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत-पुण्य-कीर्त्तिः ।
भृत्यः स्व-नैभृत्य-जिता-
10 रि-षट्क[4]
आसीद्वसीयान्किल षष्ठिदत्तः ॥ 10
हिमवत इव गाङ्गस्तुङ्ग-नम्रः प्रवाहः
शशभृत इव रेवा-वारि-राशिः प्रथीयान् [।*]
परमभिगमनीयः शुद्धिमानन्ववायो
यत उदित-गरि-
11 ष्णुस्तायते नैगमानाम् ॥11
तस्यानुकूलः कुलजात्कलत्रा-
त्सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः ।
हरेरिवाङ्शं[5] वशिनं वराहं
वराहदासं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 12
सुकृति-विषयि-तुङ्ग[6] रूढमूलं
12 धरायां
स्थितिमपगतभङ्गां स्थेयसीमादधानम् [।*]
गुरु-शिखरमिवाद्रेस्तत्कुलं स्वात्म-भूत्या
रविरिव रविकीर्त्तिः सुप्रकाशं व्यधत्त ॥ 13
बिभ्रता शुभ्रमभ्रङ्शि स्मार्त्तं वर्त्मोचितं सताम् [।*]

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1 Read मन्दांशु. बालेयच्छविधूमर=smoke-coloured like an ass. धूसर may also be intended. ध्याम=black.

2 *I. e.*, the eye in a peacock's tail reversed (=looked at from the wrong side).

3 Read ०र्व्वंश. वंशकृत्=ancestor; नैभृत्य=resoluteness; वसीयान्=excellent; नैगम=interpreter of *śāstras*. 4 The six enemies hindering religious practices are
कामक्रोधस्तथा लोभो मदमोहौ च मत्सरः, 5 Read ०वांशं

6 Read ०विषय० which is Kielhorn's reading. I. e. 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions" (mountain); "eminent in containing men who perform good actions (family)." अपगतभङ्ग=free from breaks.

न विसंव्वा-[1]

13 दिता येन कलावपि कुलीनता ॥ **14**

धुत-धीदीधिति-ध्वान्तान्हविर्भुज इवाध्वरान् [।*]

भानुगुप्ता ततः साध्वी तनयांस्त्रीनजीजनत् ॥ **15**

भगवद्दोष इत्यासीत्प्रथमः कार्य्यवर्त्मसु ।

आल-

14 म्बनं बान्धवानामन्धकानामिवोद्भवः ॥ **16**

बहु-नय-विधि-वेधा गह्वरे(ऽ*)प्यर्थ-मार्गे

विदुर इव विदूरं प्रेक्षया प्रेक्षमाणः ।

वचन-रचन-बन्धे संस्कृत-प्राकृते यः

कविभिरुदि-

15 त-रागं गीयते गीरभिज्ञः ॥ **17**

प्रणिधि-दृगनुगन्ता यस्य बौद्धेन चाक्षणा

न निशि तनु दवीयो वास्त्यदृष्टं धरित्र्याम्[2] [।*]

पदमुदयि दधानो(ऽ*)नन्तरं तस्य चाभू-

त्स भयमभयदत्तो नाम

16 वि[घ्न]न्प्रजानाम्[3] ॥ **18**

विन्ध्यस्यावन्ध्य-कर्म्मा शिखर-तट-पतत्पारदु-रेवाम्बुराशे-

र्गो-लाङ्गूलैः सहेल-प्लुति-नमित-तरोः[4] पारियात्रस्य चाद्रेः ।

आ सिन्धोरन्तरालं निज-शुचि-सचिवाद्धया-

17 सितानेक-देशं

राजस्थानीय-वृत्या[5] सुरगुरुरिव यो वर्णिनां भूतये(ऽ*)पात् ॥ **19**

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1 Read ०मभ्रंशि and विसंवादिता.

2 धरित्र्यां is to be taken with अदृष्टं and not with दधानः.

3 "Abhayadatta maintaining a high position and preventing any fear on the part of his subjects."

4 Fleet: सहेलं.

5 Read वृत्त्या. राजस्थानीय=a feudatory or viceroy; cf. तलवर=तुष्टभूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्ट-बन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 12); प्रजापालनार्थमुद्वहति रक्षयति च स राजस्थानीयः in Kshemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 157 n.). Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land lying between the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra (p. 196, n. 3) and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea, as a viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Vishṇuvardhana. Doshakumbha, father of Dharmadosha, was a younger brother of Abhayadatta.

विहित-सकल-वर्णासङ्करं शान्त-डिम्बं
कृत इव कृतमेतद्येन राज्यं निराधि ।
स धुरमयमिदानीं
18 दोषकुम्भस्य सूनु-
र्गुरु वहति तदूढां धर्म्मतो **धर्म्मदोषः** ॥ **20**
स्व-सुखमनभिवाच्छन्दुर्ग्गमे(ऽ*)द्वन्यसङ्गां[1]
धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो दधद्भर्त्तुरर्थे ।
वहति नृपति-वेषं केवलं लक्ष्म-मात्रं
19 वलिनमिव विलम्बं कम्बलं बाहुलेयः[2] ॥ **21**
उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जाति-रत्नै-[3]
र्भुज इव पृथुलांसस्तस्य **दक्षः** कनीयान् [।*]
महदिदमुदपानं खानयामास विभ्र-
20 च्छ्रुति-हृदय-नितान्तानन्दि **निर्द्दोष**-नामा ॥ **22**
सुखाश्रेय-च्छायं परिणति-हित-स्वादु-फलदं
गजेन्द्रैरारुग्णं द्रुमिव कृतान्तेन बलिना ।
पितृव्यं प्रोद्दिश्य प्रियम**भयदत्तं** पृ-
21 थु-धिया
प्रथीयस्तेनेदं कुशलमिह कर्म्मोपरचितं ॥ **23**
पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्नवति-सहितेषु ।
मालव-गण-स्थिति-वशात्काल-ज्ञानाय लिखितेषु[3] ॥ **24**
य-
22 स्मिन्काले कल-मृदु-गिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
भिन्दन्तोव स्मर-शर-निभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ।

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1 Fleet : ०मनति०. Read ०वाञ्छन्दु०. असङ्ग=अप्रतिबन्ध. तदूढ=borne by him (Abhayadatta). डिंब=hostility.

2 बाहुलेय=bull, from बहुला, a cow. बलिन्=weighty.

3 Read ज्ञाति which is Kielhorn's reading. The first line means "invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, by excellent relatives", and "with a beneficial protective ornament fastened by excellent relatives".

मृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुवनं भार-मन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
न्नाधूत-ज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छ्यूते पुष्प-
23 केतोः ॥ **25**
प्रियतम-कुपितानां कम्पयन्बद्धरागं
किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां[4] [।*]
उपनयति नभस्वान्मान-भङ्गाय यस्मि-
न्कुसुम-समय-मासे तत्र निर्म्मापितो(ऽ*)यम् ॥ **26**
24 यावत्तुङ्गैरुदन्वान्किरण-समुदयं सङ्ग-कान्तं[2] तरङ्गै-
रालिङ्गन्निन्दु-विम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुहृत्ताम् [।*]
बिभ्रत्सौधान्त-लेखा-वलय-परिगतिं मुण्डमालामिवायं
सत्कूपस्तावदा-
25 स्तामृत-सम-रस-स्वच्छ-विष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥ **27**
धीमां[3] **दक्षो** दक्षिणः सत्यसन्धो
ह्रीमांच्छूरो वृद्ध-सेवी कृतज्ञः ।
बद्धोत्साहः स्वामि-कार्य्येष्वखेदो
निर्द्दोषो(ऽ*)यं पातु धर्म्मं चिराय ॥ **28**
उत्कीर्णा[4] गोविन्देन ॥

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1 स्थिति=settled rule, ordinance, established custom. वशात्=owing to. Here स्थितिवशात्=owing to the custom seems to mean "according to the custom (established by the republic of the Mālavas)" and to be the same as स्थित्या in *supra*, No. 21, l. 19. एकान्ननवति=एकोननवति. Fleet : रामयन्बद्ध°.

2 *I.e.*, lovely owing to the contact with water. °दयासङ्गकान्तं may also be intended.

3 Read धीमान्. Fleet takes the name to be Daksha and Kielhorn to be Nirdosha. The occurence of both of these words in verses 22 and 28 suggests that Daksha had the second name Nirdosha.

4 Supply श्लोकाः or प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा.

No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman (c. 525-35 A. D.)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 146f; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219f; XX, p. 188; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1870.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the sixth century A.D.[1]

Metre: Verses 1-8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT[2]

1 वेपन्ते यस्य भीम-स्तनित-भय-समुद्भ्रान्त-दैत्या दिगन्ताः
श्रृङ्गाघातैः सुमेरोर्व्विघटित-दृषदः कन्दरा यः करोति ।
उद्दाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधर-तनया-दत्त-[पत्राङ्कुला]ङ्कं
द्राघिष्ठः **शूलपाणेः** क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रु-तेजाङ्गि[3] केतुः ॥ **1**

2 आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनय-पटुभिर्ल्लङ्घिताचार-[मा]र्गै-
र्म्मोहादैदं-युगीनैरपशुभ-रतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्ष्मा शार्ङ्गपाणेरिव कठिन-धनुर्ज्या-किण[ङ्क]-प्रकोष्ठ[ी]
बाहुं लोकोपकार-व्रत-सफल-परिस्पन्द-धीरं[4] प्रपन्ना ॥ **2**

3 निन्द्याचारेषु यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्विनय-मुषि युगे कल्पना-मात्त-वृत्या[5]
राजस्वन्येषु पाङ्क्तेयिव कुसुम-बलिर्न्नावभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
स श्रेयो-धाम्नि सम्राडिति[6] मनु-भरतालर्क्क-[मान्धा]तृ-कल्पे

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1 Yaśodharman's known date is Vikrama year 589 = A.D. 532 (see *supra*, No. 53)

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 Read तेजांसि.

4 The original looks like परिस्पन्दि.

4 Read वृत्त्या and पांसु.

5 सम्राट्=a ruler of kings and performer of the Rājasūya.

कल्याणे हेम्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यत्र शब्दः[1] ॥ 3

4 ये भुक्ता **गुप्त**-नाथैर्न्न सकल-वसुधाक्कान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापै-
र्न्नाज्ञा **हूणा**धिपाना[ं] क्षितिपति-मुकुटाद्घासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान्धन्व-शैल-द्रु म-शहन[2]-सरिद्दोरवाहूपगूढा-
न्वीर्य्यावस्कन्न-राज्ञः स्व-गृह-परिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥ 4

5 आ **लौहित्यो**पकण्ठात्तलवन-गह[नो]पत्यकादा **महेन्द्रा**-
दा गङ्गाश्लिष्ट-सानो**स्तुहिनशिखरिणश्चपश्चिमा**दा **पयोधेः** ।
सामन्तैर्यस्य[3] बाहु-द्रविण-हृत-म[दै]ः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडा-रत्नाङ्कु-राजि-व्यतिकर-शबला भूमि-भागाः क्रियन्ते[4] ॥ 5

6 स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणति-कृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गं
यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति **हिमगिरि**र्दुर्ग्ग-शब्दाभिमान[म्] ।

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1 "He, in whom possessed of a wealth of virtue, and so falling but little short of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of "universal sovereign",—which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, being in their case like an offering of flowers placed in the dust,—shines even more than it ordinarily does, like a resplendent jewel set in good gold."

2 Read **गहन**. Note that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Gupta and Hūṇa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in Central India followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas.

3 **सामन्त**=orginally, a neighbour; but here, a feudatory ruler. **बाहुद्रविण**=strength of arms. **चूडा**=the single tuft of hair left on the crown after the ceremony called Chūḍākaraṇa ; here, top of head. **रत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबल**=variegated owing to the intermingling of a multitude of the rays of jewels. **तल**=**ताल**=palmyra tree.

4 Read **रत्नांशु**॰ The verse refers to the *digvijaya* which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravartti-kshetra*. It is a conventional *praśasti* and need not be entirely historical in all its details. There is no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conqured the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Mahendra and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the Arabian Sea (p. 276. n. 4 ; also Sircar, *J. R. A. S. B.*, V, 457 ff). Lauhitya=the Brahmaputra ; Tuhinaśikharin=the Himalayas; Mahendra=the Eastern Ghāṭs ; here, Mahendrāchala in Tinnevelly Dist. ; Paścima-payodhi=the Arabian Sea.

नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणति-भुजबलावर्ज्जन-क्लिष्ट-मूर्द्धा
[चू]डा-पुष्पोपहारैर्म्मिहिरकुल-नृपेणार्चित[ं] पाद-युग्मं[1] ॥ 6

7 [गा*]मेवोन्मातुमूर्द्धं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालं
निर्द्देष्टुं मार्ग्गमुच्चैर्द्दिव इव [सु]कृतोपार्ज्जितायाः स्व-कीर्त्तेः ।
तेनाकल्पान्त-कालावधिरवनिभुजा श्री-यशोधर्म्मणायं
स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिराम-स्थिर-भुज-परिघेणोच्छ्रितिं नायितो(ऽ*)त्र ॥ 7

8 [श्रा]घ्ये जन्मास्य वङ्शे चरितमघहरं दृश्यते कान्तमस्मि-
न्धर्म्मस्यायं निकेतश्चलति नियमितं नामुना लोकवृत्तम्[2] [।*]
इत्युत्कर्षं गुणानां लिखितुमिव यशोधर्म्मणश्चन्द्र-बिम्बे
रागादुत्क्षिप्त उच्चैर्भुज इव रुचिमान्यः पृथिव्या विभाति ॥ 8

9 इति तुष्टूषया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्म्मणः ।
वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः वक्कस्य सूनुना ॥ 9
उत्कीर्णा[3] गोविन्देन ॥

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1 "He (i.e., Yaśodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arms the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was pained through being now for the first time bent low down by the strength of his (Yaśodharman's) arm in the act of compelling obeisance." The Hūṇa Mihirakula was thus an emperor; he was a devotee of स्थाणु=शिव ; his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it; he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kashmir. According to Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Sākala or Siālkoṭ in the Panjāb. But his empire appears to have extended at least from Kashmir to Mālwā from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman. For his record, see *infra*, No. 57; also p. 322, n. 3.

2 Read वंशे. अमुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति, "controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve (from the right course)". रुचिमान्=endowed with splendour.

3 Fleet is inclined to supply प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा ; but the word possibly refers to श्लोकाः. No work of the poet Vāsula is known.

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HŪṆA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND THE PANJĀB

No. 55—Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa (c. 500-515 A. D.)[1]—Regnal year 1

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 159f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1269 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्य्या ; V. 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्) [but the metre is faulty in the fifth syllable which is required to be short ; Fleet takes it to be a sentence in prose]; V.3 आर्य्या.

TEXT[2]

1 ९[3] [॥*]

जयति धरणयुद्धरणे घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महोद्रः [।*]

देवो **वराहमूर्त्तिस्त्रै**लोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः[4] [॥*] **I**

वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी[म्][5]

2 पृथु-कीर्त्तौ पृथु-द्युतौ [।*]

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1 Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa emperor, was father of Mihirakula. Note that Mātri-vi-hṇu was a feudatory of Budha Gupta; but during the time of his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu the country was under Toramāṇa. See *supra*, No. 54

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Cf. the text with that of *supra*, No. 35.

3 सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

4 The verse refers to the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu. घन-घोनाघात-घूर्णित-महीद्र=who caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout.

5 Read पृथिवीं प्रथमे वर्षे to suit the metre.

महाराजाधिराज-श्री**तोरमाणे** प्रशासति ।[।*] **2**

फाल्गुन-दिवसे दशमे ।[1] इत्येवं राज्य-वर्ष-मास-दिनैः [।*]

एतस्यां

3 पूर्व्वायाम् ।[1] स्व-लक्षणैर्युक्त-पूर्व्वायाम् ।[*] **3**

स्वकर्म्माभिरतस्य क्रतुयाजिनो(ऽ*)धीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेर्म्मैत्रायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्र-

विष्णोः प्रपौत्रस्य ।[1]

4 पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुणविष्णोः पौत्रस्य पितरमनुजातस्य स्ववंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः

पुत्रस्यात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तस्य विधातुरिच्छया ।[1]

5 स्वयंवरयेव राजलक्ष्म्याधिगतस्य चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथितयशसः अक्षीण-मान[ध[न-

स्यानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णोः महार(।*)ज-**मातृविष्णोः**

6 स्वर्गतस्य भ्रात्रानुजेन ।[1] तदनुविधायिना तत्प्रसाद-परिगृहीतेन[2] **धन्यविष्णुना**

तेनैव [स]हाविभक्त-पुण्यक्रियेण मातापित्तोः

7 पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतो **वराहमूर्त्ते**र्ज्जगत्परायणस्य **नारायणस्य** शिला-प्रा[सादः]

स्व-विष[ये](ऽ*)स्मिन्नैरिकिणे[3] कारितः ।[।*]

8 स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-पुरोगाभ्यः सर्व्व-प्रजा[भ्य इ]ति ॥

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1 The mark of punctuation is superfluous. Better read दशम and पूर्व्वायां. Here पूर्वा has been used as a synonym of तिथि.

2 There is a sign following this word and resembling the dagger-mark of English typography which, as Fleet has suggested, indicates that the passage तेनैव सहाविभक्तपुण्यक्रियेण should be read here, i.e., just before धन्यविष्णुना.

3 ऐरिकिण-विषय=district round mod. Eraṇ.

No. 56—Kurā Stone Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Shāhi[1] (c. 500-515 A.D.)

KURĀ, Salt Range, the Panjāb.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 239f.

Language : Sanskrit, strongly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Nail-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 [१०*][3] [राजाधि*]राज-महाराज-**तोरमाण**-**पा**[हि]-**जऊ**[व्लस्याभिवर्ध*] [मान-[4] राज्ये]* * [संवत्सरे*]

2 * * * * मे[4] मार्गशिर-मास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम् चान्द्र[मग्र?] * * * * * * गग[न*]-

3 [चरे च] वर*शुचि-शात-ध्यानाध्ययन-मोक्ष-चित्तानुकूले[5] प्र[दिष्ट] * * * * * * * * * [न*]-

4 क्षले भगवतो **बुद्धस्य** देवातिदेवस्य[6] सर्वपापपरिक्षोण-सर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]

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1 He should probably be identified with the Hūṇa emperor Toramāṇa. See n. 4 below.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. Some *aksharas* here and there and a few lines at the end of the record appear to have been erased.

3 The restorations are probable in consideration of the space and traces before °राज°.

4 Cf. l. 10 below. Since this prince has been called a जऊव्ल (which is supposed to have been a feudatory title or a tribal name), Bühler and Kielhorn were not inclined to identify him with the father of Mihirakula, though they agreed that the record belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D. I do not think that there is any improbability in the identification. There is evidence to show that a feudatory (and sometimes even his successors) continued to use the feudatory title even when he became actually independent. Note the title महाक्षत्रप used by the Saka kings of Ujjain and the title सेनापति applied to Pushyamitra Suṇga (p. 96) even after his celebration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It has been pointed out that the name तोरमाण is the same as the Turkish word *töramān*, *tāramān*, or *töremen*, meaning a rebel or insurgent. जऊव्ल has been connected with Turkish *jul*, "a falcon." For *shāhi*, see p. 142, n. 2 ; p. 144, n. 3.

4 Possibly the gap between राज्ये and संवत्सरे contained 2 cancelled *aksharas*.

5 Possibly शान्त and चिन्ता are intended. We may read वर-शुचि as the *akshara* between र and शु seems to be a cancelled शु.

6 There is a blank space between दे and वा

5 तीर्ण-स(*)सारार्णव(स्य*) सत्वानां तारयिता[1] दशबल-बलिन(:*) चतुर्वैशारद्य-[2] चतस्रप्रतिसं[भिदा]-[3]

6 अष्टादशावेणीकाद्भुत-धर्म-समन्वागतस्य[4] सर्वसत्ववत्सल-महाकारुणिकस्य बु-

7 द्धप्रमुख-चातुर्दिशे[5] भिक्षु-संघे देयधर्मो(ऽ*)य(*) विहार(:*) प्रतिष्ठापन **नश्चीर**-पति-प्रशस्ता-

8 दारित-नामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिः रोट्ट-जयवृद्धि[6] अनेक-विहार-स्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण [।*] यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु

9 [मा]तापित्रो(:*) आपायक-पोषक(योः*) चित्तस्य **जंबुद्वीपस्य** दर्शयितारो[7] अग्रे-भावप्रत्यंशतायास्तु तथा विहार-स्वामिनो

10 रोट-सिद्धवृद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितॄणां महाराज-**तोरमाण-पाह-जऊव्लः**[8] स-

11 र्वेषां देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां[9] च सर्व-सत्वानां अनुत्तर-ज्ञानावाप्तये[10] [।*] अयं पुन(:*) विहारस्थो-

12 पकरण चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परिग्रहे आचाय(र्णां*) [म]हीश[रसकानां] [।*] [साद्धक-पु]- * * लेण* [आचार्य]-

13 ... ...

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1 Read ०यितुः. For Daśabala, see p. 224, n. 3.

2 Read चतुर्वैशारद्य. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness, viz., the conciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles of religious life and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation.

3 Read चतुःप्रतिसंभिदाप्त०. The four *Pratisambhidās* are the analytical sciences being divisions of the supernatural knowledge of the Arhat regarding the meaning, the text and the origin of the words, as also the discriminatory knowledge of them.

4 Read ०वेणिकाद्भुत०. *I.e.*, attained marvellous virtues resulting from the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, etc. The 18 *āvenika* or independent states are said to be the distinguishing mark of a Buddha who is detached from the imperfections which attach to the majority of mankind.

5 बुद्धप्रमुख=belonging to the congregation of which Buddha is the head.

6 Read प्रतिष्ठापितः नश्चीरपति-प्रशस्तादतनामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिना रोट्टजयवृद्धेः, etc.

7 Read आप्यायक and ०यित्रोः अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय (or, ०शतायै)। अस्तु तथा विहारस्वामिनः रोट्ट-सिद्धवृद्धेः सर्वेषां भ्रातॄणां, etc. Note that my emendations and interpretations are different in some respects from those of Bühler. For अग्रप्रत्यंश and अग्रभागप्रत्यंश, see pp. 139, 154. 8 Read ०पाहिजऊव्लस्य.

9 Read दुहितॄणां and ०स्योपकारः (benefaction in the shape of a monastery).

10 Between अ and नु two *aksharas* appear to be struck out.

No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515-35 A.D.)—Regnal year 15

GWALIOR (Gwālher), Gwalior State, Central India.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, p. 391ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p, 162f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 2109.

Language : Sanskrit, slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 मालिनी ; Vv. 3-12 आर्य्या ; V. 13 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT[1]

1 [१ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥*][2]

[ज*][य]ति जलद-वल[3]-ध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः

किरण-निवह-जालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः [।*]

उ[दय*]-[गिरि]-तटाग्र[ं*] मण्डयन्[4] यस्तुर(ं*)गैः

चकित-गमन-खेद-भ्रान्त-चंचत्सटान्तैः ।[।*] **1**

उदय-[गिरि]-[5]

2 ⏑ — — ग्रस्त-चक्रो(ऽ*)त्ति-हर्त्ता

भुवन-भवन-दीपः शर्व्वरी-नाश-हेतुः [।*]

तपित-कनक-वर्णैरंशुभि≍पङ्कजान(।*)-

मभिनव-रमणीयं यो विधत्ते स वो(ऽ*)व्यात् ।[।*] **2**

श्री-**तोर[माण** इ*]ति यः प्रथितो

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1 Ll. 1-6 from the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, and ll. 7-9 from the facsimile in *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI.

2 The restorations are conjectural.

3 Fleet reads वाल and translates "banks of clouds"; जलदवेला (=rainy day) seems to have been intended. The upper part of the *aksharas* are lost. The first two verses are in adoration to the Sun god.

4 न् was omitted in its proper place, and was then engraved below the line. Read ०रन्नैश्चकित०.

5 Possibly उदयगिरिवनान्तग्रस्त०.

3 [भूचक्र*]पः प्रभूत-गुणः [।*]
सत्यप्रदान-शौर्य्याद्येन[1] महो न्यायत[:] शास्ता [॥*] **3**
तस्योदित-कुल-कीर्त्तेः पुत्रो(ऽ*)तुल-विक्रमः पतिः पृथ्व्याः [।*]
मिहिरकुलेतिख्यातो(ऽ*)भक्तो[2] यः **पशुपतिम** * * *[3] [॥*] **4**
4 [तस्मिन्ना*]जनि शासति पृथ्वीं पृथु-विमल-लोचने(ऽ*)त्तिहरे [।*]
अभिवर्द्धमान-राज्ये **पंचदशाब्दे** नृप-वृषस्य ।[।*] **5**
शशिरश्मिहास-विकसित-कुमुदोत्पल-गन्ध-शीतलामोदे [।*]
कार्त्तिक-मासे प्राप्त[4] गगन-
5 [पतौ*] [नि*]र्म्मले भाति ।[।*] **6**
द्विज-गण-मुख्यैरभिसंस्तुते च पुण्याह-नाद-घोषेण [।*]
तिथि-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्त्ते संप्राप्ते सुप्रशस्त-[दिने] ।[।*] **7**
मातृतुलस्य तु पौत्रः पुत्रश्च तथैव मातृदासस्य [।*]
नाम्ना च **मातृचेटः** पर्व्व-
6 [त-दुर्ग*][नु]वास्तव्यः [॥*] **8**
नानाधातु-विचित्रे **गोपाह्वय**-नाम्नि[5] भूधरे रम्ये [।*]
कारितवान्शैलमयं **भानोः** प्रासाद-वर-मुख्यम् ।[।*] **9**
पुण्याभिवृद्धिहेतोर्म्मातापित्रोस्तथात्मनश्चैव [।*]
वसता(*) च गिरिवरे(ऽ*)स्मि(न्*) राज्ञः

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1 Fleet suggests the correction **प्रधान. शास्ता** for **शासिता** or **शिष्टा** is not grammatically happy. 2 Better **मिहिरकुल इति ख्या०**.

3 Possibly **०मर्च्चयति**. Fleet and Kielhorn believed that Mihirakula broke the power of one Paśupati. Bhandarkar wants to read **भेजे** (which is however impossible in view of the clear traces on the plate) in the lacuna and suggests that the Hūṇa king was a worshipper of Paśupati=Śiva. **अभक्तः=पूजाव्यापारे विरामरहितः.**

4 Read **प्राप्ते**. *I.e.*, when the month of Kārttika arrived.

5 **गोपाह्वय** is the same as **गोपगिरि** and **गोपाद्रि**=Gwalior, the immediate source of which form is possibly Gopālikera found in some records.

7 * * * [पा?]देन[1] [॥*] **10**

ये कारयन्ति भानोश्चन्द्रांशु-सम-प्रभं गृह-प्रवरं [।*]
तेषां वासः स्वर्गे यावत्कल्प-क्षयो भवति ॥ **11**
भक्त्या रवेर्व्विरचितं सद्धर्म्म-ख्यापनं सुकीर्त्तिमयं [।*]
नाम्ना च **केशवे**तिप्रथितेन च ।[2]

8 * * * [दि?]त्येन ॥* **12**

यावच्छुभ्र्व्यं-जटा-कलाप-गहने विद्योतते चन्द्रमा
दिव्यस्त्री-चरणैर्व्विभूषित-तटो यावच्च मेरुर्नगः [।*]
यावच्चोरसि नील-नीरद-निभे विष्णुर्व्विभर्त्युज्वलां[3]
श्रींस्तावद्विरि-मूर्द्धि तिष्ठति
[शिला-प्रा*]साद-मुख्यो रमे [॥*] **13**

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1 The word may be प्रसादेन.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Better केशव इति प्र०. No work of the poet Keśava is known for certain. He seems to have had a second name which was Aditya or ended in *āditya*.

3 Read ०र्व्विभर्त्युज्ज्वलां श्रीं ताव०. श्रीं has been wrongly used for श्रियं for the sake of the metre. Cf. the saying मापमपि मपं कुर्यात्, etc. (p. 381, n. 2).

E—WESTERN INDIA: MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

No. 58—Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription of Droṇasiṃha—Gupta-Valabhī year 183 (=A.D. 502)

BHAMODRA-MOHOTA, Bhaunagar State, Kāṭhiāwāṛ.

A. M. T. Jackson, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, No. liv, p. 1ff; L. D. BARNETT, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 18f.

Language : Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.
Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class
Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

1 ॥[2] स्वस्ति [॥*] **वलभीतः परमभट्टारक**-पादानुध्यातो[3] महाराज-**द्रोणसिंह**-×कुशली ख-विषय[4] सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-मह-[5]

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the Valabhī era, see *supra*, p. 269, n. 2. It was actually the Gupta era introduced during the age of the Gupta occupation of Kāṭhiāwāṛ, but later continued by the Maitrakas who were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas.

2 सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

3 Droṇasiṃha's father was Bhaṭārka whose name is not mentioned. Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī (modern Wala in Kāṭhiāwāṛ). The overlord of Droṇasiṃha referred to here appears to have been a Gupta emperor; but the power of the Guptas was by this time already on the decline.

4 Read विषये. Barnett suggests विषयकान्.

5 The function of the *drāṅgika* is not known. द्रंग may be connected with the expression सोद्रङ्ग (=with उद्रङ्ग, p. 371, n. 5). The reading intended seems actually to be महत्तरौद्रङ्गिक॰.

2 त्तर-दाङ्गिक-ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणं[1] चाट-भटादी(*)श्च[2] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया[3] विजयायुद्धर्म्मफल-यशोविषय-व्रिद्ध-[4]

3 ये नो वर्षसहस्राय सर्व्व-कल्याणाभिप्राय-संपत्तये च **हस्तवप्राहरण्यां** श्री-भगवत्या-≍पागडुराज्यायाः[5] मातापित्रो≍पुण्याप्यायन-नि-

4 मित्तमात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये[6] आ-चन्द्रार्कार्णव-क्षितिस्थिति-सरित्पर्व्वत-समकालीनं बलि-चरु-वैश्यदेवाद्यानां[7] क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थं[']

5 **विसंगमक**ग्रामो[8] गन्ध-धूप-दीप-तैल्य-माल्योपयोज्यं[9] देवकुलस्य च पतित-विशीर्ण-प्रतिसंस्कारणार्थं सत्रोपयोज्येस्सहिरण्या-[10]

6 देयस्सहान्यैश्चादानै[र]चाट-भट-प्रावेश्यं[11] ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या उदकातिसर्गेण निसृष्टः [।*]

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1 Barnett suggests ०करणिक-चाट० which is unnecessary. ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण possibly indicates the local government of some selected localities. *Dhruvādhikaraṇika* found in later Maitraka records has been explained as "one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*" by Bühler who points out that *dhruva* is still used in Kāṭhiāwār and Kachh to denote "a person who on the part of a *rājā*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue". सन्तक is a Pāli word meaning 'belonging to'. विनियुक्तक was possibly the same as तदायुक्तक.

2 For चाट and भट, see p. 371, n. 6.

3 Barnett: महा०. Read ०यायुर्धर्म्म०. 4 Barnett: व्रद्धये.

5 Possibly ०राजायाः. This appears to be the name of the goddess of a temple in the Hastavapra *āharaṇī*, modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Goghā in the Bhaunagar State. It is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Astakampra. The territorial division called *āharaṇī* is apparently related to *Āhāra* (district) and both appear to have been derived from *ā+hṛi*, as they were centres of the collection of revenue.

6 Read ०वृद्धये.

7 वैश्यदेव=an offering to the Viśvadevas or all gods. For बलि, चरु and सत्र, see *supra*, p. 338, n. 7; p. 361, n. 9. समुत्सर्पण=going; here, continuation. उपयोज्य=provision. 8 Identified with Tarsamiā, near Hāthab.

9 Read धूप and तैल.

10 Read ०स्करणार्थं and ०योज्यस्स०. पतित=fallen; विशीर्ण=broken to pieces; cf. खण्ड-स्फुटित(=फुट्ट०) of other records.

11 र is engraved below the line. स-हिरण्यादेय=together with हिरण्य (=revenue in cash) to be paid to the State. हान्य and आदान appear to indicate "loss" and "gain". ब्रह्मदेयस्थिति=custom regarding property granted to Brāhmaṇas.

यतो(ऽ*)स्योपचित-न्यायत(:*)[1] भुजेंतः[2] कृशतः[3] प्रदिशत-

7 ×कर्षापयतो वा न केनचिस्स्वरूपा[4] बाधा विचारणा वा कार्य्या [।*] ×यश्चाच्छिद्यमान-
मनुमोदोयुरसौ[5] महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च

8 संयुक्ता(ऽ*)स्मद्वंशागामि-राजभिरन्यैश्च[6] सामान्यं भूमिदायमवेत्य(।*)स्मद्दायो(ऽ*)नु-
मन्तव्यो(ऽ*)पि चात्र व्यास-कृताः श्लोका भवन्ति [।*]

9 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च।[7] तान्येव नरके वसेत्[8] [॥*] **1**
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ता(ं*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*]

10 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तु(:*) प्राप्नोति[9] किल्बिषं [॥*] **2**
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि शगरादिभिः(*)[9] [।*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[10] तस्य तस्य तदा(।*) फलं [॥०] **3**

11 भिरुवक(:*)[11] देवि-कर्म्मान्तिकः [।०] सं १००(+*)८०(+*)३
श्रावण-शुद्ध[12] १०(+*)५ [।०] स्वयमाज्ञा[13] [।*] लिखितं षष्ठिदत्त-पुत्रेण
कुम(।*)रिल-क्षत्रिकेन[14] [॥*]

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1 Read ०स्योचित. 2 Read भुंजतः.

3 Read कर्षतः. प्रदिश्=assign, grant. Read कर्षयतः.

4 Read केनचित्स्व०. विचारणा=doubt or discussion regarding the right.

5 Read यश्चाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेतासौ. The *mahāpātakas* are ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः। महान्ति पातकान्याहुस्तत्संसर्गश्च पञ्चमम् ॥ (मनु ।११।५५). The *upapātakas* are 49 in number. For these, see *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v.

6 Read संयुक्तः स्यात्। अस्म०. See p. 372, n. 8. सामान्य=belonging to all kings as sharers of the merit.

7 The punctuation mark is unnecessary. 8 Read वसेत्.

9 Read प्राप्णोति and राजभिः सग०. 10 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

11 Read देवी०. The letter ग was engraved between रु and व, but was afterwards cancelled. कर्मान्तिक=an agent connected with कर्मान्त (execution of business; a store of grain; cultivated ground). Bhiruvaka possibly received the grant on behalf of the goddess. 12 सं=संवत्सरे ; शुद्ध=शुद्धपक्षे=शुक्लपक्षे.

13 See p. 377, n. 1. 14 Read क्षत्रिकेण possibly the same as क्षत्रिणा.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha

No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II—Regnal Year 37

BASIM, Akola Dist, Berar.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, p. 182ff.; XVII, p. 110ff.; Y. K. DESHPANDE and D. B. MAHAJAN, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 349ff.

Language : Sanskrit and Prakrit[1].

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 4th century A. D.[2]

TEXT[3]

First Plate

[दृष्टम्] [॥*][4]

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1 This record exemplifies the gradual advance of Sanskrit in South India. Sanskrit as the court language or the language of epigraphs appears to have been at first introduced in the Northwestern quarter of India by foreigners in the early centuries of the Christian era. From there it gradually encroached upon the field of Prakrit in other parts of India and ultimately conquered South India about the middle of the 4th century A.D. The mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit language used in some inscriptions shows an intermediate stage in the popularity of Sanskrit and the decline of Prakrit. Note that the language is nearer Sanskrit than in earlier Prakrit inscriptions (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 166). In earlier Prakrit records doubling of a consonant is practically absent and conjuncts are rare.

2 Some scholars believe that the record belongs to Vindhyaśakti (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.), founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Their mistake is due to the facts that they have failed to note the *sāpeksha samāsas* in प्रवरसेनपौत्र० (l.3) and सर्वसेनपुत्र० (l. 4) which is indicated by the epithet ०महाराजस्य used thrice with reference to the three kings mentioned. For such *samāsas*, see Bk. II, Nos. 68-70, 72, etc.

3 From the photo-prints published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939.*

4 In the left margin in the level of line 1.

सिद्धम् [॥*][1]

1 [2]**वत्सगुल्मा**द्धर्म्ममहाराजस्य[।]ग्निष्टोम[।]प्तोर्य्याम-वाजपेय-ज्यो[ति]-

2 [ष्टो]म-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनस्सम्राज(:*) वृ-

3 ष्णिवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य[3] हारिती-पुत्रस्य[4] श्र[ी]-**प्रवरसेन**-पौत्रस्य[5]

4 धर्म्ममहार(।*)जस्य[6] श्री-**सर्व्वसेन**-पुत्रस्य धर्म्ममह[।]राजस्य

5 **वाकाटकाना**[म्] श्रि-**विन्ध्यशक्ते**र्व्वचनात्[7] **नान्दीकडस** उत्तर-म[ग्गे][8]

Second Plate: First Side

[२][9]

6 **भाकालक्खोप्पकाब्भासे** **आकाशपदेसु**[10] अ[म्ह]-सन्तका साव्वा(द्धक्ख-

नि*)योग-नि-

---

1 In the left margin in the level of line 3.

2 Vatsagulma in modern Basim which was the capital of this colateral branch of the Vākāṭaka family. For the sacrifices, see *infra*, p. 419, n. 2.

3 Other Vākāṭaka records read विष्णुवृद्ध.

4 Or हारीती. हारीतीपुत्र is found to be used by the Chuṭu family of kings and following them by the Kadambas. Note that there हारीतीपुत्र is a family-metronymic and not a personal one.

5 Properly प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य ; similarly सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य in l. 4. These are undoubtedly cases of the *sāpeksha samāsa*. See p. 406, n. 2.

6 The title is found in the records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas. It apparently refers to the kings' boast to have purified the Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism ; cf. कलियुग-दोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरण-नित्यसंनद्ध (*infra*, No. 67, l. 13).

7 Read श्री. From here the rest of the record is in Prakrit.

8 उ has been engraved on the *akshara* दा which was originally engraved. Nāndikaṭa is supposed to be the same as Nander in the Nizam's dominions. Here possibly a district is intended. It is not known whether Nāndikaṭa is the same as Nāndivardhana (No. 60, l. 1). The latter may have been the chief city of Nāndikaṭa.

9 In the margin a little above the level of line 8.

10 *Abyāsa* may be a territorial term like *pārśva* of *supra*, No. 42. See p. 410, n. *Padra*, village, is traced to the mod. *pādar*, "common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated."

7 युत्ता आणत्ति-भडा सेसाय-साञ्चरन्त-रलपुत्ता[1] भाणितव्वा [।*] आम्हेहि

8 दाणि आपुणो विजय-वेजयिके आयु-वल-वद्धणिके [ख]स्ति-

9 शान्ति-वाचने[2] इहामुत्तिके[3] धाम्मत्थाणे एत्थन्तरे आधिव्वणिक-चर-

10 णस्स आद्धक ।[4] भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि[5] [सि]तुज्जेसि कापिञ्जल-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 सगोत्तेसि । रुद्दज्जेसि । श्राविष्टायण-सगोत्तेसि[3] । भाद्दिदेवज्जेसि

12 कोसि[क]-सगोत्तेसि[6] । देसुजेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । वेरहुज्जेसि ।

13 कोसीक-सगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैत्पलादि-सगोत्तेसि पितु-

14 जेसि भालन्दायण-सगोतेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि जेट्ठजे-

15 सि । पडेहि दोहि भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि वुद्धजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

Third Plate : First Side

३[7]

16 भाद्दिलज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

17 हरिरणजेसित्ति एताण वाम्हणाण भागा ति[रिण] ३ कोसिक-सगोत्ते[सि]

18 रेवतिजेसि । भागो । चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्च-कालको अपुव्व-द-

19 त्तिय दत्तो ।[।*] पुव्व-रायाणुमते यसे चातुव्वेज्ज-ग्गाम-मज्जात[।]-परिहारे वित-

20 राम [।*] तजथा अरट्ट-संव्विणेयिक । अ-लवण-[क्के]रण-खातक । अ-हिरण्ण-

धा[रण]-

---

1 Read कुलपुत्ता ; cf. आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राः of other Vākāṭaka records. त्ता looks like न्ता on the plate. कुलपुत्र=born of a noble family ; nobility. Prakrit सञ्चरन्तक=spy ; or, travelling (epithet of कुलपुत्र). सेसाय=Pāli सेसक=the remaining ones ; others. It is said to be used in the sense of "commanded" in an Apabhraṃśa work. सन्तक Pāli (from अस्+शतृ+क)=belonging to.

2 न्ति looks like त्ति on the plate.

3 त्ति looks like न्ति on the plate. त्ते looks like न्ते in l. 11.

4 These half-stops are sometimes superfluous. They look more or less like crescents generally put just below the level of the line.

5 Locative terminations appear to have been used in these cases for dative.

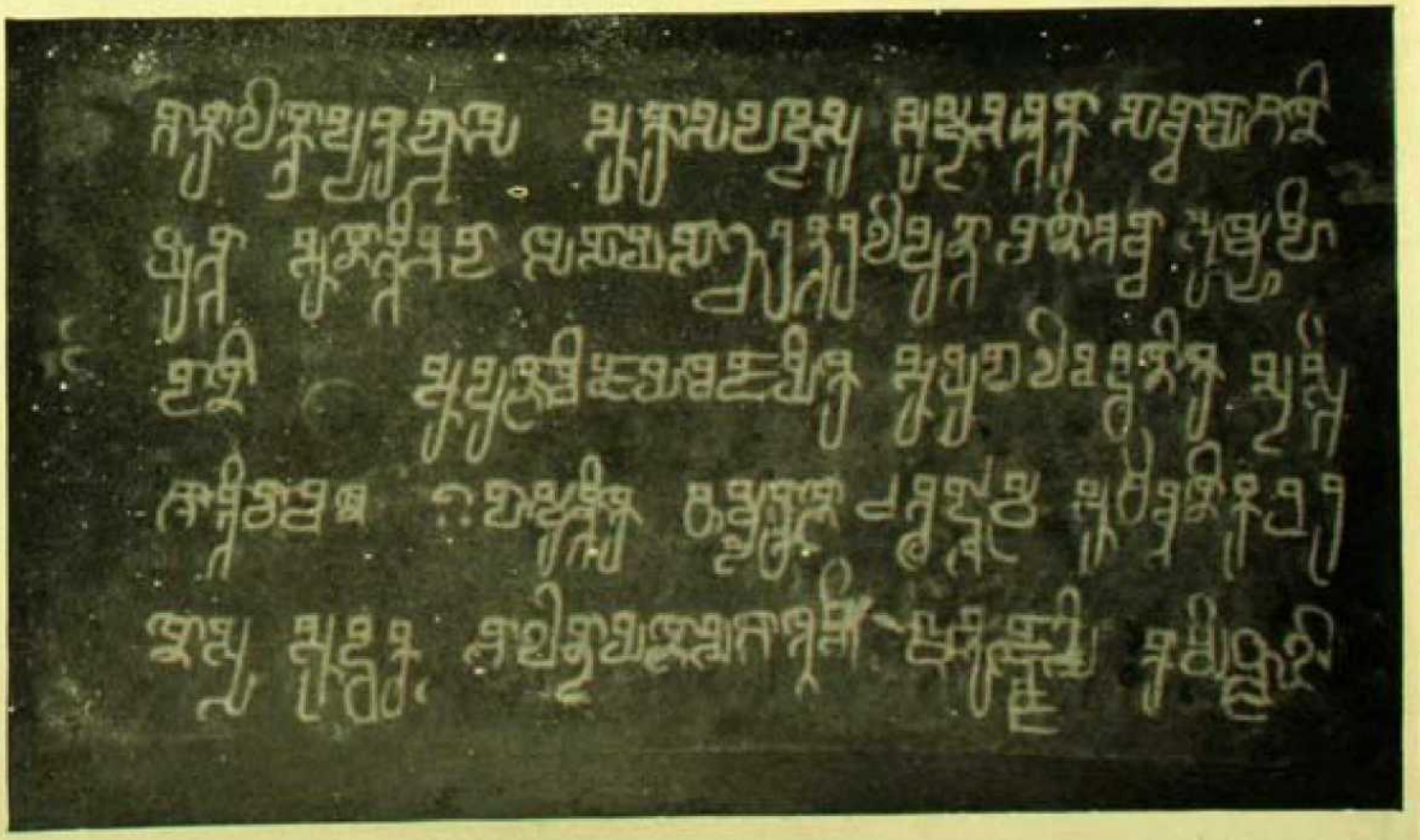
6 Traces of an erased i sign are noticed above सि.

7 In the left margin in the level of line 18.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

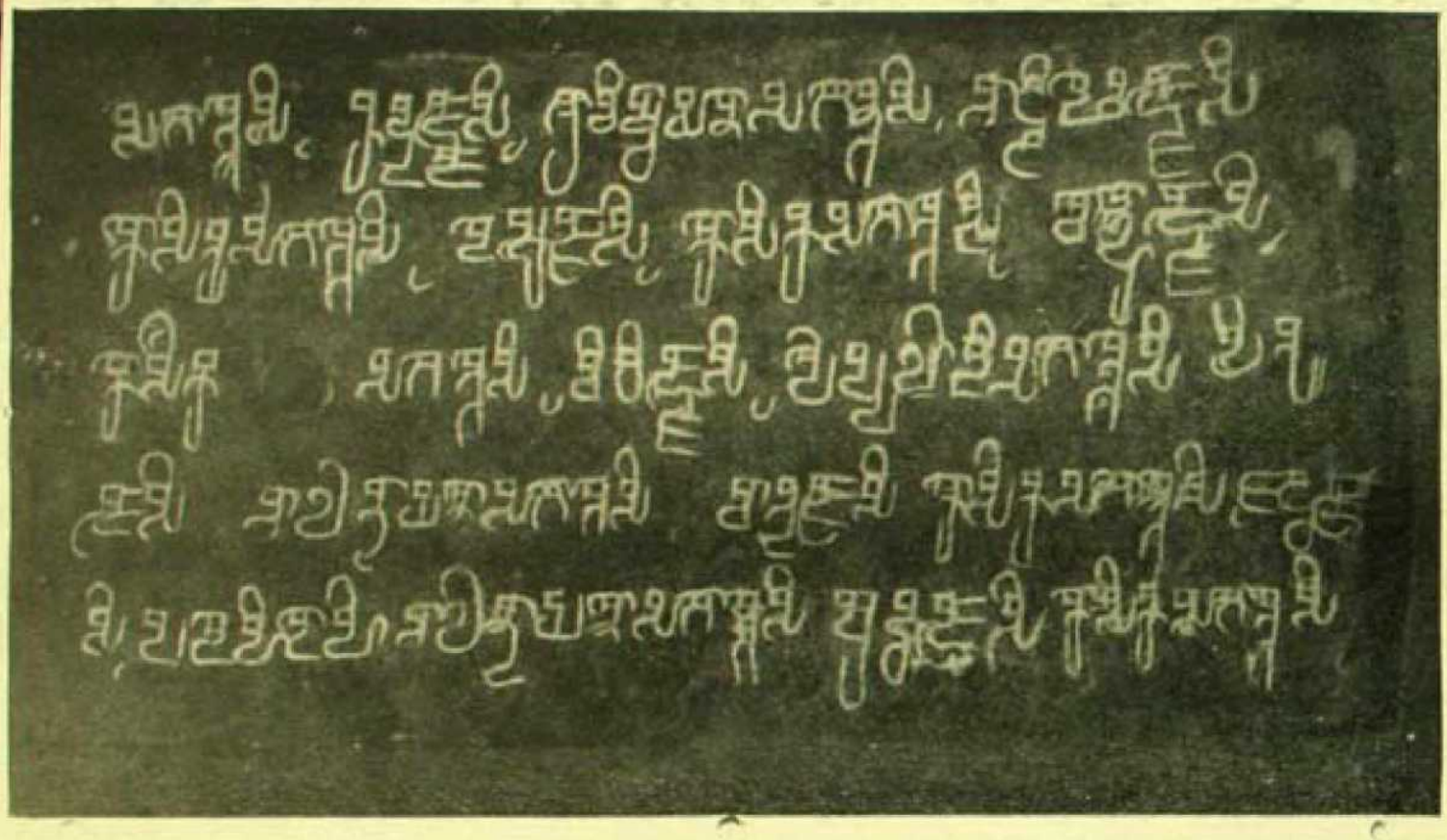
Side I

Side II A

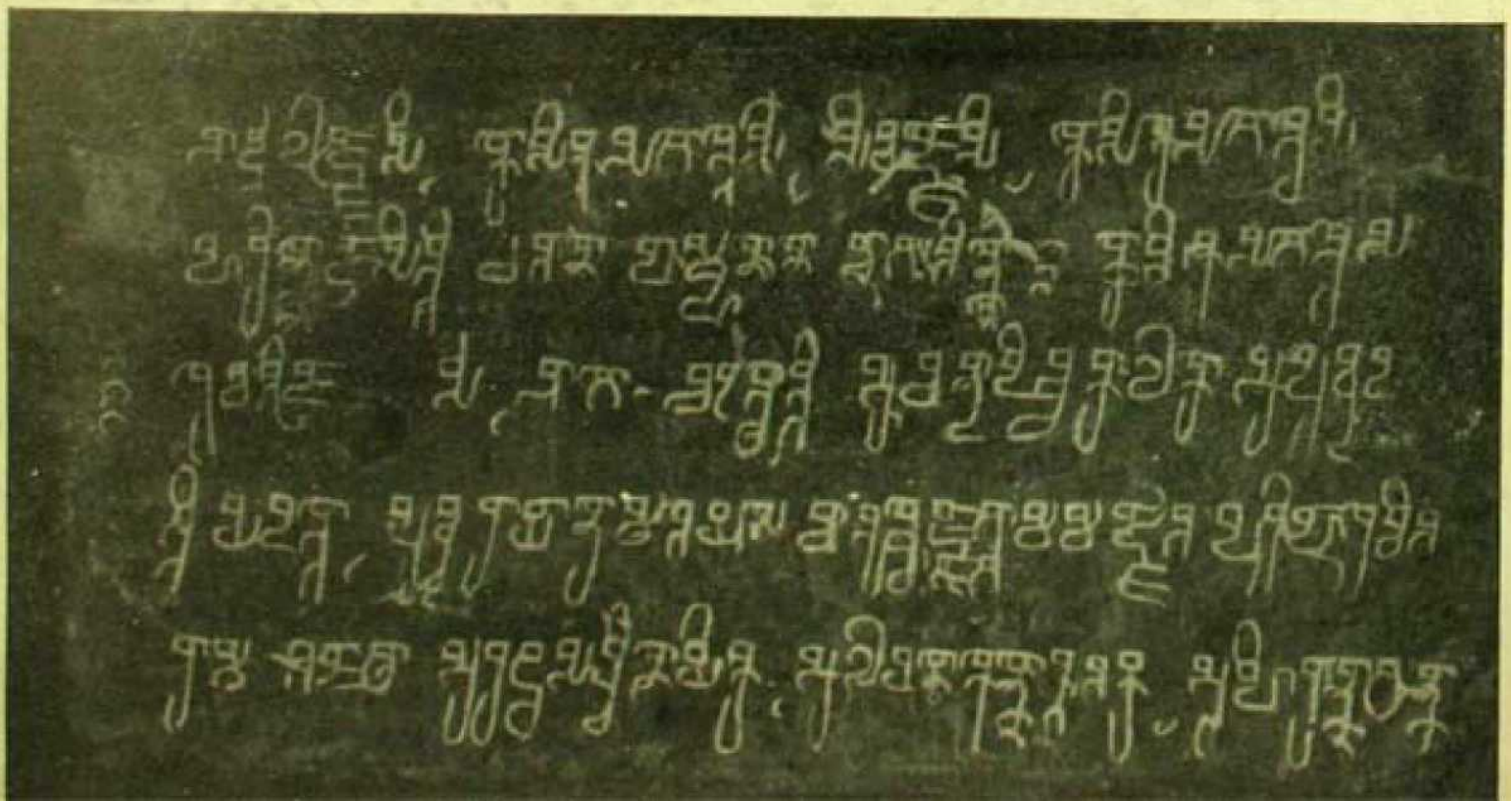


CENTRAL LIBRARY

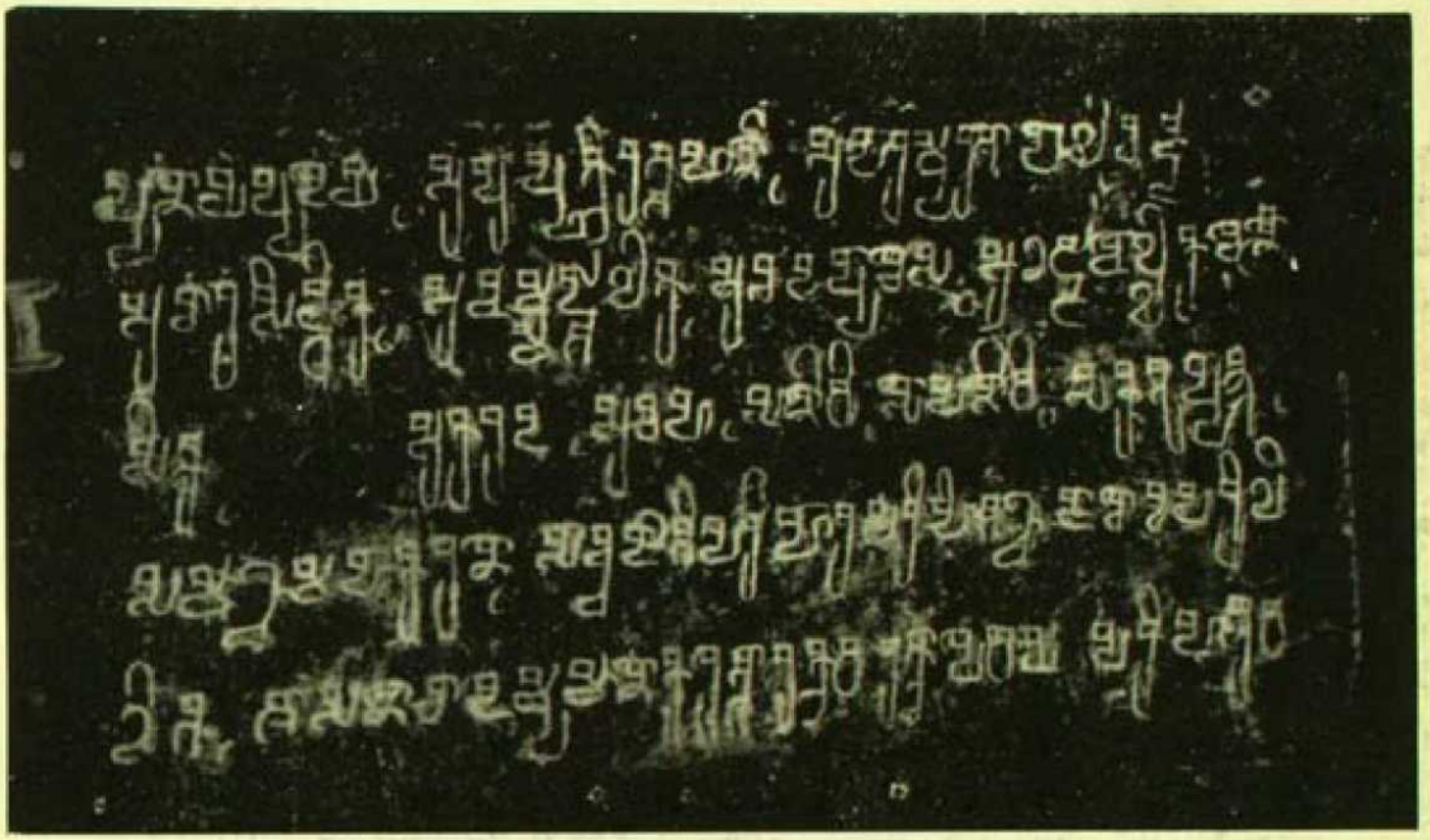
Side II B



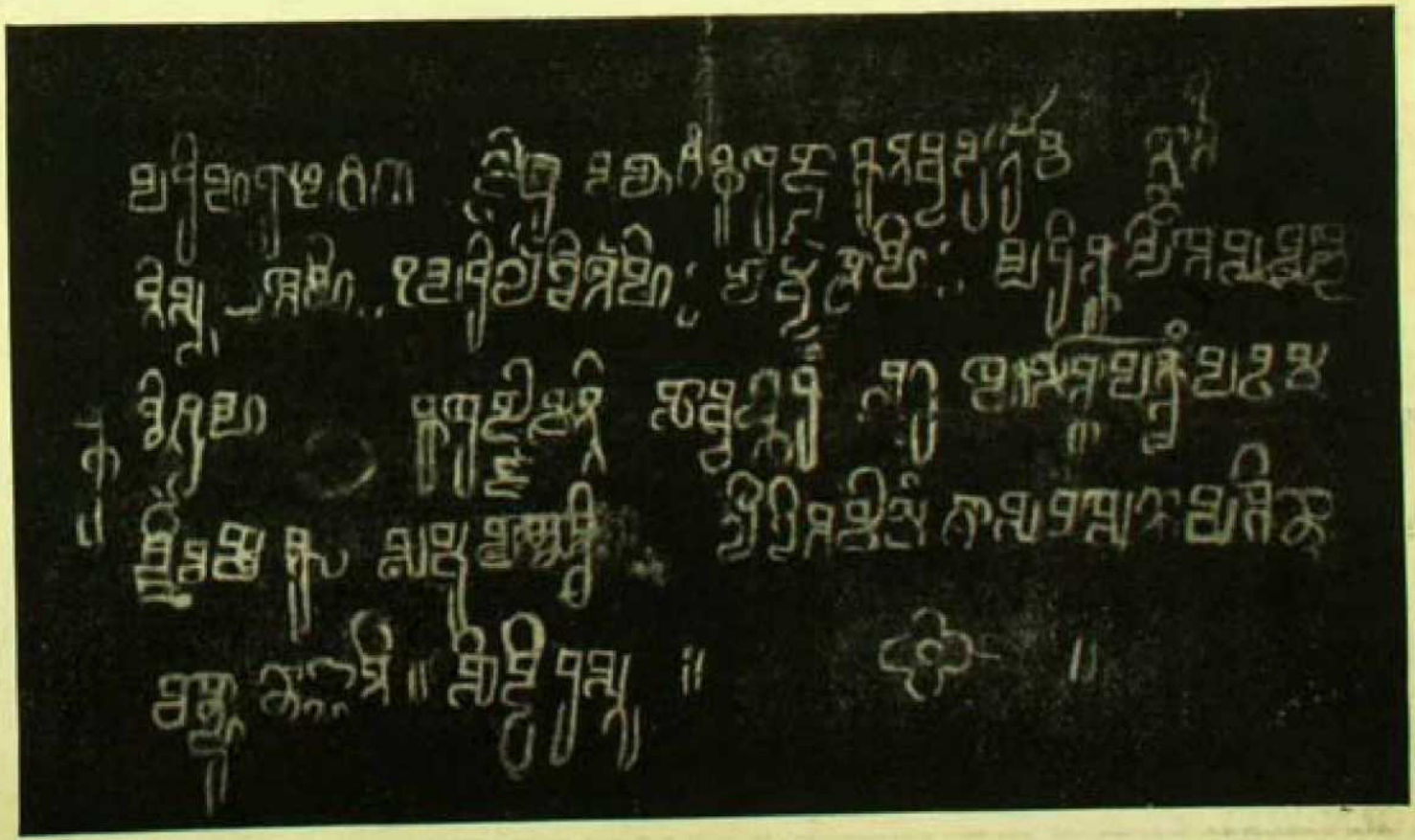
Side III A



Side III B



Side IV



Third Plate: Second Side

21 प्पणय-प्पदेय । अ-पुप्फ-क्खीर-ग्गहणि[1] । अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवद्द

22 अ-चार-सिद्धिक । अ-चम्मङ्गालक । अ-भड-प्पावेस । अ-खट्टा-चोल्लक-वेणे-

23 सिक । अ-करद । अ-वह । स-निधि । सोपनिधि । स-कुतुप्पान्त ।

24 स-मच्च-महाकरण । साव्वजाति-परिहार-परिहितञ्च [।*] जतो उपरि-लि-

25 खित । शासण-वादम्पमाण करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेधय परिहरध

Fourth Plate

४[2]

26 परिहरापेधय [।*] जो वु[3] [आ]बाधं करेज्ज कतव्व [अ]नुव(म?)ण्ण[ति]

27 तिस्स [ए]तेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । बाम्हणेहि । परिवपिते स-[द]ण्ड-

28 निग्रह करेज्जामेत्ति [।*] साव्वच्छरं ३०(+*)७ हेमन्त-पक्खं पढम

29 [दि]व[स] ५ [।*] स-मुहाण्णत्थि[4] [।*] लीखितमिमं शासनं सेणपतिणा

30 वणहुण[5] इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ [A four-petalled Lotus Symbol]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (=परीक्षितम् इदं शासनं राजपुरुषैः) ॥

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिरस्तु) ॥

वत्सगुल्मात् धर्ममहाराजस्य अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्योतिष्टोम-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनः (=एतेषां यज्ञानां अनुष्ठातुः) सम्राजः (=राजाधिराजस्य) विष्णुवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य हारीतीपुत्रस्य (=हारीत-गोत्रायाः जनन्याः पुत्रस्य) श्री-प्रवरसेन[स्य] पौत्रस्य धर्म-महाराजस्य श्रीसर्व्वसेन[स्य] पुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकाटकानां (=तद्वंशीयस्य राज्ञः) श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेः वचनात् (=आज्ञया) नान्दीकटस्य उत्तरमार्गे भाकालक्षोप्रकाभ्यासे आकाशपद्रेषु[6] अस्मत्सत्काः (=मत्संश्लिष्टाः=राज०) सर्वाध्यक्ष-नियोग-नियुक्ताः (=सर्वे आधिकरणिकाः) आज्ञप्ति-भटाः

1 Possibly णं was intended. Note however that at p. 242, *arogi* and *arogiya* for Sanskrit *ārogya* are both used in the same record.

2 In the left margin a little below the level of l. 28.

3 Possibly वा or तु was intended.

4 The reading is not beyond doubt; for Sanskrit खमुखाज्ञप्त, cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 100, n. 3 ; *supra*, p. 377, n. 1 ; *infra*, No. 67, l. 32.

5 Read वेणहु० as in line 12.

6 *I.e.*, in the village-group called Ākāśapadra in the neighbourhood of Bhākā, Lakshā and Uprakā situated in the northern part of the district called Nāndikaṭa. "Situated on the northern road running to Nāndikaṭa" does not appear to be quite satisfactory. Cf. गोवधनाहारे दक्षिणमगे and गोवधनाहारे पुवमगे in *supra*, Bk. II, No. 87.

शेषक-सचरत्क-कुलपुत्राः भणितव्याः (=वक्तव्याः)।—"अस्माभिः इदानीम् आत्मनः विजय-वैजयिकं (=विजयलाभाय) आयुर्बल-वार्द्धनिकं (=०वृद्धये) स्वस्ति-शान्ति-वाचनं (=आशी-र्मङ्गलार्थम्) ऐहामुष्मिकम् (=ऐहिक-पारत्रिकमङ्गलाय) धर्मस्थाने अत्र ग्रामे आथर्वणिक-चरणस्य आर्द्धकम् (=आथर्वण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितं आकाशपद्रकग्रामस्य अर्द्धभागः) भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय सीत्वार्याय, कापिञ्जल-सगोत्राय रुद्रार्याय, श्राविष्ठायन-सगोत्राय भर्त्तृदेवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय देश्वार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विष्णवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विध्यार्याय, पैप्पलादि-सगोत्राय पित्रार्याय, भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय चन्द्रार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय ज्येष्ठार्याय पटैः द्विभिः (=एकैकस्मै पटद्वयम् इति क्रमेण); भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय बुद्धार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय भद्रिलार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय शिवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय हिरण्यार्याय [च एकैकस्मै पटमात्रम् इति क्रमेण]; एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः भागाः त्रयः ३ (=ग्रामार्द्धस्य त्रिभागं दत्तं); कौशिक-सगोत्राय रेवत्यार्याय भागः चतुर्थः [ग्रामार्द्धस्य]; इति आचन्द्रादित्यकालकम् अपूर्वदत्त्या (=अपूर्वदत्तस्य दानविधिना) दत्तम्। पूर्वराजानुमतम् अस्य चातुर्वेद्यग्राम-मर्यादा-परिहारं (=चतुर्वेदि-ब्राह्मणाधिष्ठित-ग्रामोचित-परिहारं) वितरामः। तद्यथा अ-राष्ट्रसां-विनयिकम्, अ-लवण-क्रिण्ण-खातकम्, अ-हिरण्य-ध्यान्य-प्रणय-प्रदेयम्, अ-पुष्पक्षीर ग्रहणम्, अ-परम्परा-गोबलीवर्दम्, अ-वार-सिद्धिकम्, अ-चर्माङ्गारकम्, अ-भटप्रवेशम् अ-खट्टा-चोल्लक-वैनाशिकम्, अ-करदम्, अवहम्, सनिधि, सोपनिधि, स-कुतपान्तं (?), स-मब-महाकरणं सर्वजाति-परिहार-परिहृतं च।[1] यतः उपरिलिखित-शासन-वादं (=लेखं)

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1 "We grant for this land exemptions which are in accordance with customs followed in granting villages to Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, and which have been approved of by former kings. They are : not to be controlled as other parts of the kingdom (p. 193, n. 1 ; usually rendered as "no interference by the district police"); no boring of trees like the palmyra for salt and moist substances (liquor, sugar) ; no benevolence in the shape of money or corn to be paid to the royal treasury; no flower and milk to be taken on behalf of the king ; no cow for milk and bullock for cart in succession are to be supplied to the royal officers on tour ; no obligation to them regarding the completion of duty in turn ; no obligation to them regarding the supply of hide-seat and charcoal ; no entry for soldiers ; no obligation regarding supply of cots, cooking pots and fuel(?) to touring officers ; no rent to be paid to the king; no obligation regarding carrying loads free of charge; with the right of enjoying hidden treasures and deposits; together with fields on the borders with *kuśa* grass(?) and with big fields having elevated shades; the grant is exempted by all kinds of exemptions." For a discussion on the *parihāras*, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 186ff; 192ff; *infra*, p. 413, n. 6 ; Mirashi, *Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, p. 22ff.

प्रमाणं कृत्वा (=मत्त्वा) [एतद्दानं] रक्ष, रक्षय ; परिहर, परिहारय । यः तु आबाधां कुर्यात्, [आबाधा-करणं] कर्त्तव्यं [वा] अनुमन्यते, तस्य एतैः उपरिलिखितैः ब्राह्मणैः परिज्ञापिते [सति] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं (=दण्डेन शासनं) [वयं] कुर्यामः" इति । संवत्सरः सप्तविंशः २७, हेमन्त-पक्षः प्रथमः, दिवसः [पञ्चमः] ५ (=मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । स्वमुखाज्ञप्तिः । लिखितम् इदं शासनं सेनापतिना[1] विष्णुना ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 60—Pooṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā—Regnal Year 13[2]

Poonā,[3] Pooṇā Dist., Bombay Pres.

K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Nail-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class (but with some Northern peculiarities) of the fifth century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक)

TEXT[4]

Seal

a वाकाटक-ललामस्य

b [क्र]म-प्राप्त-नृपश्रिय(:*) [।*]

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1 Some of the Vākāṭaka *senāpatis* (generals) possibly acted as provincial governors.

2 This year apparently refers to the regency (cf. ins. on the seal) of Prabhāvatī Guptā after the death of her husband and during the minority of her eldest son Divākarasena who was more than 13 years of age about this time. He possibly died early. It is not known if the author called Yuvarāja Divākara, mentioned in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*, is the same as this prince.

3 The plates were found with a copper-smith of Poona, who originally belonged to Ahmednagar. They appear to have been preserved in his family for several generations.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

c **जनन्या युवराजस्य**

d शासनं रिपु-शास[न](*) [॥*] **1**

First Plate

दृष्टम् [॥*][1]

1 सिद्धम् [॥*] जितं भगवता[2] [।*] स्वस्ति **नान्दिवर्द्धना**दासी**द्गुप्ता**दि-रा[जो][3]
[म]ह[ाराज]-

2 श्री**घटोत्कच**स्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**स्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-

3 (ऽ*)नेकाश्वमेध-याजी[4] लिच्छवि-दौहित्रौ[5] महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो

4 महाराजाधिराज-श्री**समुद्रगुप्त**स्तत्पत्पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीतः[6]

5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व-राजोच्छेत्ता[7] चतुरुदधि-सलिलास्वादित-

6 यशा नेक[8]-गो-हिरण्य-कोटी-सहस्र-प्रद≍परम-भागवतो महारा-

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1 In the left margin on the level between ll. 3-4. Cf. दिठं in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*infra*, Nos. 64-65).

2 This Vaishnavite expression is found at the beginning of many records of this age. Cf. also the verse: जितं भगवता तेन विष्णुना यस्य वक्षसि । श्रीस्स्वयं भाति देवश्च नाभिपद्मे पितामहः ॥ at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant. The Vākāṭakas were Saivas; Rudrasena II accepted Vaishnavism after his matrimonial alliance with the devout Vaishṇava Chandra Gupta II. The popularity of Vaishṇavism in India about the 5th century A. D. seems to have been largely due to this Gupta king.

3 This passage has been translated as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first king." The translation is wrong in view of the corresponding passage गुप्तानामादिराजः in the Riddhapur grant of the same queen. Better नन्दिवर्द्धनात् ॥ आसी०. Nāndivardhana has been identified with modern Nāgardhan in Nāgpur Dist., C. P. Nāgardhan however may be an old Nāgavardhana.

4 It is hardly credible that Samudra Gupta performed many Aśvamedhas. Note that the usual epithets of Samudra Gupta have been wrongly applied to the name of his son. This shows that the Gupta genealogy in the Vākāṭaka records is carelessly drawn.

5 Read दौहित्रो.

6 Read ०स्तत्सत्पुत्रो०.

7 Read राजोच्छेत्ता.

8 Read नैक or अनेक.

7 जाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य दुहिता[1] धारण-सगोत्रा[2] **नाग**-कुल-सम्भू-

8 ताया(*) श्री-महादेव्या(*) **कुबेरनागा**यामुत्पन्नोभय-कुलालङ्कार-भूतात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्ता

9 **वाकाटकानां** महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-

10 श्रीदिवाकरसेन-जननी श्री-**प्रभावतिगुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठा**हारे

Second Plate

11 **विलवणक**स्य पूर्व-पार्श्वे **शीर्षग्राम**स्य दक्षिण-पार्श्वे **कदापिञ्जन**स्यापर-पार्श्वे

12 **सिदिविवरक**स्योत्तर-पार्श्वे **उङ्गुणग्रामे**[3] ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिन×कुशल-

13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथैष ग्र.मो(ऽ*)स्माभि[4] स्व-पुण्या-प्यायना[र्थं]

14 कार्त्तिक-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या(*) **भगवत्पाद**-मूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य्य-चनालस्वामिने-(ऽ*)पूर्व्व-

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1 This record proves beyond doubt that the queen's father Deva Gupta, mentioned in other grants, should be identified with Chandra Gupta II and not with Deva Gupta of the Later Gupta dynasty as suggested by earlier scholars.

2 It is interesting that the queen refers to her paternal *Gotra* instead of the *Gotra* of her husband's family. Injunctions contained in late Bengal works like the महानिर्वाणतन्त्र (XII, 75: विवाहानन्तरं नारी पतिगोत्रेण गोत्रिणी) therefore were not binding in the early period at least in all parts of India. Cf. Raghunandana's *Udvāhatattva* quoting Laghuhārita, स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे। पति-गोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddhaviveka* quoting Brihaspati(?) पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारकाः। भर्त्तुर्गोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकं ततः ॥ But Kātyāyana संस्थितायान्तु भार्यायां सपिण्डीकरणान्तकम्। पैतृकं भजते गोत्रमूर्द्ध्वन्तु पतिपैतृकम् ॥ Again Garuḍa P. (Uttara, 21. 22) ब्राह्मयादिषु विवाहेषु या वधूरिह संस्कृता। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्या पिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥ आसुरादिविवाहेषु या व्यूढा कन्यका भवेत। तस्यास्तु पितृगोत्रेण कुर्यात् पिण्डोपकक्रियाम् ॥ Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and others quoting Manu (?) विवाहे चैव निवृत्ते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु। एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ चतुर्थीहोममन्त्रेण तद्मांसहृदयैन्द्रियैः। भर्त्रा संयुज्यते पत्नी तद्गोत्रा तेन सा भवेत ॥ Prabhāvatī also uses the cognomen of her father's family. She was possibly an elder sister of Kumāra Gupta I (414-55 A.D.).

3 Pathak and Dikshit : दङ्गुण ग्रामे.

4 The correction ०स्माभिः is unnecessary, as the *visarga* is elided according to the *vārttika* खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः (Pān., VIII, 3, 36).

15 दत्त्या[1] उदक-पूर्व्वमतिसृष्टो[2] यतो भवाद्भिरुचितमर्य्यादया[3] सर्व्वाज्ञा×कर्त्तव्या(:*) [।*] पूर्व्व-

16 राज्ञानुमता[ ]श्चाल[4] चातुर्विद्याग्रहार-परीहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभट-छत्र-प्रावेश्यः[5]

17 अ-चारासन-चर्म्माङ्गार-क्लिण्व-के णि-खानक[:][6] अ-पा(र*)म्पर(:*) अ-[पशु]मेध्यः [7]अ-पुष्प-क्षीरसन्दोहः

18 स-निधिस्सोपनिधिस्स-कृष्णोपकृष्णः[8] [।*] नदेष भविष्यद्राजिभिस्संरक्षितव्य(:*)[9] परिवर्द्ध-

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1 दत्ति=gift ; अपूर्व्वदत्त्या=according to the custom relating to gift of things that were not previously granted.

2 Better read सृष्टः । यतो.

3 Read भव०. 4 Read राजा०.

5 Read ०रामः । तद्यथाभटच्छा०. Possibly no soldier and no umbrella-bearer (or attendant) of officers was allowed entrance into the village. छात्र=policeman (by *lakshaṇā*), according to Mirashi.

6 Better ०चर्माङ्गारः अ-लवणक्लिण्व०. क्लिण्व-के णि=moist commodity. के णि= purchase ; here, a marketable object. This refers to the custom of boring certain trees for *audbhijja* salt, liquor and sugar. चारासन=pasturage (Fleet) ; but. चार= moving about (cf. पार of some records=free ferrying), and आसन=encamping. This may refer to the king's travelling agents. According to Mirashi. चार=grass for the horses of touring officers; आसनचर्मन्=hides for their seats; अङ्गार=charcoal for their cooking. Possibly we have to suggest अपरंपरावलोवर्द्द-ग्रहण.

7 पशुमेध्य in an instance of the *mayūravyaṃsakādi samāsa*. This refers to the custom of taking on the king's part animals like goats, from the village granted, for sacrificial purposes.

8 Read ०कृष्णोपकृष्णः । तदेष. कृष्ण is possibly a fixed tax (one of the 7 sources of income according to the *Arthaśāstra*). It may also be the sale tax, कृष्णिक meaning "purchased". According to Mirashi this is the same as सोद्रङ्गःसोपरिकरः, "with major and minor taxes." *Nidhi* means "wealth, the owner of which is not known". See *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, III, 36-39. As in the record निधि and उपनिधि are mentioned separately, the former would mean the more valuable of the unclaimed wealth. For the other terms, see p. 410 and *infra*.

9 Read ०द्राजभि०.

19 यितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यत्राबाधा(*) कुर्य्यात्कारयीत[1] वा

20 तस्य ब्राह्मणरावेदितस्य[2] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्य्याम [।*] व्यास-गितश्चात्र[3] श्लोको भवति [।*]

21 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता(*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*]
गवा(*) शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम् [॥*] 2

22 संवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे[4] लिखितमिद(*) शासनम [।*] चक्रदासेनोत्कट्टितम् [॥*]

No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription [of Prabhavatī Guptā] of the time of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19[5]

RITHPUR (Riddhapura), Amraoti Dist., Berar.

Y. R. GUPTE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX, 58ff.

Language : Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the fifth century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[6]

First Plate

1 [१*] जित(*) भगवता ॥ रामगिरिस्वामिन≍पादमूलादुद्धान(।*)मादि-[7]

2 राजो महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्तो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्र-

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1 Read ०रयेत.

2 Read ब्राह्मणै०.

3 Read गीत०.

4 Read त्रयोदशे and शासनम्. उत्कट्टित=engraved.

5 Note that this record is later in date than *infra*, No. 62.

6 From the facsimile in *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., XX.

7 Rāmagirisvāmin may have been the same as the god at modern Rāmtek near Nāgpur.

3 **गुप्त**[1] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीत[2]-लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो[3]

4 महादेव्या(*) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-श्री**समुद्रगुप्त**स्तस्य[4] पुत्र-

5 स्तत्पादानुद्ध्याता न्यायागतानेकगो-हिरण्यकोटिसहस्र-प्रदस्सर्व्व-राजो-

Second Plate: First Side

6 च्छेत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ≍परमभागवतो महादेव्या(*) **दत्तदेव्या**मु-

7 त्पनो[5] महाराजाधिराज-श्री**चन्द्रगुप्त**स्तस्य दुहिता **धारण**-सगोत्रा

8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(*) **कुबेरानाग**देव्यामुत्पन्ना[6] उभय-कुलाल-

9 ङ्कारभुता[7] **वाकाटकाना**(*) महाराज-श्री**रुद्रसेन**स्याग्रमहिषी

10 **वाकाटकाना**म्महाराज-श्री-**दामोदरसेन-प्रवरसेन**-जननी[8] भगव-

11 त्पादानुद्ध्याता साग्र-वर्ष-शत(ा*) दीव-पुत्र-पौत्रा[8] श्र(ी*)-महादेवी **प्रभ(ा*)वती**-

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1 Read ०गुप्तस्तस्य. 2 Better ०गृहीतो लि०.

3 Gupte: दोहित्रो. 4 Read ०मुत्पन्नो.

4 Note that Samudra Gupta is called a Mahārāja against the evidence of genuine Gupta records. See p. 412, n. 3.

5 Read कुबेर०. उभयकुल refers to the families of the father and the husband.

6 It may be suggested that Dāmodarasena was another name of Pravarasena II; but it is better to take them as different and as brothers. Dāmodarasena may have died earlier and may have been succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena. But since Divākarasena is not mentioned the claim of the queen-mother seems to be pointless, if both of them were not living at this time. It is not impossible that the brothers were ruling over different parts of the kingdom at the same time, but as the land granted fell in the kingdom of Pravarasena his regnal year was recorded. Reference to some territorial divisions of the Vākāṭaka kingdom as *rājya*, the fact that there was at least a colateral line ruling from Vatsagulma and the Purāṇic reference to the (simultaneous?) rule of the four sons of Pravīra (=Pravarasena I) possibly suggest that the Vākāṭaka kingdom was sometimes partitioned. Note that even when mentioned side by side, the Gupta kings are called **महाराजाधिराज**, but the Vākāṭaka kings merely **महाराज**. This shows that the alliance of the Vākāṭakas with the Guptas was a subsurvient one. Expansion of Gupta influence in the south is evidenced by the existence of the line of Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttala in Dharwar Dist., the story of the connection of a daughter of Chandra Gupta II with Śrīśaila and the Satara hoard of more than thousand coins of Kūmāra Gupta I. 7 Read भूता.

8 Possibly जीव-पुत्र-पौत्रा. But what about Divākarasena? Gupte reads दिव० and पोत्रा. Note that at the time of the record Prabhāvatī's age was more than 100 years.

Second Plate: Second Side

12 गुप्ता कौशिकमार्ग्ग[1] अश्वत्थनगरे सब्रह्म-पुरेग-ग्र(।*)म-महत्तरा(ः*)श्च[2]

13 कुशलमुक्ता सम(।*)ज्ञापय(ि*)त [।*] ऐहिकामुष्मिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थ[3]

14 पराशर-सगोत्राणा(ं*) त्तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मणानामप्य(त्र*)[4] पुत्रापुत्राणा[ं][5]

15 अभ्यन्तर-पुर-निवेशने(न*) सह कर्षक-निवेशनानि च चत्वार[6]

16 भुक्ताकाभोग-क्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व्वं(ं*) शासनेनो सतिबद्धं[7] [।*] उचितांश्चास्य

17 पूर्व्वराजानुमतांश्चातुर्व्वेद्य-ग्राम-मर्य्यादा(परिहारा*)न्वितरामस्तथा

Third Plate: First Side

18 अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छ(।*)त्र-प्रावेश्य(ः*) अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दोह(ः*)[8] अ-चारा-

19 सन-चर्म्माङ्गार(ः*) अ-लवण-क्लिन्न[9]-के णि-ख(।*)नक[ः] सर्व्व-विष्टि-परिहारा-[10]

20 परिहृत(ः*) सनिधानं सोपनिधानं[11] स-क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तमाचन्द्रा-

21 दित्य-कालीय(ः*) पुत्र-पौत्रानुगामी[12] [।*] भुञ्जता(ं*) न केनचिद्व्याघात-

22 ×कर्त्तव्य[ः] सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्य≍परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चस्मा-[13]

23 च्छासनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा(ं*) कुर्य्यात्कारयेत वा तस्य

Third Plate: Second Side

24 ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य स-दण्ड-निग्रहं करिष्यामः [।*] अस्मि(ं*)श्च धर्म्मादर-

25 करणे अनीतानेक-राज-दत्ता-सञ्चि(ं*)तन-परिपालनं[14] पुन्यानुकीर्त्तन-

26 परिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम[ः] [।*] सङ्कल्पाधियोग-पराक्रमोपजि-

27 तान्वर्त्तमानामाज्ञापयामः[15] [।*] व्यास-गीतश्चात्र श्लोक≍प्रमाणं [।*]

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1 Gupte: कोशिक. Read मार्गे. Aśvatthanagara (identified with Asatpur in Ellichpur Dist., Berar) was situated in the region called Kauśika, possibly named after a river. मार्ग here possibly does not mean a road (p. 409, n. 6).

2 Read ब्राह्मण-पुरोग. ह्म was originally engraved. 3 Read ०यनार्थं.

4 Gupte: तैत्तिरिय०. अभ्यन्तरपुर=अन्तःपुर. ०निवेशन=a house complete with an inner appartment. Read चत्वारि. 5 Read सपुत्र-पौत्राणाम्.

6 Read भुक्तकाभोगक्षेत्र० (field that they already enjoy; cf. भुक्त-भोग) (No. 71, ll. 19-20).

7 Read शासनेन प्रतिबद्धम्. 8 Gupte: सन्दौह. 9 Read क्लिन्न.

10 Read विष्टि-परिहार. 11 The same as सनिधिः सोपनिधिः. Read ०पक्ल०.

12 Read ०पौत्रा०. 13 Read यश्चास्मच्छा०. See p. 384, n. 7.

14 Read अतीता०, दत्त and पुण्या०. 15 Read ०तानवर्त्तमानाना (No. 71, ll. 19-20).

28 स्वदत्ता(ं*) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]

गवां शत-सहस्रस्य

29 हन्तु≍पिबति दुष्कृतमिति[1] ॥ **1**

वाकाटकाना(ं*) महाराज-श्रीप्रवर-

Fourth Plate

30 **सेनस्य** राज्य-प्रशासत[2] **सव्वत्सरे एकुनविंशतिमे** कार्त्तिक-मा-

31 स-शुक्लपक्ष-द्वादश्या(ं*) [।*] दुतक देवनन्दस्वामी[3] [।*] लीखिता

32 प्रभुसिङ्हेन[4] [॥*]

No. 62—Chammak[5] Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II—Regnal year 18

CHAMMAK, Ellichpur (Ilichpur) Dist., Berar.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 116ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 239ff; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 236ff.

Language : Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 5th century A. D.

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[6]

Seal

a **वाकाटक**-ललामस्य

b क्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः [।*]

c राज्ञ≍**प्रवरसेन**स्य

d शासनं रिपु-शासनं [॥*] **1**

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1 Better दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ॥

2 Read राज्यं प्रशासतः (or राज्य-प्रशासन०) संवत्सरे (or सव्वँत्-सरे) एकोन-विंशतितमे. The form विंशतिम (as also similar forms found in the Prakrit records) can be supported if we suggest विंशतिः मा (=मानं) यस्य सः=विंशतिमः.

3 Gupte: वेवन्दस्वामी. Read दूतको.

4 Read लिखिता and ०सिंहेन. Gupte: लिखितं.

5 Bühler edited this record under the name of Ilichpur (Ellichpur) grant.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

First Plate

1 दृष्टं[1] [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] **प्रवरपुरा**दग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यातिरात्र-[2]

2 वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन-

3 वि[ष्णुवृ]द्ध-सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ट्]-**वाकाटकानां**[3] महाराज-श्र-**प्रवरसेनस्य**[4]

4 सूनोः सूनोः[5] अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मि**महाभैरव**-भक्तस्य अ(*)स-भार-सन्तिवेशि-[6]

5 त-**शिवलि[ङ्गो]**द्वहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राजव(*)शा-

Second Plate: First Side

6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-**भागीरथ्या**मल-जल-मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशा-[7]

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1 Fleet suggested that the word is a contraction of दृष्टं भगवता. The occurrence of the word in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti, etc., however shows beyond doubt that it signifies, "seen" i.e. "sanctioned" or "examined".

2 The usual form of the name of this sacrifice is अतिरात्र. The *agnishṭoma* (lit. "praise of Agni") was a protracted sacrifice extending over 5 days in spring and forming a part of the Jyotishṭoma which was the principal sacrifice connected with the Soma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyotishṭoma were the *āptoryāma, ukthya, shoḍaśin, atirātra* and *vājapeya* ceremonies. *Atyagnishṭoma*, the seventh or last part of the Jyotishṭoma, is not mentioned in the text. The *Bṛihaspatisava* sacrifice in honour of the preceptor of gods lasted for one day. Sādyaskra seems to be the same as Sadyaskriyā, an one-day soma sacrifice, mentioned in *Aś. śr. sūt.*, IX, 6.

3 Read ०याजिनो विष्णु० and सम्राड्वाकाटकानां. Note that Pravarasena I was a *samrāṭ*. The passage seems to mean "belonging to the family of the Vākāṭakas who had been emperors."

4 Read श्री.

5 सूनोः सूनोः=पौत्रस्य. Bhandarkar suggests that Gautamīputra and not Rudrasena I was the grandson of Pravarasena I (as also of Bhavanāga). Note however that the Vākāṭaka genealogy is drawn on the pattern of the Gupta genealogy as found in the Gupta records. The position of Rudrasena I in this draft is exactly the same as that of Samudra Gupta in the Gupta draft, the only difference being that while the Gupta records observe the rules of *sandhi* and *samāsa*, these have usually ignored them. Bhandarkar's theory does not explain why the son of Pravarasena I is not mentioned. The mother of Gautamīputra again appears to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama-gotra and not to that of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. Note that Gautamīputra is not called वाकाटकानां महाराज.०

6 Read सन्नि०. शिवसुपरितुष्ट=शिवसुपरितोष. 7 Read ०रथ्यमल and मूर्द्धा०.

7 श्वमेधावभृथ-स्नातानाम्भारशिवानां[1] महाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दौ-

8 हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसे-

9 नस्य सूनोरत्यन्त-माहेश्वरस्य[2] सत्यार्ज्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य्य-विक्रम-न-

10 य-विनय-माहात्म्याधिमत्व[3]-पारागत[4]-भक्तीत्व[5]-धर्म्मवीजयीत्व-[6]

Second Plate: Second Side

11 मनोनैर्म्माल्यादि-[गुणै]स्समुपेतस्य[7] वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-

12 दण्ड-साधन-सन्तान[8]-पुत्र-पौत्रिणः युधि स्थिर-वृत्तेर्व्वाकाटका-[9]

13 नां महाराज-श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेरप्रसा-

14 दोपार्ज्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य[10] वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेन-[11]

15 सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

Third Plate: First Side

16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्तस्य[12] शम्भोरप्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्तयुगस्य

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1 Fleet reads स्नाना०. The *avabhṛtha* bath was taken after the completion of the sacrifice. The Bhāraśivas were possibly Nāgas (cf. the name Bhavanāga). Their kingdom seems to have bordered on the Bhāgirathī(=Ganges). Jayaswal's suggestion that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ at Benares, is problematical. All his other suggestions regarding the importance of the Vākāṭaka imperial power in North Indian politics (see his *History of India*, 150-350) are unconvincing.

2 Read ०रत्यन्त. Properly गौतमीपुत्र-पुत्रस्य. 3 Read ०धिकत्व.

4 The engraver originally made हि which was then made पा by cancelling the *i*-sign and the right curve of ह.

5 Read भक्तित्व.

6 Read विजयित्व. 7 Read नैर्म्मल्या०.

8 Read सन्तान. Possibly Pṛithivīsheṇa lived for more than 100 years.

9 Read वृत्ते०.

10 The engraver first formed ज्जि which was corrected to र्ज्जि.

11 Properly रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो०. Note that the epithets immediately before this name belong to Rudrasena II and not to his son, as the *samāsa* would suggest.

12 Read ०पन्नस्य. धृति=धारण ; कार्त्तयुग=सत्ययुगीयवत.

17 **वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वर-महाराज-श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य** वचना(द्*)

18 **भोजकट-राज्ये**[1] **मधुनदि-तटे**[2] **चर्म्माङ्क**-नाम ग्र(ा*)मः[3] राजमानिक-भूमी-[4]

19 सहस्रैरष्टाभिः ८०००[5] **शत्रुघ्नराज-पुत्र-कोण्डराज**विज्ञप्तया[6] नाना-गो-

20 त्र-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय दत्तः [॥*]

Third Plate : Second Side

21 यतो(ऽ*)स्मत्सन्तका(ः*) सर्व्वाद्धयक्षाधियोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सम्ब(ा*)रि-कुलपुत्राधिकृता

22 भटाच्छात्राश्च[7] विश्रुत-पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-

23 हास्माकम्मनो[8]-धर्म्मायुर्व्वल-विजयैश्वर्य्य-विवृद्धये[9] इहामुत्र-हिता-

24 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके[10] धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या[11] उदकपूर्व्व-

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1 Apparently the district round Chammak ; roughly speaking the mod. Ellichpur Dist. Note the word **राज्य**. This suggests that some of the territorial divisions in the Vākāṭaka kingdom were called **राज्य**, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage; or, because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation. If Bhojakaṭarājya was under the local ruler Śatrughnarāja or Koṇḍarāja, the Senāpati Chitravarman was some thing like a High Commissioner.

2 Read **नदी**.

3 **ङ्का** was originally engraved, but the *ā*-sign was afterwards cancelled.

4 Read **भूमि**. The word seems to indicate either a plot of land or the standard land-measure (*Nivarttana*?).

5 Supply **परिमितः** or some such word.

6 Read **शत्रुघ्न°**. **सहस्राय=वर्षसहस्राय** (No. 65, l. 51). The number of the Brāhmaṇas may also have been thousand.

7 Read **भटाश्छा°**. Properly, **°स्मत्सत्काः**. Better **°ज्ञापयितव्याः । विदित°**.

8 Fleet corrected the passage into **यथैव आत्मनो**. It is however alright with **मनः** meaning "faculty of judgment."

9 Read **°युर्व्वल**.

10 Read **वैजयिके**.

11 Read **दत्त्या**.

25 मतिसृष्टः [।*] अथास्योचितां पूर्व्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्व्वेद्य-ग्राम-म-

26 र्य्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा[1] अकरदायी[2] अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेश्य(:*)[2]

Fourth Plate: First Side

27 अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द्द(:*)[3] अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सदोह[4] अ-च(।*)रा-

28 सन-चर्म्माङ्गार(:*)[5] अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-वक्केणि-खनक(:*) सर्व्व-वेष्टि-परि-[6]

29 हार- परीहृतः[7] स-निधिस्सोपनिधिः स-क्रिप्तोपक्रिप्तः[8]

30 आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र(।*)नुगमकः [।*] भु[ं]जतां न के-

31 नचि(द्*) व्याघातं[9] कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्स(ं*)रक्षितव्य≍परवर्द्धयि-

32 तव्श्च[10] [।*] यश्चायं[11] शासनमगणयमानो[12] स्वल्प(।*)मपि (प*)रिबाधा[ं][13]

Fourth Plate: Second Side

33 [कु]र्य्यात्कारयिता[14] वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-वरुड-निग्रहं[15] कुर्य्या-

34 मः [।*] अस्मि(ं*)श्च धर्म्मावर-करणे[16] अतितानेक-राज-दत्त-सबिन्नन-[17]

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1 Read मर्य्यादां वितराम०.

2 Originally यै was engraved, but was afterwards corrected into यौ.

3 Read बली०. See p. 413, n. 6.

4 See p. 410, n.

5 Read सन्दोहः.

6 Read विष्टि (=forced labour).

7 Read परिहृतः.

8 Read सक्रमोपक्रमः. See p. 413, n. 9.

9 Read व्याघातः.

10 Read परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च.

11 Read यश्चेदं.

12 Read ०मानः or ०मान०.

13 After this, कु (of the word कुर्य्या०) was first engraved and then cancelled.

14 Read कुर्य्यात्कारयेत.

15 Read दण्ड and कुर्याम.

16 Some records read धर्मादरकरणे which is better. Fleet translates: "and in this document which has at least the merit of religion", taking करण in the sense of document (cf. करणिक, scribe). The Siwani grant nas धर्म्माधिकरणे=in this subject matter of religion (Fleet). The king however means to say that he would not refer to the merits of considering and protecting the grants of the past kings as he has himself done that and that he would not thus dilate upon his own merits indirectly.

17 Read अतीता० and दत्त-सञ्चिन्तन.

35 परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-परीहारार्थं न कीर्त्त्यामः [॥*]

36 व्यास-गीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ[1] प्रमानिकर्त्तव्यौ[2] [।*]

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां[3]

37 व्वा[4] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*]

गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तु-[5]

Fifth Plate : First Side

38 हरति दुष्कृतं [॥*] **2**

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि[6] स्वर्गे मोदति भू-

39 मिदः [।*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च[7] तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[8] [॥*] **3**

40 शशासन-स्थितिश्चेयं[9] ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया तथथा राज्ञां स-

41 ग्राम्ने राज्ये[10] अद्रोह-प्रवृत्तानां[11] ब्रह्मघ्न-चौर-पारदारिक-राजा-[12]

42 पथ्यकारि-प्रभृतिनां[13] सङ्ग्रा[।]म(*) कुर्व्वतां[14] अन्य-ग्रामेष्वन- ॥[15]

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1 श्लोकौ looks like भौकौ on the plate.

2 Read प्रमाणी°. The engraver first formed ≍ प्र.

3 Read दत्ताम्परदत्तां.

4 Read वा. The duplication of व is due to the rule वा पदान्तस्य

5 Read हन्तु° 6 Read सहस्राणि.

7 Originally च or च्छ was engraved.

8 Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

9 Read शासन.

10 Cf. स्वाम्यमात्य-सुहृत्कोशो राष्ट्र-दुर्ग-बलानि च which are the 7 *aṅgas* or constituents of a State according to Amara.

11 Read प्रवृत्तानां.

12 चौरा was at first engraved. Fleet is inclined to supply अ before ब्रह्मघ्न and संग्राम-कु°.

13 Read प्रभृतीनां (=प्रभृतिभिः). 14 Read कुर्व्वतामन्य.

15 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

Fifth Plate : Second Side

43 पर(।*)द्धानां आचन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः [।*] अतो(ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्व्वतामनुमोदतां वा[1]

44 राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्व्वन्तः अ-स्तेयमिति[2] [॥*] प्रातिग्राहिणश्चात्र[3]

45 वार-नियुत्ताः[4] [।*] शाट्यायनः[5]गणार्य्यः वात्स्य-देवार्य्यः भारद्वाज-

46 कुमारशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) पाराशर्य्य-गुहशर्म्मा काश्यप-देव(।*)र्य्यः महेश्वरार्य्य(:*)[6]

47 मात्रार्य्य(:*) कौण्डिन्य-रुद्रार्य्य(:*)[7] सोमार्य्य(:*) हरिशर्म्मार्य्य(:*)

Sixth Plate : First Side

48 भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्म्म[ा]र्य्य(:*) कौण्डिन्य-मातृशर्म्मा[8] वरशर्म्म(।*)

49 गोण्डशर्म्मा नागशर्म्मा भारद्वा(ज*)-शान्तिशर्म्मा रुद्रशर्म्मा वात्स्यः[9]

50 भोजक[दे]वार्य्य(:*) मघशर्म्मा देवशर्म्मा भारद्वाज-मोक्षशर्म्म[ा]

51 [ना*]गशर्म्मा रेवतिशर्म्मा धर्म्मार्य्य(:*) भारद्वाज-शर्म्मार्य्य(:*)

52 नन्दनार्य्य(:*) मूलशर्म्मा । ईश्वरशर्म्मा । वरशर्म्मा

Sixth Plate : Second Side

53 वात्स्य-स्कन्दार्य्य(:*)[10] भारद्वाज-वप्पार्य्य(:*) धर्म्मार्य्य आत्रेय-स्कन्दार्य्य(:*)

54 गौतम-सोमशर्म्मार्य्य(:*) भतृशर्म्मा[11] रुद्रश(र्म्मा*)र्य्य(:*) मघार्य्य(:*) मातृ-

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1 The engraver first formed व्वा.

2 Read कुर्वतः. "And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and by (future) lords; namely (that the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇas) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of 7 constituent parts, of (successive) kings; that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmaṇas, thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, etc.; and that they do no wrong to other villages. But if they act otherwise, or assent (to such acts), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

3 Read प्रतिग्रा°. ग्वा was originally formed and was then corrected into ग्रा.

4 Read नियुक्ताः ; cf. p. 362, n. 4. 5 Better °यन-गणा°.

6 र्य्य stands below the line only a little above the next line.

7 Read कौण्डिन्य. 8 Read कौण्डिन्य-मातृ°. 9 Better वात्स्य°.

10 Read वात्स्य. 11 Read भर्तृ°.

55 शर्म्माय्यं(:*) ईश्वरशर्म्माय्यं(:*) गौतमसगोत्र-मातृशर्म्मा-

56 य्यं(:*) कौण्डिन्य-देवशर्म्माय्यं(:*)[1] वरशर्म्माय्यं(:*) रोहाय्यं(:*)

Seventh Plate

57 गौतमसगोत्र-स्वामिदे(वा*)य्यं(:*) रेवतिशर्म्माय्यं(:*)

58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्माय्यं(:*) शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्माय्यं(:*) स्वातिशर्म्मा-[2]

59 य्यं(:*) श(ा*)ण्डायण-काण्ड(ा*)य्य-प्रभृतयः [॥*] सेनापतौ

60 **चित्रवर्म्मणि संव्वत्सरे**(ऽ*)ष्टादश[3] १०(+*)८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-

61 पक्ष-त्रयोदश्या[*] शासनं लिखितमितिः[4] [॥*]

No. 63—Ajaṇṭā Cave Inscription of the time of Harisheṇa

Ajaṇṭā, (written *Ajaṇṭhā*, and pronounced *Ajiṇṭhā* by the local Marāṭhīs), Auraṅgābād Dist., Hydarābād State.

Bhagawanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of India*, p. 69; Burgess and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, IV, p. 124ff; V. V. Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940, No. 6, p. 41 ff; A. C. Biswas, *Ind. Cult.*, VII, p. 372 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of c. the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Vv. 1-2 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 3 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 5 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 6-9, a species of मालासमक according to Kielhorn,

1 Read कौण्डिन्य. 2 Read स्वाति० and शाट्यायन.

3 Read संवत्सरेऽष्टादशे or सम्वँत्सरे० (see p. 345, n. 4.) For the position of the *Senāpati*, cf. *supra*, p. 421, n. 1.

4 Read ०मिति.

but the गीतिका variety of मिश्रगण metres according to Venkatasubbia[1]; V. 10 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); v. 12 इन्द्रवज्रा; v. 13 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 14-15, उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 16 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 17 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 18 वंशस्थ; V. 19 अर्द्धसम-मालभरिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 20 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 21 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 22 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 23 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 24 वंशस्थ; V. 25 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 26 प्रहर्षिणी; Vv. 27-28 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक); V. 29 वसन्ततिलका; V. 30 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 31 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 32 मालिनी।

TEXT[2]

1 उदीर्ण्ण-लोकक्षय-दोषवह्नि-

निर्व्वापणो[3] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

⏑ — ⏑ — [बुद्धम?] भिप्रणम्य

पूर्व्वां प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वीं[म्] [॥*] **1**

2 महाविमर्द्देष्वभिवृद्ध-शक्तिः

कुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य्य-[शक्तिः ?] [।*]

[अनन्यसाधा?]रण-दान-शक्तिः[4]

द्विजप्रकाशो भुवि **विन्ध्यश[क्तिः]** [॥*] **2**

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1 For this metre, see *infra*, p. 450, n. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 26f. The restorations suggested are in many places doubtful.

2 From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, Plate LVII, and *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940. Many passages of the record cannot be read owing to the unsatisfactory state of its preservation. Bühler believed that it speaks of Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son (?) Rudrasena (?); his son Prithivīsheṇa; his son (?) Pravasena II (of No. 62), his son (name lost), his son Devasena, his son Harisheṇa. After the discovery of *supra*, No. 59, it appears to be very probable that the record belongs to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. We have here Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son Sarvasena, his son Pṛthivīsheṇa (?), his son Pravarasena, his son . . , his son Devasena, his son Harisheṇa.

3 णो looks like णि in the plate. 4 Read °शक्तिर्द्विज°.

3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र-सम-प्रभावः
स्वबाहुवीर्य्या[र्जि]त-[सर्व्वलोकः*] [।*]
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ [यशो]शुकानां
वभूव **वाकाटक**-वंश-के[तुः*][1] [॥*] **3**

4 रणे [स्व]हर्य्युत्थित-रेणु-जाल-
सञ्छादितार्क[ः] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]
[प्रनष्टसारानखिला?]नराती-
न्कृत्वाभिवाद-प्रवणा[ं]श्चकार [॥*] **4**

5 [विनि][र्जि]तारि[स्सुर]राजकार्य्य-
श्चकार पुरुषेषु परं प्रय[त्नम्*] [।*]
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **5**
[अरि*]-नरेन्द्र-मौलि-विन्यस्त-मणि-किरणलीढ-[क्रमाम्बुजः*] [।*]

6 **प्रवरसेन**स्तस्य पुत्रो(ऽ*)भूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षणः [॥*] **6**
रविमयूख-द * * * * * * * * * * * * [।*]

[**सर्व्वसेनः**][2] **प्रवरसेनस्य** जित-सर्व्वसेनस्सुतो(ऽ*)भवत् [॥*] **7**

7 [तस्य] पुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रश[शा]स धर्म्मेण मेदिनी[म्*] [।*]
कुन्तलेन्द्र[ः][3] नि[र्जित्य-श्री?]-[**पृ**]**थिवी**[**षेणो**][4][नयवांस्तदा?] [॥*] **8**

---

1 Read **वंश**.

2 Earlier scholars suggested **रुद्रसेनः** in place of **सर्व्वसेनः**.

3 Kuntala was in the heart of the Kanarese country, practically the same as the district round Banavāsi. A Kadamba king of Mayūraśarman's line is apparently indicated.

4 Earlier scholars like Bühler were inclined to read **विजित्य...पृथिवीषेण°**. Mirashi reads **विन्ध्यसेन** whom he identifies with Vindhyaśakti II of *supra*, No. 59. Biswas suggests **भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः**. The reading of Bühler however seems to be correct and to suggest that Vindhyaśakti II had a brother named Pṛithivīsheṇa.

प्रवरसे[नस्त]स्य[1] पुत्रो(ऽ*)भू-

त्प्रवरोर्जितोदार-शासन-[2]

≍प्रवर-

8 ... ...

... ... [॥*] **9**

[तस्यात्मज×कामत ?] — ⏑ — —

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ [म]वाप्य राज्य-

मष्टाब्दको य≍ प्रशशास सम्य[क्*] [॥*] **10**[3]

9 [त*]स्या[त्मजो](ऽ*)भून्नरदेव-[कल्पो ?]

[गुणैरतुल्यो ?] भुवि **देवसेनः**[4] [।*]

यस्योपभोगोल्ल[ं]लितैर्व्वि[चित्तै]?][5]

[र्नृ?]-देवराजस्य ⏑ — ⏑ — भूः [॥*] **11**

पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य [तस्य ?]

10 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

⏑ — ⏑ — [न्या?]य-गुणाधिवासो

[प्रवृद्ध?]-कोशो भुवि **हस्तिभोजः** [॥*] **12**

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1 Indraji: ०सेनस्य. This Pravarasena (son or brother's son of Vindhyaśakti II) is different from Pravarasena II (son of Rudrasena II) of *supra*, No. 62.

2 Read ०शासनः। प्रवर०.

3 The father of Devasena whose name is lost became king at his 8th year.

4 For a copper-plate inscription of this king issued from Vatsagulma (=Basim in Akola Dist.), see *New Ind. Ant.*, 1937. His minister was Hastibhoja.

5 Indraji: ०र्व्विपावनै०. The passage भुवि देवसेनः however suggests a metre of the Triṣṭubh type (and not of the Jagatī type) which would go against tha t reading. Of course a combination of Indravajrā and Vaṃśasthā is known from literature (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XV, p. 646).

प्र— ⏑ — ⏑ ≍ पृथुपीनवक्षा-

स्सरोरुहाक्ष≍क्षपि-

11 [तारिपक्षः*] [।*]

⏒ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ब[हु]-

र्दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव [॥*] **I3**

हितो विनीतः प्रणय-[प्रसिक्तो ?]

[म]नोनुकूलो(ऽ*)नुविधानव[र्त्ती] [।*]

[नि]रत्यय

12 — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ कश्च [॥*] **I4**

त[थै]व लोक[1] सुहिताशयत्वा-

त्सुखेन सम्य[क्प]रिपालनेन [।*]

[पितेव*] मातेव सखेव नित्यं

प्रियो(ऽ*)भिगम्यश्च बभूव

13 [गोप्ता ?] [॥*] **I5**

⏒ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏒ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [तुल्यम् ?] [।*]

स्वस्थस्समावेश्य स तत्र राजा

[सस]त्र भोगेषु यथेष्ट-चेष्टः [॥*] **I6**

अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-

14 [व राजा ?]

⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ [नीतिः ?] [।*]

हरि-राम-हर-स्मरे[न्दु?]-कान्ति-[2]

हैरिषेणो हरि-विक्रम-प्रतापः [॥*] **17**

स कुन्तलावन्ति-कलिङ्ग-कोसल-

त्रिकूट-लाटान्ध्र-

---

1 Read **लोके**.

2 **स्मरेन्द्र** is the reading of some scholars.

15 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ नैर्ऋ्ता-

नपि स्वनिर्देश ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [॥*] **18**

प्रथितो भुवि **हस्तिभोज**-सूनु-

स्सचिवस्तस्य महीपतेर्ब्बभुव [।*]

सकल-क्षिति

16 — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —[॥*] **19**

— — ⏑ जेष्ठ[1] स्थिर-धीर-चेता-

स्त्याग-क्षमौदार्य्य-गुणैरुपेत(:*) [।*]

धर्म्मेण धर्म्मप्रवणश्शशास

देशं यशःपुण्यगुणांशु-

17 [दीप्तम् ?] [॥*] **20**

⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

प्रति पुण्योपचयं परं चकार [।*]

यत ऊर्द्ध्वमद[स्सहायधर्म्मा]

[परितो **लोकगुरौ**] चकार कारा[न्?][2] [॥*] **21**

आयुर्व्वयो-वित्त-सखाणि[3]

18 — —

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ लानि [।*]

उ[द्दिश्य*] मातापितराबुदारं

न्यवोविशद्वेश्म यतीन्द्र-[सेव्यम्] [॥*] **22**

सजलाम्बुद [वृन्द-संस्थि?]ताग्रे

भुजगेन्द्राद्धयुषिते महीधरेन्द्रे [।*]

19 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ ⏑ — श्रीपतिना शरा निकुञ्जे [॥*] **23**

---

1 प्रचेष्ट ? For the omission of *visarga*, see p. 384, n. 7.

2 लोकगुरु=बुद्ध ; कार=पूजा. 3 सुखानि ?

गवाक्ष-निर्य्यूह-सुबोधि-वेदिका-

[सु]रेन्द्र-कन्या-प्रतिमाथलङ्कृतम् [।*]

मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-

20 [मेदुरं*]

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ र[1]-चैत्यमन्दिर[ं] [॥*] **24**

म — ⏑ — — तल-सन्निविष्ट-

वि[तान?]- — — ⏑ मनो[भि]रामं [।*]

⏑ — ⏑ — ब्धाम्बु-महानिधान[ं]

नागेन्द्र-वेश्मादिभिर-

21 ⏑ — — [॥*] **25**

[कल्पार्द्ध तु ?] सम(मी?)रणा ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]

ग्रीष्मार्क[ं]स्य च किरणोपता[प*]-त[प्त*]

सर्व्वर्त्तु-प्रथित-सुखोपभोगयोग[म्*] [॥*] **26**

22 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [सु]रेन्द्रमन्दिराणा[ं]

रुचिम[न्म]न्दर-कन्द — ⏑ — — [।*]

⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ [मुखं ?] यथेप्सित[ब?] [॥*] **27**

असम[व्यति?]रोचने गिरेर्व्वि-

क-

23 ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [काननानि ?] [।*][2]

---

1 नभोश्रितं स्याद्वर० ? Some scholars suggest उद्धर०.

2 Avanti = district round Ujjain. Kaliṅga (in the narrow sense) = Puri-Ganjam region of Orissa. Kosala = South Kosala = Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region. Aparānta = the Northern Konkan. Lāṭa = Nausāri-Broach region. Andhra = districts near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī. It is a vague claim which may indicate some sort of hostile relation of the Vākāṭaka king with those countries. It is impossible to believe that these countries were completely subjugated by Harisheṇa. Harisheṇa is possibly mentioned in another Ajaṇṭā inscription (Bhandarkar, List. No. 1713).

3 There is possibly यतिभङ्गदोष in this half of the verse.

वह — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] **28**

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ यस्य जनेन नाम

प्रीति-प्रसाद-विकच-प्रणयेन चक्रे [।*]

[एतच्च ?]

24 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — लयनं सुरेन्द्र-

मौलि[प्रभोपचित ?] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ हाय [॥*] **29**

निवेद्य **सद्भाय** ⏑ — ⏑ [भोग्यं ?]

सबन्धुवर्ग्गस्स **वराहदेवः**[1] [।*]

नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय

25 — —

[शरण्य?]-**शास्ता** सुगत(:*) प्रशस्तः [॥*] **30**

सान्द्राम्भोद-भुजङ्गभोग ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

— — — त्र-मनश्शिलाल-कपिलैर्य्यावत्करैर्भास्व(स्क?)रः [।*]

तावच्छे

26 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — स्सेव्यता-

मन्तर्म्मण्डप(ल?)-रत्न[मे]तदमलं रत्नत्र[योद्भा]वित[ं*] [॥*] **31**

विविध-लयन-सानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भि-

गिरेरय-

27 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — द्धयः [।*]

जगदपि च समस्तव्यस्त-दोष-प्रहाणा-

[द्वि*]शतु पदमशोकं निर्ज्वरं शान्तमार्य[ं] [॥*] **32**

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1 Varāhadeva, minister of Harishena, was probably a son of Hastibhoja.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 10[1]

MAYIDAVOLU, Narasarāvupeṭa tāluka, Guṇṭūr Dist, Madras Pres. HULTZSCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 86ff.

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the beginning of the 4th century A. D.[2]

TEXT[3]

First Plate : First Side

दिटं [॥*]

First Plate : Second Side

1 [सिद्धं* ॥][4] [कां*]चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो[5]

2 भारदाय-सगोत्तो[6] पलवानं[7]

---

1 The year apparently refers to the rule of the father of Śivaskandavarman as he was only a Yuvamahārāja. The word युवमहाराज is coined from युवराज on the analogy of राजन् and महाराज. Kāñchipura is modern Conjeeveram about 55 miles to the west of Madras. Some scholars think that the name is Skandavarman (identical with the king of No. 66) and *śiva* is an honorific like *vijaya* of No. 66, l. 1 and p. 445, n. 5. The name Śivaskandavarman is however often found in other sources. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 166f.

2 This record (cf. also the Kondamudi grant of Jayavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315) is very interesting from the palaeographic point of view. See notes below.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VI. The seal bears the figure of a couchant bull in relief and below it the legend शिवस्क[न्द-वर्म्मणः].

4 Traces of the letters still remain.

5 म has a peculiar form in this inscription. It consists of an upper curve and of a loop that starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line.

6 स also has a peculiar form consisting of two equal curves, one below the other, but not connected with it.

7 न or ण in this inscription does not differ from ड or द .

Second Plate : First Side

२[1]

3 सिवख[ं]दवम्मो धंञकडे

4 वापतं आनपयति [।*]

Second Ptate : Second Side

5 अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह-वेजयिके[2]

6 [धं]मायु-वल-वधनिके य[3]

Third Plate : First Side

३[4]

7 बम्हनानं अगिवेस-सगोत्तस

8 पुक्कोट्टजस अगीवेस-सगोत्तस

Third Plate : Second Side

9 गोनंदिजस **अंधापतीय** गामो[5]

10 [**विरिप**]रं अम्हेहि उदकादि[6]

Fourth Plate : First Side

४[7]

11 संपदतो [।*] एतस गामस

12 **विरिपरस** सव-बम्हदेय-

---

1 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 4.

2 ज has generally a peculiar form in this inscription consisting of an angle and a circle.

3 Better read **च**.

4 In the left margin on the level between lines 7 and 8.

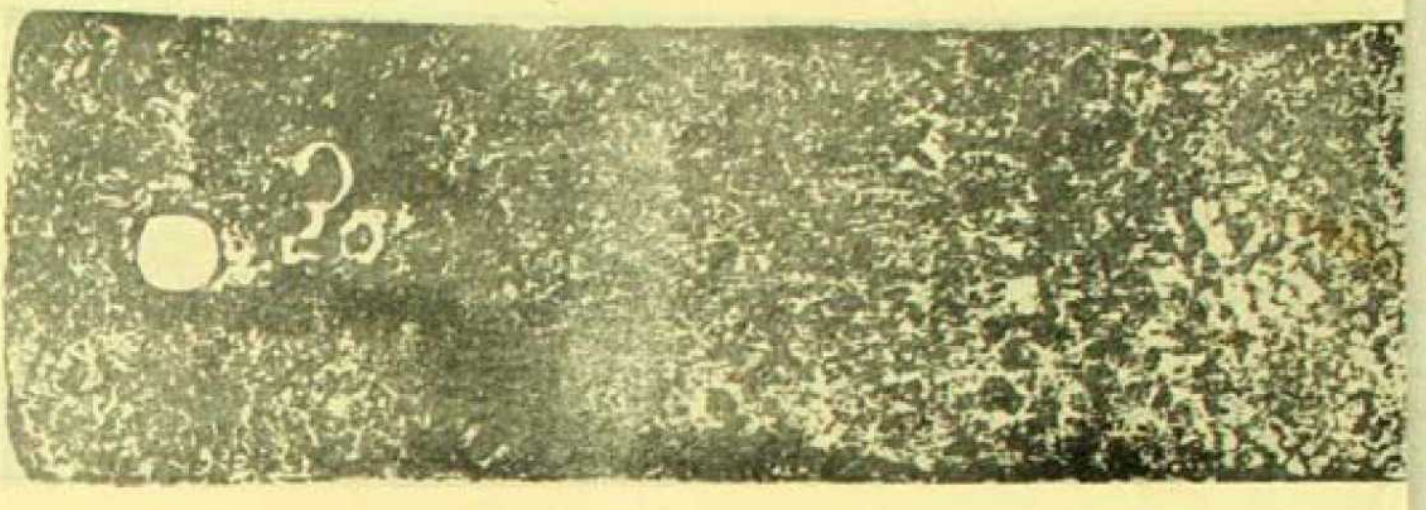
5 Read **अंधापथीय**. Andhrāpatha is a geographical term like Dakshiṇāpatha. Originally it may have indicated "way to the Andhra country", but later the Andhra country itself. Its capital Dhānyakaṭa is very probably to be identified with Amarāvatī in the Sattenapalle tāluka of Guṇṭūr Dist. An Amarāvatī inscription (No. 529 of 1937-38) of Virapurushadatta refers to the installation of two *dharmachakras* at the great monastery at Dhānyakaṭa.

6 Omit **अम्हेहि**. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद् ददानीति तथा वदेत्। तोयं दद्यात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः॥ quoted above, p. 353, n. 4.

7 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 12.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Side I A



Side I B

Side II A

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI)

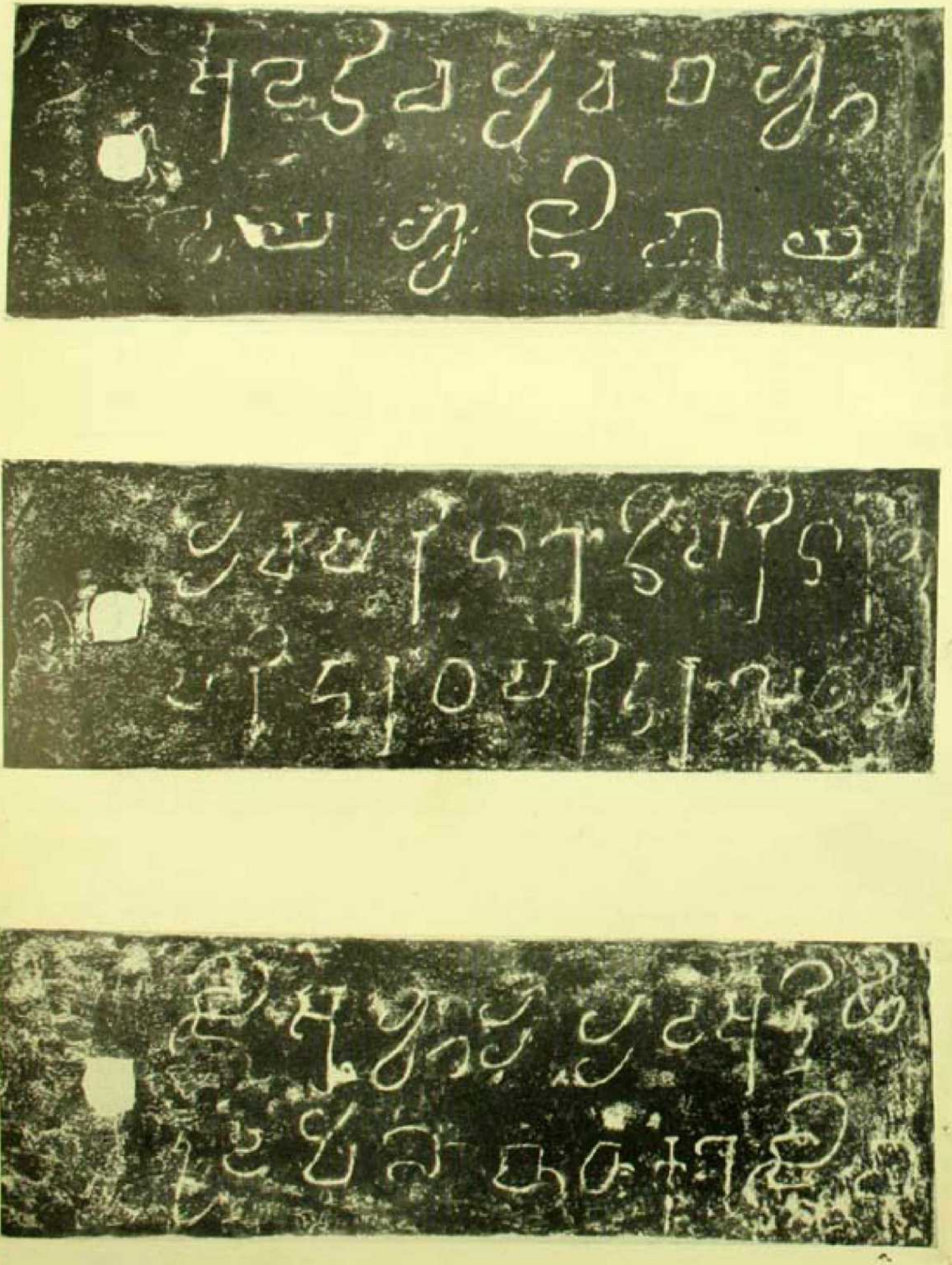
CENTRAL LIBRARY

Side IV A

Side IV B

Side V A

Courtesy : Arch Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

Mayidavolu C. P. Inscription (Bk. III, No. 64). Sides VB—VIB

Fourth Plate : Second Side

13 प[रिहा]रो वितराम [।*] अ-लोन-[ख]दकं

14 अ-रठ-सं[वि]नायिकं अ-परंपरा-बलीव[दं*][1]

Fifth Plate : First Side

५[2]

15 अ-भड-पपेसं अ-कूर-चोलक-

16 विनासि-खट(।*)-संवासं [।*] एतेहि

Fifth Plate : Second Side

17 अनेहि च सव-बम्ह-

18 देय-मजादाय

Sixth Plate : First Side

६[3]

19 सव-परिहारेहि परिहारितो [।*]

20 परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च [।*]

Sixth Plate : Second Side

21 जो अम्ह-सासनं अतिछि-

22 तून पीला वाधा करेज्ञा[4] [वा][5]

---

1 Hultzsch: बलिवर्दं. Some of these exemptions refer to the obligations of the villagers to the touring officers of the king, while some refer to their obligation to the king on occasions (e. g., a marriage in the king's family). For a detailed discussion on them, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 186f; also *supra*, p. 410 n. 1 लोन possibly indicates the *audbhijja* salt prepared from plantain and cocoanut trees in some parts of Bengal even to day.

2 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 16.

3 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 20.

4 ज्ञा is read by Hultzsch and Bühler; but it looks exactly like the ordinary form of जो. See p. 440,n. 2.

5 The scribe at first left out कारापेज्ञा and engraved वा त (of वा तस), but eventually the two *aksharas* were struck out.

Seventh Plate: First Side

७[1]

23 [त][2] कारापेज्ञा वा तस अम्हो

24 सारीर[ं] सासनं करेजामो [।*]

Seventh Plate: Second Side

25 स[ं]वछरं दसमं १० गिम्हा-

26 पखो छठो ६ दिवसं पंचमि ५ [।*]

Eighth Plate

८[3]

27 आनती सयत्ति दत्ता

28 पट्टिका [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (=राजपुरुषैः परीक्षितम्) ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरतः युवमहाराजः (=युवराजः) भारद्वाज-सगोत्रः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्द-वर्मा धान्यकटे व्यापृतं (=धान्यकटनगरस्थं कर्मसचिवम्) आज्ञापयति।—'अस्माभिः इदानीम् अस्मद्-वैजयिकं (=अस्माकं विजयाय) धर्मायुर्बलवार्द्धनिकं (=०वर्द्धनाय) च ब्राह्मणाभ्याम् अग्नि-वेश-सगोत्राय पूर्वकोट्टार्य्याय अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय गोनन्द्यार्य्याय [च] अन्ध्रापथीयः ग्रामः विरिपरः उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तः। एतस्य ग्रामस्य विरिपरस्य सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-परिहारं वितरामः—अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-परम्परावलीवर्दम् (=०वलीवर्दग्रहणम्), अ-भट-प्रवेशम्, अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्टा-संवासं (=भक्तस्थालीन्धनखट्टावासादीनां परि-हारम्)। एतैः अन्यैः च सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-मर्य्यादया (=०नियमानुसारेण) सर्वपरिहारैः परि-हारितः। परिहरेत परिहारयेत च [त्वम्]। यः अस्मच्छासनम् अतिक्रम्य पीडां बाधां कुर्य्युः कारयेयुः वा तस्य वयं शारीरं शासनं (=दण्डं) कुर्य्याम।' संवत्सरः दशमः १० ग्रीष्म-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (=ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्ष-पञ्चम-दिवसे)[4]। आज्ञप्तिः स्वयम् इति दत्ता पट्टिका ॥

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1 In the left margin between lines 23 and 24.

2 See p. 435, n. 5.

3 In the left margin between lines 27 and 28.

4 It must however be remembered that the Andhra-Drāviḍa-karṇāṭa region very probably reckoned the *amānta* month (starting from the Sukla *pratipad* and ending with the *amāvāsyā*).

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Side VII A

Side VII B

Side VIII

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI)

Manidavolu C. P. Inscription (Pls. III, No. 64). Sides VIIA—VIII

No. 65 - Hīrahaḍagalli Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 4

Hīrahadagalli, Bellary Dist., Madras Presidency.

Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 5ff. ; 9 ff ; 479; II, p. 485f ; Leumann, *ib*, II, p. 483-85; Lüders, List, No. 1209 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit and Sanskrit.[1]

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

TEXT[2]

Seal

शिवस्कन्द[वर्मणः]

First Plate: First Side

दिठं [॥*]

First Plate: Second Side

सिद्धम् ॥[3]

1 कांचिपुरा[4] अग्गिट्ठोम[5]-वा जपेयस्समेधयाजी धम्ममहा-

2 राजाधिराजो भारद्दायो पल्लवाण सिवखंदवमो[6]

3 अम्हं विसये सवत्थ राजकुमार-सेनापति-

Second Plate : First Side

4 रट्ठक[7]-माडवि[क][8]-देसाधिकतादीके गामागामभोजके

---

1 Note that this record shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts than does No. 64. See *supra*, p. 406, n. 1.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. This record found almost within the borders of ancient Kuntala suggests that the Early Kadambas were feudatories of the Early Pallavas. For other grounds, see *Suc. sāt.*, p. 184.

3 This word is in the left margin, on the level of l. 2.

4 Bühler : कांची. कों was originally engraved.

5 Bühler : अग्गिट्ठोम ; but the superscript is certainly ट.

6 धर्म्ममहाराजाधिराज has been coined on the analogy of धर्ममहाराज which again is derived from धर्म्मराज. The title indicates North Indian influence and late date.

7 Read रट्ठिक which is the reading of Bühler.

8 The letter looks like नु which is Bühler's reading.

5 वल्लवे गोवल्लवे अमचे अरखाधिकते[1] गुमिके तूथिके

6 नेयिके अन्ने वि च अम्ह-पेस[ण]-प्पयुत्ते संचरंतक-

7 भडमनुसाण [कढ सो][2] [।*] परिहारं[3] वितराम एत्थ दाणि

Second Plate: Second Side

8 [आ]पिट्टि-वत्थवाण **चिल्लरेककोडुंक**-भोजक-बम्हणाणं अप्प-

9 ण कुल-गोत्तस धमायु-बल-यसो-वधनिके विजय-वेजयीके

10 च कातूणं अप्पतिहत-सासनस्स अनेक-हिरोगोकोडी-[4]

11 गोहलसतसहस्स-प्पदायिनो महाराज-**बप्पसामीहि**[5]

Third Plate: First Side

३[6]

12 वाडक **चिल्लरेककोडुंके** पुव्वदत्तं [।*] गोलसमजस पतीभागो[7] १

13 आत्तेय-सगोतस अगिसमजस्स पतीभागा ४

14 माढरस पतीभागा वे २ जामातुकस अगिच्चस पती-

15 भागो १ हारित-सगोतस कालसमस पत्तीभागा ३

Third Plate: Second Side

16 भारदाय-सगोत्तस कुमारसमस पतिभागा ३[8] कोसिक-

17 सगोतस कुमारनंदि-कुमारसम-कोट्ठसम-सत्तिस्स च

18 चतुरहं भातुकाण चत्तारि पत्तिभागा ४ कस्सव-सगोत्त-

19 स भटिस पतीभागो १ भारदायस खंदकोडिस

---

1 Bühler reads आरण०.

2 This reading seems to be suggested by the plate. The reading intended however is possibly भड-मनुसे आणवेति.

3 हिरोगो is possibly a mistake for हिरण्ण. For हल, see, p. 201, n. 4.

4 Read स्वामिनो. Some scholars take Bappa (lit. father) as the name of the father of Sivaskandavarman, which is unlikely. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 183f. Cf. परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीबप्पपादानुध्यात; परमदैवतबप्पभट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादा-नुध्यात, etc., in Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 186, n. बप्प from Sanskrit वप्ता=बीजवप्ता ?

6 In the left margin, a little above the level of l. 14.

7 Bühler reads पति०.

8 Bühler reads २. कोसिका was originally engraved.

Fourth Plate: First Side

४[1]

20 पतीभागा वे २ खंदडस पतीभागो १ वप्पस

21 [प]त्तीभागो[2] १ दत्तजस पतीभागा वे २ नंदिजस

22 पतीभागा ३ वत्स-सगोतस रुदसमस पती-

23 भागो १ दामजस पतीभागो १ सालसमजस पति-

24 भागो १[3]

Fourth Plate: Second Side

25 परिमितस पतीभागो १ नागनंदिस पतीभागो १ गोलिस

26 पतिभागो १ खंदसमस पतिभागो १ सामिजस पतिभागो १ [।*]

27 एतेसि वम्हणाणं अगिसमज-पमुखाणं **साताहनि-रट्ठे**[4]

28 गामे **चिल्लरेककोडुंके** दखिण-सीमं पुव्वदत्तं [।*]

Fifth Plate: First Side

५[5]

29 अम्हेहि वि आ-चन्द-तार-कालीक[6] कातुणं उदकादि संप-

30 दत्तो एतं वम्हणाणं **चिलेरेककोडुंक** वाडकं [।*]

31 अ-कूर-योल्लक[7]-विनेसि-खट्टा-वासं अ-दूध-दधि-गहणं

32 अ-रद्दसंविनयिकं अ-लोण-[गु]ल-च्छोभं अ-कर-वेट्टी-

Fifth Plate: Second Side

33 को[']जल्लं अ-पारंपर-बलिवद्द-गहणं अ-तण-कट्ठ-गह-

34 णं अ-हरितक-साक-पुफ-गहणं एवमादीकेहि अट्ठा-

---

1 In the left margin, a litle below the level of l. 22.

2 Bühler reads पती०.

3 These *aksharas* are engraved below सालसम of the previous line.

4 *I. e.*, mod. Bellary Dist. See *supra*, p. 205.

5 In the left margin, on the level of l. 31.

6 Bühler reads कालिक.

7 Hultzsch suggests अ-कूर-चोल्लक which is possibly the reading of the original For a detailed discussion on these exemptions, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 192 f; *supra*, p. 410, n. 1

35 रस-जाति-परिहारेहि विसयवासीहि **अपि-**

36 **ट्ठी**-वासीहि **चिल्ले रेककोट्टुं**क-वासीहि च परिहरितवं

Sixth Plate: First Side

६[1]

37 हरिहापेतव्व च त्ति [।*] अपि च **आपिट्टीयं** अगिसमज

38 पमुखाण बम्हणाणं खलस निवतणं घरस्स निवत-

39 णं अद्धिका चात्तारि ४ कोलिका बे त्ति २ [।*] एव नातूणं

40 अथ कोचि वल्लभ-मदेन पिला बाधा करेय्य कारवेज्ञा[2]

Sixth Plate: Second Side

41 वा तस खु अम्हे निगहं-वारण[3] करेय्याम ति [।*] भूयो च

42 वरिस-सत-सहस्सातिरेक-समकाले अम्हं **पल्लव-**

43 कुल-महंत्ते भविस्स-भडे अन्ने च नो

Seventh Plate: First Side

७[4]

44 वसुधाधिपतये[5] अभत्थेमि जो सक-काले उपरि-

45 लिखित-मेजाताये अणुवद्दावेति तस

46 वो सम्मो ति [।*] यो चसि विरुधे वट्टेज

Seventh Plate: Second Side

50 स च खु पञ्च-महापातक-संजुत्तो नराधमो

51 होज ति [।*] दता पट्टिका वास-सतसहस्साय

52 **सव** ८ वास ६ दिव ५ [।*] सयमाणतं [।*]

---

1 In the left margin, above the level of l. 39.

2 ज्ञा looks like **जो**. See p. 435, n. 4.

3 Better read **निगहवारणं**.

4 In the left margin, above the level of l. 46.

5 Bühler reads **वसुधाधिपे भये** ; but his भ is certainly त.

Eighth Plate.

८[1]

53 **कोलिवाल**-भोजकस रहसाधिकत-**भट्टिस-**

54 **म्मस्स** सहत्थ-लिखितेण पट्टिका कड[2] त्ति [।*]

55 स्वस्ति गो-ब्र[ा]ह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्य इति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टम् ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरात् अग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजी धर्ममहाराजाधिराजः भारद्वाजः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्दवर्मा अस्माकं विषये (=आत्मनः राष्ट्रे) सर्वत्र राजकुमार-सेनापति-राष्ट्रिक-माण्डपिक-देशाधि-कृतादिकं [विभिन्न]-ग्राम-भोजकं वल्लवं (=वल्लभान्=अश्वरक्षान्) गोवल्लवं (=गोरक्षिणः) अमात्यम् आरक्षाधिकृतं (=रक्षापुरुषान्) गौल्मिकं तैर्थिकं नैयोगिकम्[3] अन्यम् अपि च अस्मत्(=राज०)-प्रेषण-प्रयुक्तं सञ्चरत्क-भटमनुष्यम् [आज्ञापयति] ।—'परिहारं (=ब्रह्मदेयं)[4] वितरामः [वयम्] अत्र इदानीम् आपिट्टि-वास्तव्येभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः आत्मनः कुलगोत्रस्य धर्मायुर्बलयशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैजयिकं च कृत्वा अप्रतिहत-शासनेन अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोहलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिना महाराज-बप्पस्वामिना (=महाराजेन पितृदेवेन) वाटकं (=आरामं) चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके पूर्व्वदत्तम् ।—गोलशर्माय्यर्य्याय प्रतिभागः[5] १, आवेयसगोत्राय अग्निशर्माय्यर्य्याय प्रतिभागाः ४, माठराय प्रतिमागौ द्वौ २, [तस्य माठरस्य] जामातृकाय अग्निलाय प्रतिभागः १, हारीतसगोत्राय कालशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय कुमारशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, कौशिकसगोत्रेभ्यः कुमारनन्दि-कुमारशर्म-कोट्टशर्म-शक्तिभ्यः च चतुर्भ्यः भ्रातृभ्यः चत्वारः प्रतिभागाः ४, काश्यपसगोत्राय भर्त्रे प्रतिभागः १, भारद्वाजाय स्कन्दकोटये प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, स्कन्दाढ्याय प्रतिभागः १, बप्पाय प्रतिभागः १, दत्ताय्यर्य्याय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, नन्द्यार्याय प्रतिभागाः ३, वत्स-सगोत्राय रुद्रशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, दामार्याय प्रतिभागः १, शालशर्माय्यर्य्याय प्रतिभागः १, परिमिताय प्रतिभागः १, नागनन्दिने प्रतिभागः १, गोलिने प्रतिभागः १, स्कन्दशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, स्वाम्यार्याय प्रतिभागः १ । एतेभ्यः

1 On the margin, a little below the level of l. 54.

2 Bühler read कद.

3 See Suc. *Sāt*, p. 191.

4 For this परिहार, see Manu, VII, 201.

5 प्रतिभागः=निवर्त्तनात्मकः अंशः.

ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अग्निशर्माऽर्य्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः सातवाहनीय-राष्ट्रे ग्रामे चिल्लरेककोडुंके दक्षिण-सीमा (=०सोमा-लग्नभूमिः) पूर्वदत्ता । अस्माभिः अपि आचन्द्रतारकालिकं कृत्वा उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तम् एतत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंक-वाटकम् । अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्टावासम् (=अभक्त-स्थालीन्धन०), अ-दुग्धदधि-ग्रहणम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-लवणगुड-क्षोभम्, अ-करविष्टि-कौञ्जल्यम्[1], अ-परम्परावलीवर्द्द-ग्रहणम्, अ-तृणकाष्ठ-ग्रहणम्; अ-हरितकशाकपुष्प-ग्रहणम्—एवमादिकैः अष्टादशजातिपरिहारैः विषयवासिभिः आपिट्टिवासिभिः चिल्लरेक-कोडुंक-वासिभिः च परिहर्त्तव्यं परिहारयितव्यं च इति । अपि च आपिट्टयाम् अग्निशर्म्मार्यप्रमुखेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः खलाय निवर्त्तनं, गृहाय निवर्त्तनम्, आर्द्धिकाः (=शस्यार्द्धभागिनः क्षेत्रकर्षकाः) चत्वारः ४, कौलिकौ (=क्षेत्रजकार्पासेन वसनादिवयनार्थम् आवश्यकौ तन्तुवायौ) द्वौ इति २ । एवं ज्ञात्वा अथ कश्चित् वल्लभ-मदेन (=राजवल्लभः अहम् इति दर्पेण) पीडां बाधां [वा] कुर्यात् कारयेत् वा तस्य खलु वयं निग्रहवारणं (=दण्डेन वारणं) कुर्याम इति । भूयः च—वर्षशतसहस्रातिरेक-समकाले अस्माकं पल्लवकुलमहतः भविष्य-भटम् अन्यान् च नः (=अस्माकं) वसुधाधिपतीन् अभ्यर्थये, यः स्वक-काले उपरिलिखितमर्यादया अनुवर्त्तयति, तस्य एव शर्म (=मङ्गलम्) इति; यः च अस्मिन् विघ्ने वर्त्तेत, स च खलु पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तः नराधमः भवेत् इति । दत्ता पट्टिका वर्ष-शतसहस्राय संव[त्सरे अष्टमे] ८ वर्षा[पक्षे] षष्ठे ६ दिव[से पञ्चमे] ५ । स्वयम् आज्ञप्तम् । कोलिवालभोजकस्य (=कोलिवालाख्यस्थान-भोक्तुः), रहस्याधिकृत(=मन्त्रि०)-भर्तृशर्मणः स्वहस्तलिखितेन (=स्वाक्षरेण) पट्टिका कृता इति ॥ स्वस्ति गो-ब्राह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः' इति ॥

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1 The meaning of कौंजल्ल is unknown. May कुञ्जल (=काञ्जिका) be taken in the sense of a sort of wine ? In that case कौञ्जल्य may be a tax on such wine. हरितक=a kind of vegetables to be used as food.

No. 66—Guṇapadeya Copper-Plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman

GUṆAPADEYA, Kondakūr Tāluka, Guntūr Dist., Madras Pres.; now in the BRITISH MUSEUM, London.

FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 100ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2, n. 2; HULTZSCH, *ibid*, VIII, p. 143ff.

Language : Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 4th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक)

TEXT[1]

First Plate

सिद्ध(ं*) ॥[2]

1 सिरि-विजय-खन्दव[म्म]-महाराजस्स संव्वच्छ(छ ?)रा *[3] [।*]

2 युवमहाराजस्स भारद्दायस्स प[ल्लवा]-

3 णं सिरि-विजय-बुद्धवम्मस्स देवी * *-[4]

4 कुर-जनवी [चारु]देवी का(?) * वीय *[5]

Second Plate : First Side

२[6]

5 राजतलाक-हे[द्रे] पाणिय-[कू*]-

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII and *Ind. Ant.*, IX. The record is usually referred to as the British Museum grant. For the suggested identification of Skandavarman with Śivaskandavarman, see p. 433, n. 1. Note that the language of this record is later. It shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts. See p. 406 n. 1.This Skandavarman may be indentified with Skandavarman I of the Ongodu grant, No. 1.

2 In the left margin of the plate. 3 The figure of the date is totally lost.

4 Hultzsch is inclined to read [बु]द्धि[यं]कुर-जनवी in ll. 3-4; he further corrects जनवो to जननी. It is however impossible to decipher the two (?) *aksharas* after देवी in l. 3. On the strength of Hultzsch's conjectural reading, Buddhavarman and Budhyaṅkūra are usually represented as Pallava kings. There is no evidence to show that they ascended the throne or that Buddhavarman was the son of Skandavarman.

5 The reading intended is possibly आणवीयति(=आज्ञापयति). Hultzsch is inclined to restore क[डके] वीय[पतं ।*]. But traces of an *anusvāra* above the letter which looks like क and of an *ā*-sign are possibly visible. May कांचिये वियापतं be suggested?

6 In the left margin of the plate.

6 पादुत्तरे पासे [आ]तुकस्स कसित[व्वं*]

7 छेत्तं **दालूरे** कूलिमहातरक-देवकुलस्स[1]

Second Plate : Second Side

३[2]

8 भगवन्नारायणस्स अम्हं आयु-बल-वद्धनी-

9 यं कातून भूमी-निवत्तणा चत्तारि ४ अम्हेहिं

10 सम्पदत्ता [।*] तं नातूण गामेयिका आयुत्ता

11 सव्व-[प]रिहारेहि परिहरथ परिहरापेथ [।*]

Third Plate

12 बहुभिर्व्व[सु]धा दत्ता बहुभिश्च[नुपा]लिता [।*]

13 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[3] तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलम् [॥*] **1**

14 स्व-दत्ता(ं*) परदत्त[ा]ं वा ये हरत्ति[4] वसून्धराम् [।*]

15 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् [॥*] **2**

16 आणत्ति **रोहण[ी]गुत्ता**[5]त्ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ श्रीविजय-स्कन्दवर्म-महाराजस्य संवत्सरः...। युवमहाराजस्य भारद्वाजस्य पल्लवानां श्रीविजय-बुद्धवर्मणः देवी ...कुर-जननी चारुदेवी [आज्ञापयति] ।—'राजतरागाधस्तात् पाणीयकूपात् उत्तरपार्श्वे आतुकस्य कष्टव्यं क्षेत्रं दालूरे कूलिमहत्तरक-देवकुलस्य (=कूलिनामकेन महत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितस्य मन्दिरस्य) भवगन्नारायणाय अस्माकम् आयुर्बलवर्द्धनीयं (यद्वा, ०वार्द्धनिकं) कृत्वा भूमिनिवर्त्तनानि चत्वारि ४ अस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तानि । एतत् ज्ञात्वा ग्रामेयकाः आयुक्ताः (=ग्राम-स्थिताः आयुक्ताख्याः राजभृत्याः ; =ग्रामिकाः ?) [यूयं] सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरत परिहारयत [च] ।'

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1 स्सा was possibly in the mind of the scribe.

2 In the left margin of the plate. Both sides of Plate II are numbered. Usually only one of the sides bears the number of the Plate.

3 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

4 Read यो हरति (or हरेत) वसु०.

5 The ī-sign of नी could not be properly executed owing to the interference of त्र in the preceding line. The reading गुत्ता is doubtful. त्ता looks like त्वा.

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्य यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुन्धराम् ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् ॥
आज्ञप्तिः (=पट्टिका-सम्पादकः) रोहिणीगुप्तः इति ॥

No. 67—Narasarāopet[1] Copper-plate Inscription of Simhavarman—Regnal Year 4

NARASARĀOPET TĀLUKA, Guntūr Dist., Madras Pres.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 254f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th-7th century A. D.[2]

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक)

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 जि[त][*][4] भगवता[॥*] स्वस्ति·[॥*] श्रीविजय-स्कन्ध(ा*)वारा[त्प]रामात्रह्मण्य-[5]

2 स्य स्व-बाहु-बल[ा]र्जितो[र्ज्जि]त-[क्षा]त्र-त[पो]निधेर्व्विधिवि-[6]

3 हित-सर्व्व-मर्य्यादस्य स्थिति-स्थितस्य[ा]मितात्मनो महा-[7]

4 राजस्य प्रिथिवित[लै]क-वीरस्य[8] श्रीवीरवर्म्मणः प्रपौत्रो(ऽ*)प्य

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1 The grant is usually referred to as the Omgodu grant after the name of the village denoted. It was discovered in a village in the Narasarāopeṭ tāluka.

2 According to Krishna Sastri the record "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. For Simhavarman of this record, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 170ff ; 208ff ; 402.

4 त is written below the line. See p. 412, n. 2.

5 Read ॰मत्रह्म॰. Note that the name of the *skandhāvāra* (camp) is omitted owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. Another record discovered at the same place was issued from *vijaya*-Tāmbrāpa-*sthāna*.

6 Sastri : ॰क्षात्र्.

7 Sastri : माह॰.

8 Read पृथिवी॰

Second Plate: First Side

5 [जि]त-शक्ति-सिद्धि-सम्पन्नस्य-प्रतोपोपन[त]-[रा]ज-मण्डलस्य[1] [भ]गव-

6 त्भक्ति-सम्भाव-सम्भावित-सर्व्व-कल्याणस्य(।*)नेक-गो-

7 हिरण्य-भूम्य[ा]दि-प्रदानैः प्रव्[ध]-धर्म्म-सद्म-[2]

8 यस्य प्रजापालन-दक्षस्य लोकपालाना[ं] पद्म(म*)स्य लो-

Second Plate: Second Side

9 कपालस्य[3] महात्मनो महाराज-श्री**स्कन्दवर्म्मण**ः पौ-

10 त्रो देव-द्विज-गुरु-वृद्धोपसेविनो विवृद्ध-विनयस्य(।*)-

11 नेक-संग्राम-स(।*)हसावमद्दोपलब्ध[4]-विजय-यश(ः*)-प्रा-[5]

12 कारास्य सत्यात्मनो युवमहाराज-श्री**विष्णुगोप**स्या[6] पुत्रः

Third Plate: First Side

13 कलियुग-दोषावस[न्न]-धर्म्मोद्धरण[7]-नित्य-श[त्र]द्धो[8] राज-गु-

14 ण-सर्व्व[9]-सन्दोह-विजिगिषु[10] धर्म्म-विजिगिषु[11] भगवत्पादानुध्यातो[12]

15 वप्प-भट्टारक-पाद-भक्त(ः*) परमभागवतो भारद्वाज-स-

16 गोत्र[13] विक्रामाक्रान्तन्यनृपत्थि-निलयानां[14] यथावदाहृतानेकक्रतुनां[15]

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1 Read प्रपौत्रोऽभ्युच्छ्रित०, प्रतापो०, and ०द्भक्ति-सद्भाव as in other grants.

2 Read प्रवृद्ध०.

3 Note that the passage indicates only four divine Lokapālas. Their number was later raised to eight or ten.

4 Read ०मद्दोप०.

5 Read प्रका०.

6 Read ०गोपस्य

7 Read धर्म्मोद्धरण.

8 Read सन्नद्धो.

9 Read सर्व्व.

10 Read विजिगीषुर्धर्म्म०.

11 Read ०गीषुर्भग०.

12 Read ०नुध्यातो. 13 Read भारद्वाज-सगोत्रो. गोत्र is engraved above the line.

14 Read विक्रमाक्रान्तान्य-नृप-श्री०

15 Read क्रतूनां. Some records, e. g., the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, read यथावदाहृतानेकाश्वमेधानां. The Aśvamedha referred to is no doubt that performed by Kumāravishṇu, father of Viravarman. Cf. पल्लवानामश्वमेधयाजिनः महाराजस्य श्री-कुमारविष्णोः in the Omgodu grant of Skandavarman (II), *Ep. Ind.*, XV. p. 251. It is interesting that only the descendants of this Kumāravishṇu refer to the Aśvamedha.

Third Plate: Second Side

17 शतक्रतुनां कल्पनां[1] वल्लभानां[2] **पल्लवानां** धर्म्म-महाराज-श्रीसिं-

18 **हिवर्म्म**[ा] **कर्म्म**-ण्य राष्ट्रे[3] **ओगोंडु**ग्रामः **कोडिकि**ग्रामो[4]पूर्व्वतः **नण्णचडु**-

19 ग्रा[मो] दक्षिणतः **कडाकुदुरु**-ग्रामो[5] प[धि]मतः[6] **पेणुकप**ण्य-

20 ग्रामे[7] उत्तरतः एवं चतुरव[धि]-मध्ये पूर्व्व-भोग-विवर्जितः

Fourth Plate: First Side

21 **कु**ण्डूर्व्व(।*)स्तव्याया काश्यप-गोत्राय छन्दोविदिते[8] सर्व्व-शास्त्र-कुश-

22 लाय देवशर्म्मने[9] ग्रहण-निमित्तं[10] अस्मदायुर्व्वल-वि-

23 जयाभिवृद्धये सम्प्र[ा]दाम [।] तदिमं[11] सर्व्व-परिहा[रै](:*)[12] प-

24 रिहर्त्तव्य[म्][13] परिहारयितेव्यञ्च[14] [।*] यश्चेदं अस्मच्छा-[15]

Fourth Plate: Second Side

25 शनमतिक्रामे(त्*) स पापः शरीर-दण्डमर्हति]।*] आशीर्व्वा-

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1 Read शतक्रतुकल्पानां

2 The fuller form of this title appears to be श्री-पृथिवी-वल्लभ found in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It refers to the kings' claim to have been incarnations of Vishṇu. For the interpretation, see *Suc. Sāt.* p 208 n; *Ind. Cult.*, II, p. 131 f.

3 Read सिंहवर्मनामानः वयं and राष्ट्रे. The letter here printed ण्य (=ṛ) is the *baṇḍira* or *śakaṭarepha* of the Telugu alphabet. Theoretically it is a cerebral *r*. Bengali ड़ represents both this letter and the Telugu ఌ (cerebral *l*).

4 Read ओंगोडु-ग्रामं कोडिकि-ग्रामः.

5 Read ग्रामः.

6 Sastri: ०मातः.

7 Read ग्राम, and ०विवर्ज्जितं (with the exception of lands previously granted).

8 Read वास्तव्याय and छन्दोविदे.

9 Read ०र्म्मणे.

10 Read ग्रहणनिमित्तम् (on the occasion of an eclipse).

11 Read तदिदं.

12 रै is engraved on an erasure.

13 Read ०हर्त्तव्यं.

14 Read ०तव्यञ्च.

15 Read ०दम् अस्मच्छासन०.

26 पा[1] श्लोका भवन्ति [॥*]

भूमिदान-समन्दानां नं भूतो[2] न भवि-[3]

27 विष्यति [।*]

तस्यैव हरणात्पाप(*) न भूता[4] न भविष्यति [॥*] **1**

28 स्व-दत्त(।*) परदत्तां ना[5] यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]

गवां शत-

Fifth Plate

29 सहस्रस्य हन्तु≍पिवति किल्बिषम् [॥*] **2**

बहुभिर्व्वसुदा[6] [द]त्ता बहु-

30 भिश्चानुपालितम्[7] [।*]

यस्य यस्य यथा भूम तस्य[8] त-

31 स्य तदा फलम् [॥*] **3**

स[9]-विजय-**राज्य-स(*)वत्सरे चतुर्थे** वैशाख-शु[क्ल]-[10]

32 पक्ष-पञ्चम्यां दत्तं [।*] **भट्ट[ा]रका[णां]** स्व-मुखाज्ञप्तया लिखित[मि]दं ॥[।*]

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1 Read अपि चात्रार्थाः.

2 Read ॰न्दानं न भूतं.

3 Read भविष्यति.

4 Read भूतं.

5 Read वा.

6 Read ॰सुधा. द of दत्ता is engraved below the line.

7 Read ॰पालिता.

8 Read यदा भूमिस्तस्य.

9 Better read स्व.

10 क्ल was originally engraved for क्ल.

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KADAMBAS

No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription of Mayūraśarman (c. 330-60 A.D.)

CHANDRAVALLI, Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore State.

M. H. KRISHNA, *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50; K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India, 150-350*, p. 220f.

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

1 कदंवाणं मयूरशम्मण विनिम्मिअं[2]

2 तटाकं [कुट][3]-तेकूड[4]-अभिर[5]-पल्लव-पुरि-

3 योतिक[6]-सकस्थ[न[7]]-सयिन्थक[8]-पुणड[9]-मोकरि[ण] [॥*]

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1 From the eye-copy and indistinct facsimile in *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929. The reading is in many places doubtful. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation are in some parts impossible. He reads (ll. 2-3) तटी काञ्ची-वेकूटाभीर-पल्लव-पुरी-यातिकेन सातहनीस्थ-सेन्द्रकपुरी-दमनकारिणा "who marched against Kāñchī and Trikūṭa—the Ābhīra and Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātahanī, built the embankment."

2 In the space between lines 1 and 2, there are two symbols possibly representing the sun (a circle with a centre mark) and the moon (a crescent).

3 The reading is not beyond doubt. Krishna : दुभ.

4 Krishna : वेकूट, but in his eye-copy there is no trace of subscribed *r*. As regards ड, compare the form of this letter with टा (of तटाकं) in the eye-copy.

5 Krishna : अभीर.

6 Krishna reads पारियातिक ; but his eye-copy has distinctly पुरियोतिक. If we however think that the subscribed *u* in पु and the *e*-sign (part of the *o*-sign) of यो are not actually the engraver's work, the word may be read प(ा*)रियातिक.

7 न is engraved above the line.

8 Krishna : सयिन्दक ; but the subscript of the third *akshara* looks like थ in the eye-copy.

9 Krishna : पुनाट. See note 4 above.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

कदंबाणां (=कदम्ब-वंशीयेन) मयूरशर्मणा विनिर्मितं तटाकं (=पुष्करिणी) कुट्ट(=कुट्टित =निर्जित०)-त्रैकूटाभीरपल्लव-पारियात्रिक-शकस्थान-सेन्द्रक-पुण्याट-मौखरिणा ॥[1]

No. 69—Tāḷagunda Stone-pillar Inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.)

TĀLAGUNDA, Shimoga Dist., Mysore State.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 27f; RICE, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 200ff; KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-24 मात्रासमक-विशेष or मिश्रगण-गीतिका[2]; Vv. 25-26 पुष्पिताग्रा; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता; Vv. 30-31 वसन्ततिलका; V. 32 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 33 दण्डक-प्रचित-चण्डवेग (or ०अर्णव)[3]; V. 34 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT[4]

सिद्धम् [॥][5]

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1 The Traikūṭas or Traikūṭakas belonged to Aparānta or the Northern Koṅkan. The Ābhiras of this period also belonged to the same region. A place called Āhirwārā lies between Bhilsa and Jhansi. Mayūraśarman's struggles with the Pallavas are referred to in *infra*, No. 69. Pāriyātrakas lived about the Pāriyātra mountain (Western Vindhyas and the Aravelly range). Śakasthāna possibly indicates the kingdom of the Śakas of Western India. The Sendraka territory lay in Mysore. Puṇṇāḍu was in South Mysore. The Maukharis possibly lived in Rajputana. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 241-46.

2 "A species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown" (Kielhorn). Venkatasubbiah takes it to be the Gītikā variety of the *miśragaṇa* metres (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 115). Mātrā: 15+15+15+15.

3 "A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specially Chaṇḍavega or Arṇava" (Kielhorn). The verse has 30 syllables in a *pāda*.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

5 This word stands in the left margin on the level between ll. 1 and 2.

1 नमश्शिवाय ॥

जयति विश्वदे[व]-स[ं]घात-निचितैकमूर्त्तिस्सनातनः[।*]

स्थानुरिन्दु[1]-रश्मि-विच्छुरित-श्रुतिमज्जटाभार-मण्डनः ॥ **1**

तमनु भूसुरा द्विज-प्रवरास्सामगर्य्यजुर्व्वेद-वादिनः [।*]

यत्प्रसादस्त्रायते नित्यं भुवन-त्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ **2**

अनुपदं सुरेन्द्रतुल्य[व]पु×**काकुस्थवर्म्मा**[2] विशाल-धीः [।*]

भूपति×कदम्ब-सेनानी-बृहदन्वय-[व्यो]म-चन्द्रमाः

2 ॥ **3**

अथ बभूव द्विज-कुलं प्रांशु विचरद्गुणेन्दुंशु-मण्डलम् [।*]

श्यार्षवर्त्म-हारितीपुत्रमृषिमुख्य-मानव्य गोत्रजम् ॥ **4**

विविध-यज्ञावभृथ-पुण्याम्बु-नियताभिषेकार्द्र-मूर्द्धजम् [।*]

प्रवचनावगाह-निष्णातं विधिवत्समिद्धाग्नि-सोमपम् ॥ **5**

प्रणवपूर्व्व-षड्धाद्येय-नानर्च्यमानान्तरालयम् ॥[3]

अकृश-चातुर्म्मास्य-होमेष्टि-पशु-पार्व्वण-श्राद्ध-पौष्टिकम् [॥*] **6**

3 अतिथि-नित्यसंश्रितावसथं सवनत्रयावन्ध्य-नैत्यकम् [।*]

गृह-समीप-देश-संरूढ-विकसत्कदम्बैकपादपम् ॥ **7**

तदुपचारवत्तदास्य तरोस्सानाम्य-साधर्म्म्यमस्य तत् [।*]

प्रवृते सतीर्त्थ्य-विप्राणां प्राचुर्य्यतस्तद्विशेषणम् ॥ **8**[4]

एवमागते **कदम्ब**-कुले श्रीमान्बभूव द्विजोत्तमः [।*]

नामतो **मयूरशर्म्मेति** श्रुत शील-शौचाद्यलंकृतः [॥] **9**

4 यः प्रयाय **पल्लवेन्द्र**-पुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्म्मणा [।*]

अधिजिगांसु×प्रवचनं निखिलं[5] घटिकां विवेशाशु तर्क्कुकः ॥ **10**

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1 Read **स्थाणु**°.

2 The correct form is **काकुत्स्थ** ; but **काकुस्थ** is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. "Great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies" may suggest that the Kadambas considered themselves as generals of the Pallavas as late as the time of Sāntivarman. See p. 452, n. 6; p. 455, n. 3.

3 Only one *daṇḍa* may be retained.

4 "Then as the family tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of these Brāhmaṇa fellow-students, currently accepted as distinguishing them."

5 Read **निखिलं**. **घटिका** (an establishment for holy and learned men devoted to religious and learned discourses; something like a college) is the same as **ब्रह्मपुरी** of some inscriptions. **तर्कुक**=याचक ; here शिक्षार्थी ; **पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरी**=काञ्ची.

तत्र **पल्लव**ाश्वमंस्थेन[1] कलहेन तीव्रेण रोपितः [।*]
कलियुगे(ऽ*)स्मिन्नहो बत[2] क्षत्रात्परिपेलवा विप्रता यतः [॥*] **11**
गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराद्धय शाखामधीत्यापि यत्नतः [।*]
ब्रह्म-सिद्धिर्य्यदि नृपाधीना किमत≍परं दु×खमित्यतः [॥] **12**
कुश-समिद्-पत्स्रुगाज्य-चरु-ग्रहणादि-दक्षेन पाणिना [।*]
उद्वर्हं दीप्तिमच्छस्त्रं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ **13**
यो(ऽ*)न्तपालान्**पल्लवेन्द्राणां**[3] सहसा विनिर्ज्जित्य संयुगे [।*]
अद्धयवास दुर्ग्गमामटवीं **श्रीपर्व्वत**-द्वार-संश्रिताम् ॥ **14**
आददे करान्बृहद्**द्वाण**-प्रमुखाद्बहुत्राजमण्डलात् [।*]
एवमेभि≍**पल्लवेन्द्राणां** भृकुटी-समुत्पत्ति-कारणैः ॥ **15**
स्वप्रतिज्ञा-पारणोत्थान-लघुभि×कृतार्थैश्च चेष्टितैः [।*]
भूषणैरिवाबभौ बलवद्याला-समुत्थापनेन च ॥ **16**
अभियुयुत्सयागतेषु भृशं **काञ्ची**-नरेन्द्रेष्वरातिषु [।*]
विषम-[दे]श-प्रयाण[4]-संवेश[5]-रजनीष्ववस्कन्द-भूमिषु ॥ **17**
प्राप्य सेना-सागरं तेषां प्राहन्बली श्येनवत्तदा [।*]
आपदन्तान्धारयामास[6] भुज-खड्गमात्र-[व्य]पाश्रयः ॥ **18**
पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्य शक्तिमिमां लब्ध्वा प्रतापान्वयावपि [।*]
नास्य हानिश्रेयसीत्युक्त्वा यम्मिलमेवाशु वव्रिरे ॥[7] **19**

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1 May पल्लवाश्वसंस्था refer to the Aśvamedha performed by Sivaskandavarman? In that case Mayūraśarman was Sivaskandavarman's contemporary. For the possible contemporaneity of Mayūraśarman and Sivaskandavarman, see *Suc. Sāt* , pp. 184, 247.

2 अन्तपाल=frontier-guard. श्रीपर्वत=Nallamalur Range. For the Bāṇas, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. Their kingdom comprised parts of Chittoor, North Arcot and Anantapur Dists.

3 The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 Mātrās. The metre possibly requires omission of **वत**.

4 **व्वे** was originally engraved; but the subscript **व** has been struck out. Kāñchī (mod. Conjeeveram) was the Pallava capital.

5 **श** of **देश-प्र०** may be considered a short syllable through poetic license.

6 **न्तां** seems to have been originally engraved.

7 Verses 19-20 suggest that Mayūraśarman became a General of the Pallava king. His feudatory position was analogous to that of a military governor of a province within the Pallava empire.

संश्रितस्तदा महीपालानाराध्य युद्धेषु विक्रमैः [।*]
प्राप पट्ट-बन्ध-संपूजां कर-पल्लवै ≍**पल्लवैर्द्धृ**ताम् ॥ **20**
भङ्गुरोर्म्मि-वलिगतैर्नृ**त्यदपरार्णवाम्भ**×कृतावधिम् [।*]
प्रेहरान्तामनन्य-संचरण-समय-स्थितां[1] भूमिमेव च ॥ **21**[2]
8 विबुध-संघ-मौलि-संमृष्ट-चरणारविन्द**ष्षडानन**ः [।*]
यमभिषिक्तवाननुग्र्हाय[3] सेनापति **मातृभिस्सह** ॥ **22**
तस्य पुत्र×**कङ्कवर्म्मो**ग्र-समरो[द्धु]र-प्रा[ ]शु-चेष्टितः [।*]
प्रणत-सर्व्व-मण्डलोत्किप्त[4] -सित-चामरो[द्धू]त-शेखरः ॥ **23**
त[स्मि]त×**कदम्ब**-भूमिवधू-रुचितैकनाथो **भगीरथ**ः [।*]
सगर-मुख्य[स्त्व]यं **कदम्ब**कुल-प्र[च्छन्न]-ज[न्मा] जनाधिपः [॥*] **24**[5]
9 अथ नृप-महितस्य तस्य पुत्रः
प्रथित-यशा **रघु**-पार्थिवः पृथु-श्रीः [।*]
पृथुरिव पृथिवीम्प्रसह्य यो(ऽ*)रीन्[6]
अकृत पराक्रमतस्त्वव[ ]श-भोज्याम् ॥ **25**

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1 Preharā and Muralā have been mentioned in the *Avantīsundarī-kathā* as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported (Raghavan, *An. Or. Res.*, Madras University, V, pt. 2). The rivers need not have been in Aparānta as suggested by Raghavan. Mallinātha (on *Raghu*, IV, 55) takes Muralā as a river in Kerala. The *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (end of 17th cent.) speaks of the waters of **मलप्रहरा-भीमरथी-घटप्रहराणां** (Gode, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXII, p. 263) This seems to suggest that Preharā was another name of the Malapraharā (Malaprabhā) or the Ghaṭapraharā (Ghaṭaprabhā) both tributaries of the Kṛishṇā. The metre possibly requires the reading **प्रहरा**°.

2 The third *pāda* has 16 *mātrās*. See n. 1 above.

3 Kielhorn understood from this passage that Ṣaḍānana installed Mayūraśarman after meditating on Senāpati(?) with the Mothers. This is wrong; here **अनुग्र्हाय** means having favoured, and not "after meditating on". It is impossible to think of a Senāpati whom Ṣaḍānana meditated on. Ṣaḍānana is here said to have favoured Mayūraśarman and installed him as general (**सेनापति**).

4 Read **मण्डलोत्कृष्ट**.

5 The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *Mātrās*. **ल** of **कुल** may however be considered short by poetic license. We may suggest **मुख**° for **मुख्य**°. Kielhorn : **कुले**.

6 Read °**रीनकृत**.

प्रतिभय-समरेष्वराति-शस्त्रो-
क्षिखित-मुखो(ऽ*)भिमुख-द्विषां प्रहर्त्ता [।*]
श्रुतिपथ-निपुणx कविः प्रदाता
विविध-कला-कुशलx प्रजा-प्रियश्च ॥ **26**

10 भ्रातास्य चारु-वपुरब्द-गभीर-नादो
मोक्ष-त्रिवर्ग-पटुरन्वय-वत्सलश्च [।*]
भागीरथिर्न्नरपतिर्भृगराज-लीलः
काकुस्थ[1] इत्यवनि-मण्डल-घुष्ट-कीर्त्तिः ॥ **27**
ज्यायोभिस्सह विग्रहो(ऽ*)र्थिषु दया सम्यक्प्रजा-पालनम्[2]
दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधान-वसुभिर्मुख्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम् [।*]
11 यस्यैतत्कुल-भूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रज्ञोत्तरं भूषणम्[3]
तम्भूपाx खलु मेनिरे सुर-सखं काकुस्थमत्रागतम् ॥ **28**
घर्म्माक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षर(।*)जिं प्रविश्य
च्छाया-सेवा-मृडित-मनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति [।*]
तद्वज्ज्यायो-विहत-गतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः
प्रापुश्शर्म्माव्यथित-मनसो यस्य भू[मिं] प्रविश्य ॥ **29**
12 नानाविध-द्रविण-सार-समुच्चयेषु
मत्त-द्विपेन्द्र-मद-वासित-गोपुरेषु [।*]
संगीत-वल्गु-निनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य
लक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥ **30**
गुप्तादि-पार्त्थिव-कुलाम्बुरुह-स्थलानि
स्नेहादर-प्रणय-सम्भ्रम-केसराणि [।*]
श्रीमन्त्यनेक-नृपपद्म-सेवितानि
यो(ऽ*)बोधयद्दुहितृ-दीधितिभिर्नृपार्क्कः ॥ **31**

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1 See p. 451, n. 2.

2 Read पालनं. ज्यायस्=stronger. 3 Read भूषणं.

3 Kākusthavarman apparently gave his daughters in marriage to princes belonging to the Gupta and other families. His Halsi grant is dated in year 80 which is possibly to be referred to the era of his Gupta relatives. See *Suc. Sāt.* pp. 255-56.

13 यन्दैवसम्पन्नमदीनचेष्ट[ं]
शक्तित्रयोपेतमथासनस्थम् [।*]
शेषैर्गुणैः पञ्चभिरप्यसाद्धया-
स्सामन्त-चूडामणयः प्रणेमुः ॥ **32**

सयिह भगवतो **भव**स्यादिदेवस्य सिद्धयालये सिद्ध-गान्धर्व्व-रक्षो-गणैस्सेविते[1]
विविध-नियम-होम-दीक्षा-परैर्[ब्र]ह्मणै(:*) स्नातकै[2] स्तूयमाने सदा मन्त्र-वादैश्शुभैः[।*]
14 सुकृतिभिरवणीश्वरैरात्म-निश्रेयसं प्रेप्सुभि**स्सातकर्ण्यादि**भिश्श्रद्धयाभ्यर्चिते[3]
इदमुरुसलिलोपयोगाश्रयं भूपति×कारयामास **काकुस्थवर्म्मा** तटाकम्म[हत्] [॥] **33**

तस्यौरसस्य तनय[स्य] विशाल-कीर्त्तेः
[प]ट्ट-त्रयार्प्पण-विरा[जित]-चारुमूर्त्तेः[4] [।*]
श्री**शान्तिवर्म्म**-नृपतेर्व्वर-शासनस्थः
कुब्जस्स्वकाव्यमिदमश्म-तले लिलेख[5] ॥ **34**

15 नमो भगवते **स्थानकुन्दूर**-वासिने महादेवाय [।*]
नन्दतु सर्व्व-समन्तागतो(ऽ*)यमधिवासः[6] [।*]
स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य इति [॥]

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1 Read गन्धर्व्व. सयिह=सः इह.

2 See p. 384, n. 7.

3 Read ०र्च्चित०. This Sātakarṇi is apparently a king of the Chuṭu family of Kuntala. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 219-21.

4 This appears to suggest that like his ancestor Mayūraśarman, Śāntivarman also received the *paṭṭabandha* (i.e. the position of a feudatory) from the Pallavas. Possibly the Early Kadamba kings owed nominal allegiance to the Pallavas; Śāntivarman's younger brother Kṛishṇavarman I became independent and performed the Aśvamedha, but he was defeated and killed by the Pallavas. See *ib.*, pp. 258; 280ff.; *supra*, p. 437, n. 2.

5 Kubja was thus both a poet and an artist. No other work of this poet is known.

6 अधिवास=the temple; or, the place called Sthānakundūra (mod. Tāḷagunda) सर्वसमन्तागतः=सर्वान् समन्तान् (=समन्तवासिनः, प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) प्राप्तः.

D—WESTERN GAṄGAS[1]

No. 70—Penukoṇḍa Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava

PENUKONDA (Penugoṇḍa), Anantapur Dist., Madras Pres.

FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, July; L. RICE, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 334f.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the second half of the 5th century A.D.[2]

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[3]

First Plate

१॰ स्वस्ति [॥*][4]

1 जितम्भगवता गत-घन-गगनाभेन **पद्मनाभेन** [॥*] श्रीमज्जाह्नवेय-कुलामल-व्योम-भा-

2 सन-भास्करस्य स्व-भुज-जव-जय-जनित-सुजन-जनपदस्य दारुणारि-गण-विदारण-रणोप-[5]

3 लब्ध-व्रण-भूषणस्य काण्वायन-सगोत्रस्य श्रीमत्**कोङ्कणिवर्म्म**-धर्म्ममहाधिराजस्य पु-

4 त्रस्य पितुरन्वागत-गुणस्य नाना-शास्त्रार्थ-सद्भावाधिगम-प्रणीत-[म]ति-विशेषस्य नीति-शास्त्र-

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1 Later Eastern Gaṅga records appear to suggest a connection between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas. The Vizagapatam grant (S. 1040) of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and the Kendupatna grant (S. 1217 or 1218) of Narasiṃha II (Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1103, 1116) refer to Kolāhala as an ancestor of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the former also to the foundation by Kolāhala of a city called Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi (the popular name of the Western Gaṅga country in South Mysore). It is however difficult to determine if there was actually any relation. The Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is not called Jāhnaveyakula. The Kāṇvāyana gotra is also not claimed. But the presence of both the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas in the east coast shows that such relations are not impossible. Most of the early Western Gaṅga records are spurious and it is difficult to settle Early Western Gaṅga genealogy in the present state of our knowledge. (1915)

2 Fleet ascribed the record to c. 475 A.D. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. On the seal is found the representation of an elephant to right.

4 १॰=symbol for सिद्धं. १॰ स्वस्ति is written in the left margin, १॰ on the level of l. 1 and स्वस्ति on that of l. 2.

5. Rice: विदारणोप॰

5 स्य वक्तृ-प्रयोक्तृ-कुशलस्य सम्यक्प्रजापालनमात्राधिगत-राज्य-प्रयोजनस्य श्रीमत्मा-[1]

Second Plate: First Side

6 **धव**-महाधिराजस्य तस्य पुत्रस्य अनेक-युद्धोपलब्ध-व्रण-विभूषित-शरीरस्य नाना-

7 शास्त्रेतिहास-पुराण-तत्वज्ञस्य[2] श्री-**पल्लव**-कुलेन्द्रेण **सिंहवर्म्म**-महाराजेन यथार्हम-

8 भिषिक्तस्य **गङ्ग**-राजस्य **आर्य्यवर्म्मणः** पुत्रेण पितृ-पैतामहा-गुण-संयुक्तेन[3] देव-

9 द्विजाति-गुरु-पूजन-तत्परेण धर्म्माभ्यास-कृत-मतिना स्व-बाहु-वीर्य्यार्जित-राज्य-विभवेन

10 **गाङ्गेय**-वंश-ध्वजेन स्व-वंश-क्रमागत-राज्य-प्रणीतेन **पल्लवानां** श्री**स्कन्दवर्म्म**-महा-

Second Plate: Second Side

11 राजेन यथार्हमभिषिक्तेन **गङ्गानाम्माधव**-महाधिराजेन श्री-**सिंहवर्म्मणा**[4] ब्राह्म-

12 णाय वत्स-सगोत्राय तैत्तिरिय-चरणाय[5] कुमारशर्म्मणे यम-नियम-तप(:*)-

13 स्वाद्ध्याय-यजन-याजनाद्ध्ययनाद्ध्यापन-शापानुग्रह-सामर्थ्याय अ(।*)दान-प्रतिग्रहा-

14 य चैत्र-मास्याम्[6] तिथौ पौर्णमास्याम् **परुवि**-विषये[6] परुवि-महातटाकाधस्तात् **कर्म्मदुव**-क्षे-

15 त्रे षष्यष्टि-केदाराः सप्तविंशत्खण्डुक-वापाः[7] ब्रह्मदेय-क्रमेणाद्भिः प्रदत्ताः [।*]

Third Plate

16 यो(ऽ*)स्य हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति ॥ अपि चात्र मनु-गीताः श्लोकाः [।*]

17 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥*] **1**

18 क्षन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यन्दुःखमन्यार्त्थ-पालनम् [।*]

दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनम् [॥*] **2**

19 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि घोरे तमसि वर्त्तते [॥*] **3**

20 इति सुवर्णकाराय्र्य-पुत्रेण अपापेन लिखितेयन्ताम्र-पट्टिका [।*]।

[A Symbol for *Siddham*?]

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1 Read श्रीमन्मा॰ 2 Usually तत्त्व॰ 3 Read आर्य॰ and ॰मह

4 His second name was apparently given after his father's overlord. This Pallava king Simhavarman is identified with the *Kāñchīśa* Simhavarman whose 22nd regnal year corresponds to Śaka year 380 (A. D. 458) according to the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176. 5 Read तैत्तिरीय.

6 Read ॰मासि. Paruvi is modern Parigi, 7 miles to the north of Hindupur in Anantapur Dist., still noted for its tank. In early records Parivi is mentioned as the capital of the Bāṇas, and at the time of Choḷa Rājarāja I it was the head quarters of the Parivai *nāḍu* in the Nuḷambapāḍi or Noḷambavāḍi district.

7 Read ॰विंशति-ख॰. The actual measurements of *Kedāra* and *Khaṇḍukavāpa* are not known. Cf. Keyār, a land measure in Sylhet. Dist. where 12 *K.* = 1 *Hāl* (*Hala*).

E—EASTERN GAṄGAS

No. 71—Jirjiṅgi Copper-plate Inscription of Indravarman—Gaṅga year 39 (= c. A.D. 535)[1]

JIRJIṄGI, near Tekkali, Ganjam Dist., Orissa.

R. Subba Rao, *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, p. 47ff; D. C. Sircar, *ibid*, VII, p. 229ff; R. K. Ghoshal, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 286f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 ५०[3] स्वस्ति [॥*] अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-श्रीमद्दन्तपुराद्भगवतस्सकल-भु-

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1 Some scholars refer to the reckoning as the Gaṅga-Kadamba era which is a misnomer. The Kadambas of Kaliṅga used the era as feudatory of the Gaṅgas. The commencement of the Gaṅga era is still a disputed problem; but there can be no doubt that it started from about A. D. 496, either from that very year or from some date in the next two years. A definite clue is given by the Santa Bommali grant (dated in the Gaṅga year 520 in the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman; *J. A. H. R. S.*, III. p. 171f.) and the Mandasa grant (dated in शकाब्द-नवशतक-सप्तरश-मत in the reign of Anantavarman; *ibid*, V, p. 272f) belonging to the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi or Bhāma°. Scholars have rightly taken Anantavarman of both the grants to be the same person; but the Saka date has been interpreted differently, as 900+सप्त+रस =900+7+6=913 by some and as 900+76 or 900+67 by others. The influence of Prakrit on the early Gaṅga records however seems to prove that सप्तरशमत is a mistake for Sanskrit सप्तदश-मित. As Anantavarman of the two records is apparently identical, Saka 917=A.D. 995 is a few years earlier than Gaṅga year 520. The Gaṅga era thus started some years later than 995—520= A.D. 475. Bhandarkar's list, No. 1474 refers to a lunar eclipse on the Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsī in Gaṅga year 128, i.e. A. D. 475+128+x=603+x A.D. Now, lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrsha pūrṇimā after this date occurred in A. D. 606 and 607, 624, 625 and 626 and 643 etc. There are also references to solar eclipses in Gaṅga years 154, 304, 351, etc. (*ibid*, Nos. 1477, 1482, 1484). Now, if the date Mārgaśīrsha-pūrṇimā, Gaṅga year 128, be equated with 30th November, 524 A.D., all the other dates are fairly satisfactorily explained. We therefore arrive at 496-97 A. D. as the initial year of the Gaṅga era. See *Ind. Ant.*, LXV, p. 237f; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 508f. It is possible that the Gaṅga era started from the first regnal year of king Indravarman of the Jirjiṅgi grant.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. 3 सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

2 वन-तलोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-हेतोः[1] **परमेश्वरस्य** सतत-प्रणा-

3 मावाप्तः[2] पुण्यसञ्चय-प्रभाव-निरस्ताशेषदुरितो **गाङ्गा**मल-कुल-

4 गगनतल-सहस्ररश्मिः अनेक-चातुर्दन्त-समर-विजय-[3]

5 विमल-विकोश-निस्त्रिंश[4]-धारा-समाक्रान्त-सकल-सामन्त-

6 नृपति-मण्डलाधिपतिः[5] मकुट-निहित-रुचिर-पद्मराग-

7 प्रभा-प्रसेक-परिष्वङ्ग-पिङ्गाङ्गीकृत-चरणयुगलः

Second Plate: First Side

8 अतुल-बल[6]-समुदयावाप्त-विपुलविभव-सम्पन्नता-

9 मण्डप-च्छाया-विश्रान्त । सुहृत्साधु-बान्धवार्थि-जनः[7]

10 माता-पितृ-पादानुद्ध्यात**स्त्रिकलिङ्गा**धिपति[8]-श्रीमहा-

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1 Dantapura is an old city, the early form of the name possibly being Dantakūra. Some scholars identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura, from Dravidian *pal* (tooth) + *ūr* (city). It is usually located at the site of modern Dantavaktra near Chicacole, Ganjam Dist.

2 Read °**मावाप्त-पुण्य**°. Parameśvara is Śiva.

3 Chaturdanta is the name of Indra's Airāvata. As Indra is the guardian of the east, the reference may be to Indravarman's struggles with some eastern or north-eastern power.

4 Read **निस्त्रिंश**. 5 Read °**पति-मकुट**°

6 Read **बल**. In this record the sign for **व** has been usually employed for **ब** which has been used only twice.

7 Read **विश्रान्त-सु**° and **बान्ध**°. The punctuation mark after **विश्रान्त** is unnecessary.

8 The title **त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति** was later used by the Ganga king Vajrahasta III and a few of his successors. It was also used by the Somavaṃśī kings of South Kośala and the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. The unique instance of its use in a Chandella record is apparently due to the fact that the record belongs to the Kauravas of Karkaredi who were at first feudatories of the Kalachuris and afterwards of the Chandellas. The epithets of their previous Kalachuri overlords were tacitly applied in that record to the name of their new Chandella suzerain. It is possible that **त्रिकलिङ्ग** originally indicated a particular territory between

11 राजेन्द्रवर्म्मा ।[1] **वोड्डर**भोग-संम्बद्ध-**जिज्जिक**ग्रामे ।[1]

12 सर्व्वसमवेतान्कुटुम्बिन(:*) समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्ययं ग्रामो-

13 (ऽ*)स्माभिर्व्विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्राय त्तैत्तिरीय सत्रह्मचारिणे[2]

Second Plate : Second Side

14 रुद्रस्वामि-सूनवे **अग्निस्वामिने** तत्तनुजाय च **रुद्रस्वामिने**

15 संविभज्यार्द्धेनासमुद्रादि-शशि-तारकार्क-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा

16 स्वपुण्यायूर्य्यशो-बल-वर्द्धनार्थ(*)[3] माता-पित्रोश्च पुण्यावाप्त-

17 ये ।[4] सर्व्व-कर-परिहारै(:*) ।[4] परिहृत्य चायं ग्रामः

18 प्रत्तः [।*] तदेवं भवद्भिः पूर्व्वोचित-मर्य्यादयोपस्थेयम्[5] [।*]

19 भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो विज्ञापयामि । धर्म्म-कम-विकमा-

Third Plate

20 णामन्यतम-योगादवाप्त-भूमण्डलाधिराज्यैरपि (इ*)मा(*)

21 महीमनुशासद्भिरक्रमागतं दानमीत्यनुपालनीयम्[6] ॥

Kaliṅga and South Kośala which may have been conquered by Indravarman who thus called himself **त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति**. The original home of the Somavaṃśis seems to have been in this country. The adoption of the title by the Kalachuris and the Later Gaṅgas is possibly due to their success against the Somavaṃśis or their encroachment into Somavaṃśī territory. Trikaliṅga may also indicate the eastern, central and western parts of Kaliṅga ; or Kaliṅga, Utkala and Kosala ; or may be a technical name of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1556) ; but in that case it is difficult to explain why other equally powerful Gaṅga kings do not use the title. As the Kākatiyas of the Telugu country do not use it, **त्रिकलिङ्ग** seems to be quite different from **त्रिलिङ्ग** (Telengana). Triliṅga appears also to have been originally a district (in the southern part of the present Andhra country according to some authorities ; see *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 40), the geographical connotation of which afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of the Telugu speaking area.

1 Read **संबद्ध**. The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Jijjika is modern Jirjingi.

2 Read **तैत्ति**० and **सत्रह्म**०

3 Read **पुण्यायु**० and **बल**.

4 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

5 **उपस्थेय**=उपसेव्य, पूज्य (to be honoured).

6 Read **दानमित्य**०.

22 अपि च श्लोकौ भवतः ॥

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां वा ।[1] यो हरेत

23 युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ ।[2] दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं [॥*] **1**

24 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद(ः*) ।

आच्छेत्ता चानुम-

25 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] **2**

प्रवर्द्धमान-सं ३० (+*) ९[3] वैशाख-दि २० (+*) १ ॥

26 लिखितमिदं महाराज्ञो[4] सान्धिविग्रहीक-देवसिङ्गदेवेनेति ॥[5]

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1 Read °त्तां वा. The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 This date was originally read as year 389 by Subba Rao.

4 Properly **महाराजस्य**. See *supra*, p. 96, n. 5.

5 Read °ग्रहिक-देवसिंह°. See p. 364, n. 7.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—Burma

No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions

MAUNGGUN, Prome Dist.,[1] Burma.

MAUNG TUN NYEIN, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 101.

Language: Pāli.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the sixth century A.D.[2]

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या.

TEXT[3]

No. 1

1 ये (?) [।*][4]

ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेस(ं*) हेतु तथागतो आह [।*]

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महासमनो ति [॥*] **1**[5]

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1 The ancient name of Prome was Sirikhettara = Śrikshetra.

2 Maung Tun Nyein believed that the characters used in these plates were in vogue during the first century A.D. This is certainly wrong. Elsewhere however he says, "The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions at Pagan of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, V.

4 The decipherment of the first sign in No. 1 and the first two or three signs in No. 2 are not quite beyond doubt. Maung Tun Nyein only gives two *daṇḍas* at the beginning of the inscriptions. His Nos. 1 and 2 are here represented as Nos. 2 and 1 respectively.

5 Read हेतुं and ०वादी to suit the metre. This is the most popular Buddhistic formula. Sometimes in Sanskrit we have ह्यवदत् in place of आह. महासमणो= बुद्ध. एवंवादी=holding this doctrine. हेतुप्पभवा धम्मा=conditions originated from a cause. The formula refers to the fundamental tennets of the doctrine of Buddha; for its interpretation, see *infra*, No. 73, v. 2; for the four noble truths which are related to the formula, see *infra*, p. 464, n. 1.

इति पि सो भगवा अरहं

2 सम्मा-संबुद्धो विज्जाचरणसप्पन्नो[1] सुगतो लोकविदु अनुत्तरो पुरिस-दम्म-सारथि सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा ति [।*]

3 स्वाख्यातो भगवता धम्मो सन्दिट्ठिको अकालिको एहिपस्सिको ओपणायिको[2] पच्चत्तं वेदितब्बो विञ्ञूहीति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः [तस्य हेतुम् अपि ।] एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

इति अपि (=एवमपि=एतस्मात् कारणात्) सः भगवान्—अर्हन्, सम्यक्संबुद्धः, विद्या-चरणसम्पन्नः, सुगतः, लोकविद्, अनुत्तरः, पुरुष-दम्य-सारथिः (=नररूपाणां वृषाणां नियन्ता), शास्ता देवमनुष्याणां, बुद्धः भगवान् इति [विश्रुतः] । स्वाख्यातः (=सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः) भगवता धर्म्मः—सान्दृष्टिकः (=दृष्टिगोचरः), अकालिकः (=सार्वकालिकः), [+]ऐहिपश्यिकः (=असद्-चितः), औपनयिकः (=निर्वाण-सम्पादकः), प्रत्युक्तं (=सौष्ठ्येण) वेदितव्यः विज्ञैः इति ॥

No. 2

1 [१° स्वस्ति ?] [।*]

ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेसं हेतु तथागतो आह [।*]

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महसमनो ति [॥*] **1**

चत्तारो इद्धिपादा

2 चत्तारो सम्मप्पधाना चत्तारो सति-पट्ठाना चत्तारि अरिय-सच्चानि चतु-वेसरज्जानि पञ्चिन्द्रियाणि पञ्च चक्खूनि छ

3 असद्धारणानि[3] सत्त बोज्झङ्गा अरियो अट्ठङ्गिको[4] मग्गो नव लोकुत्तरा धम्मा दस बलानि चुद्दस बुद्ध-कोनि[5] अट्ठारस बुद्ध-धम्मानि [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ये धर्म्माः हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

---

1 Better read संपन्नो. 2 Read ओपनयिको.

3 It has been corrected to असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि]. If this suggestion is accepted, they would no doubt refer to the six *abhijñās* (supernatural knowledge of an Arhat) which are (1) the different magical powers, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of the thoughts of others and (4) of former existences, (5) the divine eye, and (6) the knowledge that causes the destruction of human passion.

4 Read अट्ठङ्गिको. 5 Read °योनि.

[तेन च महाश्रमणेन व्याख्यातानि]—चत्वारि ऋद्धिपदानि, चत्वारि सम्यक्प्रधानानि, चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थानानि, चत्वारि आर्य्य-सत्यानि, चत्वारि वैशारद्यानि, पञ्च इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च चक्षूंषि, षट् असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि], सप्त बोध्यङ्गानि, आर्य्यः आष्टाङ्गिकः मार्गः, नव लोकोत्तराः धर्म्माः, दश बलानि, चतुर्दश बुद्धयोनयः, अष्टादश बुद्ध-धर्म्माः [॥*][1]

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1 The 4 *iddhipādas*, by which *iddhi* is attained, are *chhando* (determination), *viriyaṃ* (exertion), *chittaṃ* (preparation of the heart) and *vīmaṃsā* (investigation). The 4 *sammā-padhānas* are exertion (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious conditions already existing. The 4 *satipaṭṭhānas* are meditation (1) on the impurity of the body, (2) on the evils of sensations, (3) on the evanescence of thought, and (4) on the condition of existence. The 4 sublime truths are (1) *dukkkaṃ* (suffering), (2) *dukkha-samudayaṃ* (cause of suffering), (3) *dukkha-nirodhaṃ* (cessation of suffering), and (4) *dukkhanirodha-gāmini paṭipadā* (the path leading to the cessation of suffering). For a Buddha's 4 *vesārajjas* (subjects of confidence or fearlessness), see p. 399, n. 2. The five *indiriyas* (qualities) are *saddhindiriyaṃ* (faith), *viriyi°* (energy), *satin°* (recollection), *samādhin°* (contemplation) and *paññi°* (wisdom). The 5 *chakkhus* (kinds of vision) are *maṃsa-chakkhu* (human eye), *dibba°* (divine eye), *paññā°* (eye of wisdom), *samanta°* (eye of universal knowledge), and *buddha°* (the eye of a Buddha). Six *asādhāraṇas* are noticed above, p. 463, n. 3. The 7 requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha are recollection, investigation, energy, joy, calm, contemplation and equanimity. For the sublime eight fold path, see *supra*, p. 224, n. 3. The *lokuttara-dhammas* (transcendent conditions) are the 4 *maggas* (noble paths), the 4 *phalas* (fruitions of the paths) and Nirvāṇa.The ten *balas* or forces belonging to a Buddha consist of his comprehension in ten fields of knowledge ; sometimes they are given as consisting in the knowledge of the *paṭichchasamuppāda*. The 14 *buddha-yonis* (requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood?) are however not enumerated in the lexicons ; but a Buddha's *ñāna* is sometimes referred to as 14 in number. The 18 *buddhadhammas* (conditions or attributes of a Buddha) are the same as the *āveṇika-dhammas* (p. 399, n. 4) which are (1) seeing all things, past, (2) present and (3) future; (4) propriety of actions of the body, (5) speech, and (6) thought; (7) firmness of intention, (8) memory, (9) *samādhi*, (10) energy (11) contemplation, (12) and wisdom; (13) freedom from fickleness, (14) noisiness, (15) confusedness, (16) hastiness, (17) heedlessness, and (18) inconsiderateness.

B—MALAY PENINSULA

No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Buddhagupta

NORTHERN Dist., Wellesley Province, Malay Peninsula.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, ii, p. 71; J. W. LAIDLAY, ib, XVIII, p.247, Pl. X; H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, p. 255 ff; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5), p. 7; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, I, p. 14ff.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

ये धम्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषा(ं*) हेतु(ं*) तथागतो[2] [।*]

तेषा(ं*) च यो निरोध एव(ं*)वादी महाश्रमण(ः*) [॥*] **1**

अज्ञानाद्भोयते कर्म जन्मनः कर्म कारणम् [।*]

ज्ञानान्न क्रि(चो?)यते कर्म्म कर्म्माभावान्न जायते [॥*] **2**

महानाविक[स्य] बुद्धगुप्तस्य **रक्तमृत्तिका**[3]-वास[4].....

1 From the partial facsimile in *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, I, and transcripts. The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. Kern assigned the inscription to *circa* 400 A. D. on palaeographic grounds. It is written in characters of the South Indian (Pallava) style.

2 Read ०भवास्तेषां ; and तथागतो ह्यवदत् to suit the metre. The formuia is also found in the Keda inscription (*India and Java, op. cit.*).

3 Scholars have rejected Kern's identification of this place with Chih-tu (meaning "red earth" in Chinese), which is usually located in Siam. It is now generally believed that रक्तमृत्तिका is to be identified with the *Vihāra* called Lo-to-mo-chie (=Pali *Ratta mattikā*=Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā*) which Yuan Chwang found near Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Śaśāṅka king of Gauḍa. Yuan Chwang's Lo-to-mo-chie has been identified with a place called Rāṅgāmāṭi (literally, "red earth") 12 miles to the south of Murshidābād, Bengal. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, p. 82f.

4 The reading intended is possibly ०वास्तव्यस्य दानम्. महानाविक=captain of a महानौ or ship.

C—BORNEO

Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman

Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river), Kutei State, East Borneo.

Kern, *V. G.*, VII, pp. 62, 64; Vogel, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven door het koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXIV, pp. 167-232; LXXVI, p. 431; N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 18; B. Ch. Chhabra, *J. R. A. S. L.*, I, p. 38ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-3; 1-2 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

TEXT[1]

No. I

1 श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य

2 कुण्डुङ्गस्य महात्मनः [।*]

3 पुत्रो(ऽ*)श्ववर्म्मो[2] विख्यातः

4 वंश-कर्त्ता यथांशुमान्[3] [॥*] 1

5 तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः

6 त्रयस्त्रय इवाग्नयः [।*]

7 तेषान्त्रयाणाम्प्रवरः

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1 From the eye-copies in *V. G.*, VII. Out of the 4 *yūpa* inscriptions we give the text of two only. For the text of another of the four, see p. 467. n. 1. Kern proposed 400 A.D. as the approximate date of the Kutei inscriptions. The un-Sanskritic name of Mūlavarman's grandfather suggests that these were indigenous princes of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion. The equation Kūṇḍuṅga = Kauṇḍinya is unsatisfactory.

2 Read ०वर्म्मा विख्यातो. Note also that the record does not observe the rules of *sandhi* at the end of the first and third *pādas* in l. 5 (०त्मानस्त्रय०), l. 7 (०वरस्तपो०) and l. 11 यूपोयं द्वि०. The metre is defective in the fifth syllable (V. 1, *pāda* 1) which is required to be short.

3 Read वंश and यथांशु०.

8 तपो-बल-दमान्वितः [॥*] 2

9 श्री-**मूलवर्म्मा** राजेन्द्रो

10 यष्ट्वा बहुसुवर्णकम्[1] [।*]

11 तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्

12 द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः [॥*] 3

No. 2

1 श्रीमतो नृप-मुख्यस्य

2 राज्ञ(ः*) श्री-**मूलवर्म्मणः** [।*]

3 दानं[2] पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे

4 यद्दत्तम्वप्रकेश्वरे[3] [॥*] 1

5 द्विजातिभ्यो(ऽ*)ग्निकल्पेभ्यः[4]

6 विंशतिर्गोसहस्रिकम् [।*]

7 तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्

8 कृतो विप्रैरिहागतैः(ः*) [॥*] 2

---

1 बहुसुवर्ण has been taken to mean a सोम sacrifice. One would expect to have in it a महादान like कल्पवृक्ष and गोसाहस्रिक of the other two Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman. But it is not found in the general list of the 16 *mahā-dānas*. The inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 60) referring to the Kalpavriksha reads श्रीमद्विराजकीर्त्तेः राज्ञ(ः*) श्रीमूलवर्म्मणः पुण्यम् । शृण्वन्तु विप्रमुख्य(।*)ः ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(।*)ः ॥ बहुदानजीवदानम् सकल्पवृक्षं सभूमि-दानञ्च । तेषाम्पुण्यगणानाम् यूपोयं स्थापितो विप्रैः ॥ (Metre: आर्या).

2 Kern read जा(?)त.

3 Read दत्तं वप्र०. Vaprakeśvara was apparently the name of a god (Śiva?) which possibly gave its name to the locality where its temple was situated.

4 Read ०कल्पेभ्यो विंशति-गोसा० and यूपोऽयं. गोसा० however does not suit the metre. Kern: ०कल्पस्य विंशतिर्गो०.

D—JAVA

No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman

JAMBU Rock, West Java.

KERN, *V.G.* VII, p. 6; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-25; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, p. 25.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 स्रग्धरा.

TEXT[1]

1 श्रीमान्दाता[2] कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो य≍पुरा [ता]रुमाया(*)[3]
नाम्ना श्री-**पूर्ण्णवर्म्मा** प्रचुर-रिपु-शराभेद्य-विख्यात वर्म्मा [।*][4]

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1 From the eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII. The characters are box-headed and are almost identical with and only a little more developed than those used in the records of Mūlavarman. There is a close affinity between the script of these records with the alphabet (called *grantha* by Bühler) used by the Pallava kings in their records. If Mūlavarman's records are to be assigned to c. 400 A. D., the records of Pūrṇavarman may be assigned roughly to the second half of the 5th century A.D. Kern suggests the date 450 A. D. It is not known whether Pūrṇavarman was an Indian, or an indigenous prince of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion as well as a Sanskritic name.

2 Kern: ०न्पाता.

3 Read ०मायां. Tārumā (also called Tāruma) was apparently the capital of Pūrṇavarman. Some scholars believe that the Ci-tarum river has preserved the name of Tārumā.

4 There is a pair of foot-prints engraved near the inscription. Cf. the Ci-aruteun Rock inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 5) engraved near the representation of foot-prints. It runs:

विक्रान्तस्यावनिपतेः श्रीमतः पूर्णवर्म्मणः ।
तारुम-नगरेन्द्रस्य विष्णोरिव पद-द्वयम् ॥

The king was apparently deified and his foot-prints were worshipped by the people, as those of the Buddha and Vishṇu were worshipped in India.

2 तस्येदम्पादविम्बद्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदक्षम्[1]

भक्तानां यन्द्रिपानाम्भवति[2] सुखकर(*) शल्य-भूतम्[3] रिपूणाम् [॥*] 1

No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman—Regnal Year 22

Tugu Rock, to the east of Tanjong Priok (the port of Batavia), West Java; now in the Batavia Museum.

Kern, *V. G.*, VII, p. 131f.; Vogel, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, p. 32; N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 26

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the fifth century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT[4]

1 पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा[5] पीन-बाहुना [।*]

According to Vogel (*op. cit.*, pp. 16-21), the foot-prints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He suggests that the Ci-aruton rock marks the spot of the king's cremation, and that the foot-prints of the dead king were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies. Stutterheim (*B.K. N. I.*, LXXXIX, p. 288f) believes that the foot-prints are a symbol of the king's supremacy over the land. It is also interesting to note that the Kebon Kopi rock has the representation of two elephant's foot-prints and the following verse inscribed near them :

* * जय-विशालस्य तारुमेन्द्र[स्य ह[स्ति]नः [।*]

* * [ऐरा*]वताभस्य विभातीदम्पद-द्वयम् [॥*]

All the three records lie close to one another in the hilly country called Buitenzog, which was up till the recent Japanese occupation of Java the residence of the Governor General of Dutch East India. The lost letters of the verse may be conjecturally restored as भुवि and राज्ञः.

1 Read दक्षं. 2 Read यन्नृपा°. 3 Read भूतं.

4 From the partial eye-copy in *V. G*, VII and transcripts.

5 गुरु has been taken in the sense of father. चन्द्रभागा, name of the canal

[ख]ता ख्यातां पुरी(*) प्राप्य

2 चन्द्रभागार्णव(*) ययौ ॥ 1

प्रवर्द्धमान-द्वाविङ्द्वत्सर[1] श्री-गुणोजसा [।*]

नरेन्द्र-ध्वज-भूतेन

3 श्रीमता पूर्ण्णवर्म्मणा ॥ 2

प्रारभ्य फाल्गुन-मासि[2] खाता कृष्णाष्टमी-तिथौ [।*]

चैत्र-शुक्ल-त्रयोदश्याम्[3] दिनैस्सिद्धैकविङ्कै[:*][4] [॥*] 3[5]

4 आयता षट्सहस्रेण धनुषा[*] स-शतेन च [।*]

द्वाविङ्शेन[6] नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥ 4

पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्व्विदार्य्य शिविरावनि[म्] [।*]

5 ब्राह्मणैर्ग्गोसहस्रेण[7] प्रयाति कृतदक्षिण:[8] ॥ 5

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excavated by the king's father, and गोमती, that of the other excavated by the king himself, possibly point to a North Indian factor in the Indian influence on the old culture of Java. The first was named after the Chandrabhāgā = mod Chenāb (in the Panjab) whose older name was Aśikni. गोमती (l. 4) was named after either the river Gomatī = mod. Gumāl the western tributary of the Indus or Gomatī = mod. Gumtī which joins the Ganges on the left bank below Benares.

1 Read ०विंशे वत्सरे. The metre is defective as the 5th syllable is required to be short.

2 Read फाल्गुने.

3 Read ०दश्यां. 4 Read ०विंश०

5 This verse shows that the मास recognised was अमान्त as in South India, and not पूर्णिमान्त as in the North.

6 Read ०विंशे०. 1 *dhanus* = 4 *hastas* or cubits; 6122 *dhanuses* = 24488 cubits = 12244 yard = a little less than 7 miles. Note that the canal of this length was excavated in 21 days.

7 गोसहस्र is the name of a महादान.

8 Read दक्षिणै:. The meaning seems to be that the canal passed by some establishments of Brāhmaṇas. Cf. ख्यातां पुरीं प्राप्य in l. 1 where however the passage may also indicate that the canal started from the capital city.

E—CHAMPĀ[1] (South Annam)

No. 78—Vo-cañh Rock Inscription

Vo-cañh (pronounced *Vo-kañh*), Khánh-Hoà district, Annam, French Indo-China.

A. Bergaine, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XX, pp. 16-18 [196-98]; Finot., *B.E.F.E.O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Book III, p. 1f. B. Ch. Chhabra, *J.R.A.S.L.*, I, p. 45f; D. C. Sircar, *J. G. I. S.*, VI, p. 57f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVII p. 107f.; G. Coedès, *Ibid.*, p. XVI, p. 484ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (but actually a little later).[2]

Metre : Verses 1-2, can not be determined, but may be some metre like शिखरिणी ; Vv. 3-4 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 5 शार्दूल-विक्रीडित.

TEXT[3]

1-5 ... ...

6 ... ... प्रजानाङ्करुण ... ...

7 प्रथम-विजय ... ... [u*] **1-2**

1 The ancient kingdom of Champā roughly corresponded to the southern portion of the mod. province of Annam in the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The name may have been an Indianised form of the original name of the indigenous people who are now called Cham, the Indianization having been influenced by the name of the Indian city of Champā, capital of the Aṅga *janapada* (mod. Monghyr-Bhāgalpur region). In India the name of the capital is often applied to the country.

2 Scholars have assigned the record to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. on grounds of palaeography. In my opinion, the theory is untenable. In the 2nd century A.D. not Sanskrit but Prakrit was generally used in Indian inscriptions. Classical metres like वसन्ततिलका were popular in India from the Gupta period and were rarely used in Indian inscriptions before the fourth century A.D. The draft of ll 14-15 of the record appears to be an immitation of inscriptions of the Gupta period. I am therefore inclined to think that this inscription is not earlier than the first half of the 4th century. As regards the early script, cf. *supra*, No. 9, p. 269 and n. 3. As to the conservativeness of Indo-Chinese scribes, Blagden has rightly pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 131) that the anchor-shaped subscript *y* is found in the Pyu inscriptions (c. 12th century, but their palaeography may be a few centuries earlier) of Myazedi (Burma), though the form had become obsolete in India after the 4th century A.D.

3 From transcripts. The inscribed rock is called Nha Trang.

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

8 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [पौ*]रुर्णम(ा*)स्याम् (पूर्णम् अस्याम् ?) ।

आज्ञापितं सदसि राज-वरेण [लोकाः ?]

[सामन्त ?]-राज-गण-

9 वागमृतं पिबन्तु ॥ 3

श्री-**मार-राज-कुल**-व[ंश-[1] विभूषणे*]न

श्री-**मार-लो**[क*]-[नृ]

10 [पतेः*][2] कुल-नन्दनेन ।

आज्ञापितं स्वजन-स[ज्ञन-सङ्घ?]-मध्ये

वाक्यं प्रजा-हि-

11 तकरं करिणो(भि?)र्व्वरेण ॥ 4

लोकस्यास्य गतागति(ती?) वि-

⏑ ⏑ न(ावविचता ?) सिंहासना(ने ?)द्धयासने

12 पुत्रे भ्रातरि नान्य(त्रय?)के स्व-समीकरणच्छन्देनप्तेषु (०समके

राजच्छद्दावाप्तिषु?) [।*]

यत्किञ्चिद्रजतं सु-

13 वरुर्णमपि वा स-स्थावरञ्जङ्गमं

कोष्ठागारक[तो ध?]नं प्रियहिते सर्व्वं विसृ-

14 ष्टं मया ॥ 5

तदेवं मयानुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यं [।*]

15 विदितमस्तु च मे भृत्यस्य वीरस्य ... ...

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1 The passage may indicate the family of king Śrīmāra or the family of the illustrious king Māra. The name of the king responsible for the record is lost. He appears to have been a descendant of a king named Māra. Māra has been identified by some scholars with Kiu Lien who began to rule from 192 A.D. Coedès identifies him with Fan-She-man of the Chinese annals who was king of Fou-nan (an ancient kingdom comprising Cambodia and the adjoining regions) about the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The identifications are doubtful; but even if any of them be accepted, the present record should be placed considerably later, as it belongs to a descendant of Māra and not to Māra himself.

2 The restorations in the 1st half of v. 4 are not ours. One may also suggest कुलवर्हिषडाननेन. The emendations and restorations suggested by us are conjectural.

No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman

Nhan-thap,[1] near Cho Dinh, Phu-yen district, to the north of Cape Varella, Annam, French Indo-China.

Bargaigne, *Inscriptions Sanscrites*, No. XXI, p. 26 [236]; Finot, *B.E.F.E.O.*, II, p. 186; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Book III, p. 3f; B. Ch. Chhabra, *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, I, p. 48.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A.D.

TEXT[2]

1 नमो देवाय [।*] **भद्रेश्वरस्वामि**-पाद-प्रसादात अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं करिष्यामि[3] [।*]

2 धर्म्ममहाराज-श्री**भद्रवर्म्मणो**[4] यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पुत्र-पौत्रम्भोक्ष्यति [॥*]

3 **पृथिवि**[5]-प्रसादात्कार्म्म-सिद्धिरस्तु[6] ।

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1 Cho-Dinh is the name of a market place in the neighbourhood of the village.

2 From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, I. Scholars have referred these inscriptions to *circa* 400 A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The actual date may be a little later, but certainly not earlier. Some scholars identify Bhadravarman with Fan-Hou-ta (380-413 A.D.) known from Chinese sources.

3 *I. e.*, I shall make thee agreeable to fire, i.e. I shall sacrifice thee (referring to some unknown object).

4 धर्म्ममहाराज etc. are peculiar titles used (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) in South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the Vākāṭakas, Early Pallavas, Early Gaṅgas and Early Kadambas. This fact, and that Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy about the middle of the 4th century A.D. indicate that our record cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 5th century. पुत्र-पौत्रं भोक्ष्यति=(Agni) will save the sons and grandsons.

5 Read पृथिवी॰. This reference to the Earth as a goddess is interesting.

6 Read कर्म्म॰. कर्मसिद्धि refers to the successful completion of the sacrifice or to the attainment of the result due to the sacrifice.

No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman

My-son, Quang Nam district, Annam, French Indo-China.

Finot, *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 187; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Book III, p. 4

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्या(?) ; V. 2 उपगीति.

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 [नि]दं [॥*] नमो **महेश्वर**[म्*] **उमाञ्च** प्र[ति?]

2 **ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमेव** च नमो[2] [।*]

पृथिवी(*) वायुरा(मा?)काशमप[ो?]

3 ज्योतिश्च[3] पञ्चमं [॥*] **I**

नमस्कृत्वाहमिच्छामि[4] सर्व(*) विशेषैरनुध्यातं[5] [।*]

दुस्कृ-[5]

4 र्म्म व्यपोह[न्तु] सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा[6][।*] **2**

भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-प(।*)दानुध्या[ते*]न चास्माक[ं*] महारा[जेन*]

5 **भद्रवर्म्मणा** मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा[त्वा*] **भद्रेश्वराय**[7] अक्षयो(या?) नीवी दत्ता [।*]

यथा [पूर्वेण*]

6 **सुलह-पर्व्वतो** दक्षिणेन **महापर्व्वतः** पश्चिमेन **कुचक**-पर्व्वत[8] उत्तरेण **म**[हानदी*]

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1 From the transcript in *Champā*. Bhadravarman of this record is usually identified with the king of No. 79.

2 Read नमः ॥

3 Read ०श्चेति.

4 Read ०मिच्छे.

5 Read ०ध्यातुं and दुष्कर्म्म०.

6 Read व्यपोहितुं सुकृतं नयञ्च तनितुं तथा.

7 Bhadreśvara is the same as Bhadreśvarasvāmin, apparently a Śiva linga founded by and named after Bhadravarman. मानुष्य अध्वन्=मानवी गति (=परिणाम) =man's way leading to death.

8 Finot suggests **कुचोक** which is an indigenous word meaning "august."

7 परिमाणाभ्यन्तरा स-कुटुम्बि-जना भूमि[1] दत्ता [।*] जनपद-मर्य्यादा षड्भागे(ऽ*)पि[2] [अस्माकं ?]

8 स्वामिना दशभागेनानुगृहीता देवस्य देय[।*] इ[ि*]त [।*] तदेव(ं*) यथाभिलिखित-मकुर्व्व[तो*][3]

9 देवस्य जन्म(नः*) प्रभृति[4] धर्म्म-प्रसवो यः तत्फलं **भद्रवर्म्मणः** [।*] यदि कश्चिद[।*]क्रम्य हर[ति*]

10 विनाशयति वा मुक्तदोषा[ः*] कुटुम्बिनः तस्योपरि अधर्म्म[ः*] स्यात् [।*] चातुर्व्वैद्यं राजा[नं*]

11 राजमात्रं वा[5] सह कुटुम्बिभिः विज्ञापयामि ममानुकम्पार्थं[6] यन्मया दत्तं मा विनाशय[त*] ॥

Second Side

1 यदि विनाशयथ जन्मनि जन्मनि वो यत्सुकृतं तन्मम स्यात् [।*]

2 यच्च मम दुष्कृतं तद्युष्म[।*]कं स्यात् [।*] अथ सम्यक्परिपालयथ तद्युष्माकमेव

3 धर्म्म(ः*) स्यादिति भूयो विज्ञा(प*)यामि [।*] य इह प्रभवति ... ... देव-बलि-कारकाः [ते*]-

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1 Read भूमिर्दत्ता. Better supply इति before परिमाण.

2 Read षड्भागोऽपि, i.e. even the sixth part of the produce received by the State according to custom prevailing in the kingdom (was reduced by the king to the tenth part and was made payable to the god).

3 Possibly we have to suggest ०मकुर्वतोऽपि.

4 *I. e.*, from the creation of the god, i.e. so long as Bhadreśvarasvāmin has been established.

5 Better read च.

6 चातुर्वेद्य=Brāhmaṇa versed in the four Vedas, who may receive the district as an honorific grant. राजमात्र=king's officer who may be appointed a governor of the district; cf. महामात्र. ममानुकम्पार्थं=out of compassion for me.

4 [षा*]ङ्कर्म्म न कारयितव्यं स्यादोर ... ... स्वरतं वा राजकुलकार्य्यमनुष्ठेयं ... ...

5 [अ*]थ गु(?)रोऽ(?)स्माकं राजा[नो].....यत्किंचित्.....फलार्थेषु पदेषु पदितव्यमिति [।*]

6 [1]... ... ...

7 कुशलायतनाः बहुल-रत्न-च[2]... ... ...

8 [3]... ... ...अयन्न स्वरतो धर्म्मभव... ... ...

8 ... ... पालयति तस्यैष धर्म्म[:*] [।*] यो न तु पाल(य*)ति अभिनाशयतु[4] अथ विनाशयति

10 ... ...तस्य **भद्रेश्वरस्वामि**[5] जानाति ॥

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1 About 27 *aksharas* are lost.

2 About 16 *aksharas* are lost.

3 About 18 *aksharas* are lost.

4 Read °शयति.

5 Read स्वामी. Possibly we have to suggest परिणामं before तस्य.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

N. B.—Readers are requested to insert the additions and corrections in the body of the book.

P=page; T=transcript of the epigraphic text; TS=Sanskritized version of the Prakrit inscriptions; FN=foot-note; L=line.

P. 5—TS. L. 4. Read—साखामनीष्यः. L. 7. Read—साखामनीष्याः. L. 9. Read—८ (=अष्ट-संख्यकाः जनाः). L. 10. Read—त्ये (=ते=ये). L. 12. Read—असुरमेधसः. FN, 2. L. 3. Read—not very far.

P. 6—L. 1. Read—असुरमेधाः [मर्त्य] क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) $^{+}$प्राभरत् (=प्रायच्छत)। L. 2. Read—प्रति एयुः. L. 11. Read—दस्यवः (=जनपदाः). L. 12. Read—Inscription [e].

P. 7—TS. L. 2. Read—साखामनीष्यः. FN. L. 2. Read—*op. cit.*

P. 8—L. 4. Omit FN mark on—India[2]. L. 10. Read—$^{+}$विशं.

P. 14—FN, L. 1. Read—may be to.

P. 16—L. 3. Read—Rock Edicts. L. 6. Add—Ibid, p. ixf for other references. T, L. 5. Read—पिं(प्रि)यदसि. FN, 1. L. 1. Read—Aśoka's Rock Edicts.

P. 17—TS. L. 6. Read—राज्ञः ॥

P. 18—T. L. 3. Read—अंतिय(ो*)को and अंतिय(ो*)कस. L. 4. Read—चिकीछ(ा*). FN, 2. Add—Almost all kings of ancient Kerala whose exploits have been described in the Sangam literature are known to have had the title *Chēramān* which is supposed to be a contraction of *chēramakan*, "son of Chēra". Chēra was the Tamil form of the name written Kerala in Sanskrit. See K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 38-39. Cf. also Guhilaputra, Balikaputra (the Ballas of Saurāshṭra), etc. (Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 121).

As regards the name Pāṭaliputra (earlier Pāṭaligrāma), it may be suggested that the name originally indicated the Yaksha protector of the village Pāṭali; cf. Kikkaṭāputra in a Wala grant (645 A.D.) of Dharasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 66ff.).

P. 19—L. 17. Read—Text[5]. T, L. 1. Read—र(ा*)जा. FN, 3. Add—Some versions have उदुपानानि.

P. 20—L. 2. Read—अन्ना-. L. 3. Read—सुसू(सू)सा. FN 2. Add—A Sanchi inscription of c. 2nd century B. C. and a Mysore record of about the end of the 3rd century A.D. refer to the Rajjuka (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 416, 1195).

P. 21—T, L. 6. Read—दिख्वा(ब्या)नि.

P. 24—L. 4. Read—विजितसि. TS, L. 6. Note on सुप्रदार्यं—According to Hultzsch, सुप्रदारकं. L. 8. Read—सर्वपार्षदेषु. L. 13. Read—अनुवर्द्धं.

P. 26—TS. L. 2. Read—अर्थ-कर्म. L. 4. Read—पथि ; यद्वा, घोषे. Note—"The king is himself a large owner and breeder of cattle and personally superintends the condition of his flocks at certain times in the year. The whole care is taken of course by the cowboys whose ranches the king visits when, for example, the cattle are to be branded" (Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, XIII, p. 82). It may be pointed out however that Aśoka possibly refers to his daily duties and not to a periodical duty like that of visiting the cowpen. L. 8. Read—निध्यातिः (= युक्तिभिः निध्यायनं = केनचित् पारिषदेन अपरेषां बोधनाय स्वमतपक्षे युक्तिप्रदर्शनं).

P. 27—L. 1. Read—Shāhbāzgaṛhī Version. T, L. 1. Read—प्रिय-(द्र*)शि. TS, L. 1. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः. L. 5. Read—धर्मासक्तिः.

P. 28—T, L. 7. Read—धंमानु[स]ट्टी(स्टी). TS. L. 1. Read—विहारयात्रां निरयाषिषुः. L. 4. Note on सम्बोधि—Cf. महाबोधिनिवासिनां in the Bodhgayā temple inscription of Dharmapāla (*Gauḍalekha*

mālā, p. 31). Sambodhi=Mahābodhi=mod. Bodhgayā. L. 7. Note on तदुपगा—Or तदुपायात् (=तद्विहारयावातः आरभ्य) एषा.

P. 29—L. 2. Add—p. 78f. T, L. 6. Read—चु खो.

P. 30—TS. L. 11. Read—इति [विचिन्त्य]। L. 9. Better read—प्रतिवेशिकं.

P. 31—L. 5. Brāhmī. T, L. 3. Read—[1*]. FN. 3. Add—Cf. also *Amarakosha*, II, v. 29.

P. 32—T, Ll. 2-3. Read—भटकपि. FN. 1. Read—आस्रव (=पाप). FN. 6. Omit—As Hultzsch suggests.

P. 33—L. 8. Better read—स्वामिकेन. L. 12. Read—Shāhbāzgaṛhī Version. FN 4. Read प्रषंड (=पार्षद).

P. 34—FN. 3. Read—गरन. FN. 10. Read—समवाय (= सामवाद), 'restrained speech.'

P. 35—L. 2. Read—सर्वपार्षदान्. L. 4. Read—सर्वपार्षदानाम्. L. 6. Read—आत्मपार्षद० and परपार्षद०. L. 8. Read—परपार्षदाः and आत्मपार्षदं. L. 9. Read—परपार्षदम्, आत्मपार्षदं and परपार्षदं. L. 10. Read—आत्मपार्षदं and परपार्षदं. L. 11. Read—पार्षदभक्तया and आत्मपार्षदं. L. 12. Read—आत्मपार्षदम्. L. 13. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः. L. 15. Read—[पार्षदे]. L. 16. Read—सर्वपार्षदानाम्. L. 19. Read—पार्षदवृद्धिः. L. 20. Read—Shāhbāzgaṛhī Version.

P. 36—T, L. 5. Read—संस्तुत-सहय-. FN. 7. Read—अपग्रथो.

P. 37—T, L. 9. Omit hyphen mark after—नभितिन[6]. FN. 4. Read—एषे. FN. 6. Read—नभितीनां. FN. 7. Note—Sans. गुलिन्द= Pr. पलिन्द (cf. गुरु=गरु) ; Sans. पौलिन्द=Pr. पालिन्द (=पारिन्द, cf. गौरव=गारव ; स्थूल=थोर).

P. 38—TS. L. 2. Read—द्वयर्हमावं ; द्विकार्द्धमात्र according to Hultzsch. FN. 7. Read—to have extended.

P. 39—L. 1. Read—पार्षदाः. L. 8. Read—पार्षदे. L. 10. Read—ज्ञन्तव्यमतम् एव.

P. 42—FN. 7. Read—वर्गः.

P. 43—L. 11. Read—[।*]. L. 17. Read—[एन*] [ज*] [न]स. Note on नगलवियोहालका—Jaugaḍa has महामाता नगलक (= महामात्राः नागरकाः).

P. 44—L. 4 and L. 6. Note that the last word of both lines in the original is possibly अनुवासं. TS. L. 8. Read—प्राप्नुथ and [इति]। L. 9. Read—प्राप्नोति. L. 11. Read—प्राप्नोति. FN. 1. Read—सुमनुष्याणां. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति. L. 3. Read—कारायां मृत्युः. L. 6. Omit mark after—21. Add—In that case मध्य would indicate a less severe course of punishment.

P. 45—L. 21. Read—निष्क्रामयिष्यति [अनुवर्षम् ?] ईदृशम्. L. 22. Omit—त्रिषु त्रिषु वर्षेषु. Read—यदा [अनुवर्षं ?] ते महामात्राः. FN. 1. Read—द्व्याहरः.

P. 46—T, L. 1. Note on महामता—Dhauli has तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च. This shows that the Kumāra, governor of Kaliṅga, was stationed at Tosali. L. 8. Note on अविजितानं—The reference to the अविजित अंत may suggest that महामात्र of line 1 refers to the अन्तमहामात्र. There may have been still some unconquered tribes in or near Kaliṅga. L. 11. Read—(दु*)ख[']।

P. 47—Omit FN. 2.

P. 48—TS. L. 7, L. 9, L. 13. Read—प्राप्नुयुः. L. 13. Read—इति[2a]. FN 2a. Read—मृत्यवर्गेषु. FN. 3. Add—Some scholars take it to be आयुक्तः.

P. 49—L. 2. Read—Rock Edict. FN. 4. Add—Suvarṇagiri, not yet satisfactorily identified, was the southernmost Maurya province. Isila was apparently in the present Chitaldrug region.

P. 50—FN. 10. Read—आराधेतवे.

P. 51—TS. L. 1. Note on अर्द्धतीणि—According to Hultzsch अर्द्धत्रिकानि. L. 11. Note on द्वयर्द्धं—According to Hultzsch द्विकार्द्धं.

P. 54—TS. L. 1. Read—देवानांप्रियः.

P. 57—The foot-notes are wrongly numbered 5—9 instead of 1—5. TS. L. 2. Read—अल्पास्रवं (=अल्पास्रवं=अल्पं पापं).

P. 58—TS. L. 3. Read—आस्रवं[4]. L. 4. Read आस्रवगामीनि[5].

P. 61—TS. L. 8. Note on रंघन्ते—According to Hultzsch, Pr. लघंति is from Sans. अर्हन्ति through अलहंति, अलघंति.

P. 63—TS. L. 10. Note on चातुर्मासीषु—See *infra*, p. 119, n. 2 and p. 134, n. 6. L. 14. Note—Cf. चतुर्दश्यष्टमी चैव अमावास्या च पूर्णिमा। पर्वान्येतानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च॥ (Apte, *Dict.*, s. v. पर्व).

P. 64—TS. L. 3. Read—प्राप्नुयात. L. 6. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः.

P. 67—T, L. 21. Read—सतविसति-वसा॰

P. 68—L. 9. Read—छायया. L. 12. Read—प्रतिभोगाय. L. 16. Read—सर्वपार्षदेषु. L. 19. Read—नानापार्षदेषु. L. 21. Read—पार्षदेषु. FN. 2. Add—For the omission of च, cf., e.g., *infra*, No. 35, l. 8. FN. 3. Read—Nigaṇṭha.

P. 71—L. 4. Read—Nigālī Sāgar. FN. 5. Add—Of the five Buddhas of the present *Kalpa* called Bhadda-kappa, four (Kakusandho, Koṇagamano, Kassapo and Gotamo) have already appeared; the fifth (Metteyyo) is still to appear.

P. 74—T. L. 8. Bead—चिलथितीके.

P. 76—TS. L. 11. Read—यूयं.

P. 78—L. 3. Note on सुखविहारतां—Better स्वाईविहारतां; cf. Childers, *Dict.*, s. v. *phāsu*. L. 21. Read—पियदसिना.

P. 79—L. 14. Read—इयं गुहा. L. 17. Note on the name Daśaratha—The name apparently means "one who is equal to ten *rathins*"; cf. अतिरथ, अर्द्धरथ, etc.

P. 80—FN. 1. Add—See *infra*, p. 223, n. 6.

P. 82—L. 14. Read—स[*]वगि(गी?)य[ा]नं [तल] [दिन] [स]।[5]समं दिन।

P. 83—TS. L. 1. Read—सर्पपं(?). FN. 1. Ll. 1-2. Read—दुमं दिन समाते. L. 4. Read—conveyed.

P. 85—L. 7. Add—S. N. Chakravarti, J.R.A.S.B.L., VII, No. 2,

1941. FN. 3. L. 4. Read—Madhūka (माधु=मधू). Read लच=लाज. L. 4. Read—cummin seed (अचुमोदा=अजमोदा). Read Amba (आम).

P. 86—L. 16. Read—[Coin] of Sophutes.

P. 89—FN. 3. Add—The non-mention of the Śuṅga king's name may suggest that the Śuṅga power was already on the decline.

P. 90—L. 16. Read—अयं. FN. 4. L. 5. Read—according.

P. 91—TS. L. 1. Read गरुडध्वजः. FN. 4. नईराजे.

P. 92—FN. 1. Add—The name may be Sarvatrāta. FN. 6. L. 8. Read—c. 376-414 A.D. Add—See p. 288, n. 4.

P. 94—L. 8. Read—1921.

P. 95—Ll. 8-9. Read—p. 552 ff. L. 17. Note on सवटनंडे—Or ०नंदे ? FN. L. 2. Omit—horizontal. L. 3. Read—and base of न. FN. 3. Add—For अचछ०=अत्यच्छय०, cf. मोग्गल्लानो=मौद्गल्यायन, etc.

P. 96—FN. 1. L. 1. Read—X. FN. 2. Add—Pushyamitra possibly never assumed any royal title, but posed as the last Maurya's (or, his nominal successor's?) General and Provincial Governor, even after his accession to imperial power.

P. 97—FN. 3. Add—"The line is carried two stages further by the Morā inscription which describes the daughter of Bahasatimitra (Bṛihāsvātimitra) as the wife of the king (of Mathurā) and 'the mother of living sons' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 120)." See *C. H. I.*, I, p. 525.

P. 99 -FN. 2. L. 7. Read—conquests. Add—The wide extent of Demetrios's kingdom is suggested by the existence of a city named Demetriaspolis in Arakhosia and of another named Dattāmitrī (city of Dattamitra, i.e. Demetrios) in Sauvīra (eastern part of Lower Sind). He has been identified with Timita of a Besnagar seal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 319.

P. 100—L. 10. Read—loose robe.

P. 102—FN. 2. L. 3. Read—in the second it has. L. 5. Read—inscriptions.

P. 103—L. 17. Read—पलुगभुद्र ओ.

P. 104—TS. L. 5. Read—शीर्यते. FN. 1. Add—He seems to have extended his power over some parts of western India. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A.D.) refers to the coins of Appolodotos and Menander used in his time at Barugaza (Broach). Numismatists usually assign Menander to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., but Gardner placed him about 110 B.C. (Smith, *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 258).

P. 105—L. 15. Read—θEOTPOπOY

P. 106—FN. 3. Read—Jupiter, the parallel.

P. 107—L. 7. Read—EPMAIOY

P. 113—FN. 5. Ll. 3-4. Read—are doubtful. Add—मुकिहिरयसश्प= मृग्याधिराजस्याश्मा ?

P. 115—FN. 2. Add—Konow's reading ह्व here as well as in No. 33. l. 2 is justified by the form of the letter in the Central Asian documents. See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Pl. XIV, Nos. 35-37.

P. 118—L. 1. Read—No. 25—Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription. L. 6. Add—influenced by Sanskrit.

P. 119—L. 3. Note on स्वामिनः—See *infra*, p. 166, n. 2. L. 4. Read—हेमन्तर्तोः. L. 9. Read—Soḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.?). L. 15. Note on गंजवरेण—This word is originally Persian. The *Rāj. Tar.*, VII, 42 (Stein, Intro., pp. 37-38) speaks of an office concerned with *gṛiha-kṛitya* (domestic affairs) placed in charge of a गञ्जवर (treasurer) and five *dibiras* (secretaries). *Dibira* is another Persian word. FN. 2. L. 4. Read—*Supra*, p. 63 and *infra*, p. 134, n. 6.

P. 120—T, L. 4. Omit the marks of punctuation. FN. 3. Read—Makedonian month. FN. 4. Read—mod. Chach, N. W. FN. 7. Add—अतिगधवस is possibly Sans. ज्ञातिकाधिवासान्. *Adhivāsa* means a neighbour.

P. 121—TS. L. 2. Read—Makedonian: Panemos. L. 4. Rend—पुत्रः पतिकः—तक्षशिलायां नगरे [यः] उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (=उत्तरस्थविभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम—. L. 7. Read—ज्ञातिकाधिवासान्.

P. 122—L. 12. Read—c. 21-50 A. D. FN. 3. Read—Saint Thomas (1st century A. D.). See *infra*, p. 288, n. 4.

P. 123—FN. 2. Note on देवव्रत—Rapson afterwards took व्र at a modified व and Sanskritized the word as देवपात (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 309, n.). Note on ह्व—Some scholars take it as a modified फ. FN. 6. Read—KOZOAA.

P. 125—FN. 4. Add—Rapson reads कल्पिशस (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 316) which is supported by the Central Asian Kharoshṭhī documents. Is the reading कळ्पिशस=कड्पिशस ?

P. 128—L. 1. Read—छडशिलए. L. 2. धितुण. TS. L. 3. Note on छत्रशिलके—Chhatraśilaka may be the name of a Vihāra or of a locality (mod. Kalawān?). Omit hyphen mark before सार्द्ध.

P. 129—T. L. 8. Read—मत-पितु.

P. 130—L. 2. Read—तेन इमे.

P. 131—TS. L. 2. Read—जिहोणिकस्य.

P. 133—L. 13. Read—वेपिटकस्य.

P. 134—FN. 6. Add—Note also the duration of Vishṇu's slumber during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha Śukla 11 to Kārttika Śukla 11 (*infra*, p. 383, n. 1). Cf. also आषाढशुक्लद्वादश्यां पौर्णमास्यामथापि वा। चातुर्मास्य-व्रतारम्भं कुर्यात् कर्कट-संक्रमे॥ अभावे तु तुलार्केऽपि मन्त्रेण नियमं व्रती। कार्त्तिके शुक्लद्वादश्यां विधिवत् तत समापयेत्॥ *Varāha P.* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*.

P. 135—L. 3. Note on Suivihār—It may have an original like Śuchivihāra. The old name of the locality seems to have been Damana.

P. 136—FN. 5. Add—See *infra*, p. 177, n. 1.

P. 137—TS. L. 5. Read—बौद्धस्थविरस्य.

P. 138—L. 13. Read—Kharoshṭhī.

P. 140—T. L. 3. Read—भिक्षुस्य.

P. 141—L. 5 Read—कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे.

P. 142—L. 8. Read—altar. L. 10. Read—KANHḌKI

P. 143—T. L. 8. Read—उपग्रस°. FN. L. 3. Note on NANA—Some scholars identify her with Anaitis the tutelary goddess of Balkh (Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*).

P. 144—L. 13. Read—श्वेतवर्मणा. L. 18. Read—p. 326ff. FN. 1. Add—Cf. अप्रमेयो = अप्रमेगो, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 111; also पर्याय= पज्जायो, परियागो (Ratnachandra, *Jainasiddhāntakaumudī*, p. 27). FN. 3. Add—That Huvishka began to rule from before the date of this record is proved by *infra*, No. 49.

P. 146—T. Ll. 4-5. Read—शालायं. FN. 1. Add—for the date of this king. FN. 2. Read—See *infra*.

P. 147—TS. L. 11. Read [च]। FN. 1. Add—Note that this date is earlier than that of *supra*, No. 48.

P. 148—TS. L. 4. Read—बोधिसत्त्वः.

P. 150—TS. L. 3. Read—दिवसे [प्रथमे] १—. FN. 3. L. 1. Read—सिद्धं, see *infra*, No. 57.

P. 153—T. L. 5. Read—हष्थुणः-मरेग्रस्य. Note—See *Khar. Ins.*, III, pl. XIV, Nos. 81, 93. L. 8. Omit hyphen mark before नरग्र. FN. 4. L. 1. Omit "and" before इश. Read—seemingly unnecessary.

P. 154—TS. L. 6. Read—हष्थुणः-मरेगस्य. FN. 3. Add—Buddhist works refer to (1) *aṇḍaja*, (2) *jalābuja*, (3) *saṃsedaja* or *sedaja* and (4) *opapātika* (Sans. *aupapātika*, born of accident without the intervention of parents).

P. 156—FN. L. 3. Read—the god OHḌA.

P. 157—L. 3. Add—or the Kshaharāta Family. FN. 1. Add—It may be that Rudradāman I is the first independent or semi-independent ruler amongst the Western Satraps. The

Kushāṇas were possibly losing their hold on Western India by his time. F N. 3. Add—That some royal charters were written not on *tāmra-paṭṭa* but on the easily perishable *kārpāsika-paṭa* (cf. p. 372, n. 8) is suggested by the paucity or absence of grants in regard to many kings, royal families and countries. Charters of the Kashmir kings have not been discovered, though they are referred to by Kalhaṇa. Private deeds were usually written on birch or palm leaves or on cloth.

P. 158—T, L. 8. Note on कापूराहारे—Fleet identified the head-quarters of Kāpūrāhāra with Kapura in the Baroda State, and Chikhalapadra with Chikhalda 2½ miles east-north-east of Kapura (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 98). Kāpura is mentioned in the Pardi grant of Traikūṭaka Dahrasena.

P. 159—TS. L. 14. Read—नारिकेलानां मूल०. FN. 3. L. 7. Read—*Carm. Lect.*

P. 160—FN. 1. L. 1. Read—VIII.

P. 161—FN. 1. L. 9. Read—Sanjan in the Ṭhāna Dist. FN. 2. L. 4. Read—प्राप्नुया०. L. 5. Read—ब्राह्मणाय.

P. 163—FN. 1. Add—See *infra*, p. 451, v. 7.

P. 164—L. 6. Read—VIII.

P. 165—T, L. 8. Note on करजिको—It should be noted that the same village of Karajika was re-granted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who ousted the Kshaharātas from these regions (see p. 192,n.and p.197,n.). Lüders' *List*, No. 1105 (Karle) records Śātakarṇi's order to the Amātya at Māmāḍa regarding the gift of Karajika-grāma in Māmālāhāra on the North Road (or,:in the Northern Division) as *bhikshu-hala* to the *pravrajita-bhikshus* dwelling in the Valūraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsaṃghikas.

P. 166—L. 1. Read—पूततीर्थे. L. 4. Read—भिक्षुभ्यः=भिक्षून् उद्दिश्य.

P. 167—L. 1. Add—or the Kārdamaka Family. FN. 4. Read ब=बद्यपक्ष=dark fortnight.

P. 169—FN. 1. Add—*infra*, p. 413, n. 2. FN. 2. Add—For the later history of the lake, see *infra*, p. 299ff. FN. 3. Add—Girinagara is the name of the ancient city now represented by Junāgaṛh. The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hill by an embankment across the gorge near the place where the inscription is found. See Bk. III, No. 25.

P. 171—FN. 10. Add—The passage possibly suggests that Rudradāman's father died before his birth.

P. 173—T, L. 6. Note on महाक्षत्रपनाम्ना—This possibly shows that Rudradāman became independent of the Kushāṇa overlord about the end of his rule. The Kushāṇa power by this time began to decline and was losing hold on the empire's southernmost province. FN. 3. L. 6. Read—वस्तुन्यपि. Omit FN. 5.

P. 174—FN. 9. L. 3. Read—Did Pahlava. Add—Pelhevi is the name of the Persian language in the intermediate stage of its development from the Zend language to mod. Persian. See *infra*, p. 197, n. 5.

P. 176—L. 5. Read FN. 6 on रोहिणि. L. 7. Read FN. 7 on वापी.

P. 179—L. 10. Read full-stop after "Prakrit." T, L. 2. Read—भद्र-मु(मु)खस. FN. 1. Add—The Mulwāsar stone inscription (now is the Dwārkā Library) has the date राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस सामिरुद्रसेनस्य वर्षे १००(+*)२०(+*)२ वैशाखबहुलपंचम्यां (i.e. 122 Saka = A.D. 200) and records the creation of a *śilā-lashṭi* by the sons of Vānijaka. For references, see Luders, No. 962.

P. 180—L. 16. Read—Sārdūla°

P. 184—L. 10. Note—See p. 185, n. 2.

P. 185—L. 5. Read—कुमारो भा-[1] L. 13. Read—देवी-नागंनिकायाः

P. 186—L. 2. Read—Nāgaṃnikā (?).

P. 187—L. 2. L. 6. Read—वेदिसेरि०. FN. 1. Add—An examination of the estampages kindly supplied by the A.S.I. show that the reading is certainly वेदिसिरि and not खदसिरि. Both वे and दि (cf. दिख in l. 5 and दिना, *passim*) are clear, and the form of ख (cf. दिख in l. 5 and दखिना, *passim*) is quite different from that of वे. FN. 2. Read सिमुक. Note—The Sanskrit form of the name may be शिमुख. FN. 6. Read धेनु=सवत्सा गौः.

P. 188—T, L. 1. Read—धंञगिरितंसपयुतं १. L. 5. Read—धंञगिरितस-पयुतं १ ...[।*]...*ोवायो. L. 19. Read—...रतो यिठो यञो.

P. 189—TS. L. 8. Read—द्रव्याहुत्या. L. 10. Read—अनालम्भनीय.

P. 190—L. 17. Read—दशरात्रः...[दक्षिणा] दत्ता. FN. L. 6. Note on हकु—cf. also अयिरहघान in *infra*, No. 100.

P. 192—TS. L. 2. Read—नासिकाहारान्तर्गत०. L. 3. Note on अमात्य—The word *amātya* is sometimes used in a wider sense to include a *mantrin*. A distinction is made, e. g., in Rāmavarman's commentary on the *Rām*. I. 7. 4: अमात्या देशादिकार्यनिर्वाहकाः ; मन्त्रिणो व्यवहारद्रष्टार इति भेदः (*Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 121). L. 6. Read—त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्थलयनवासिभ्यः. FN. 6. Add—Cf. "Much salt is produced in the Kāśī (Benares) Dist., where the soil is salty. Water drawn from the ground or from wells is poured on fields. When it dries out, a finger's breadth of salt is gathered on the surface. The landlords of the District utilise fallow lands in getting salt in the above way." Translated from the *Samāchāra-darpaṇa* (Beng.) of 21-8-1819; see *Saṃbādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, by B. N. Banerji, vol. I (1st. ed.), p. 107. See also *infra*, p. 410, n., p. 414, n. 6; p. 435, n. 1.

P. 193—L. 1. Read—एनत.

P. 194—T, L. 3. Read—कसते सो. L. 10. Read—पचमे.

P. 195—L. 2. Read—एनत. L. 5. Read—पञ्चमे.

P. 196—T, L. 4. Read—कुकुरापरंत[4]-अनुप. L. 5. Read—पारिचात-[5]सह्-कण्हगिरि. Read—आकरावंति-राजस[3]. Note that FN. 3 of this page should exchange place with FN. 1 of p. 197.

P. 197—FN. 5. L. 4. Read—Greeks.

P. 198—TS. L. 4. Read—मत्स्य-श्रीस्तन (or श्रीस्थान)-मलय.

P. 199—L. 9. Read विनिवर्त्तित. L. 23. Note on भद्रायणीयानां—Lüders, List, No. 1018, mentions a Buddhist school called भाद्रजनिज, apparently the same as भद्रायणीय. L. 24. Read—=पितामह्याः. L. 25. Read नप्ता [श्रीपुलुमावि:] दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृप्रीतये.

P. 200—L. 1. Read—ग्रामं. L. 2. Read—राज-भागभोगादि-परिहृतम्.

P. 201—FN. 1. Read—(Bühler).

P. 202—L. 16. Read (=परीक्षितः)[3] । दत्ता

P. 203—L. 5. Read—p. 113; Senart.

P. 205—T, L. 2. Read—[मस]³. Read—जनपदे[4]. L. 3. Read—[गा]-मिकस[5]. TS, L. 1 Read—(=शातवाहनकुलजस्य). L.5. Read—शाम्बेन (or साम्वेन). FN. 3. Add—See *infra*, p. 461, text, l. 26. Or, the engraver was going to write महासेना॰, but left out हा. He erased the two *aksharas* and engraved the word afresh.

P. 208—T, L. 4. Note on ओघाटितं—Nanda has been taken to be a king of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra and the expression तिवससत as either 300 or 103 years. If however a Nanda king is referred to, the passage cannot mean 103 years, as the record is to be palaeographically placed not about one century but about three centuries after the Nanda kings. तिवससत seems to indicate "300 years in round number." The meaning "103 years" which would bring us to c. 223 B. C., even if we count from 326 B.C. when the Nanda dynasty was overthrown, is rendered impossible also by the facts that Kaliṅga was under Aśoka up to about 232 B.C. and that Khāravela was preceded by at least two generations of

kings belonging to his own family. FN. 7. Add—Gorathagiri has been identified by Jackson with the Barābar hills.

P. 210—FN. 14. Read—Indraji: पटालके. FN. 17. Read—बोद्धिने. FN. 19. Read—Prinsep.

P. 211—TS. L. 9. Read—प्राप्नोति (=प्राप्नोत्). L. 11. Read—प्रतिसमकारयत.

P. 212—L. 10. Read—(=धर्षणानन्तरं). L. 11. Read— .. सेनावाहनं. L. 12. Read—सह याति. L. 17. Note on पीथुण्डं—Or possibly पृथुदं. Prithuda may be the original of Ptolemy's Pitundra. L. 20. Read—उत्तरापथराजान्. L. 21. Read—राजानं. L. 23. Read—[मुद्राणां]. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—Pithundra.

P. 213—L. 4. Read—क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः. L. 6. Read—आश्रय-गुहाः. L. 7. Read—अर्हन्निषद्या०. L. 13. Read—(=चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०). L. 20. Add—Barua, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 159. FN. 1. Omit the last sentence beginning with "I am now."

P. 214—L. 15. Add—Barua, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 160. L. 20. Read लेण['] . FN. 1. Add—Some scholars read पसादानं.

P. 215—L. 4. Read—of Kuberaka. FN. 1. L. 18. Read—"ordinary medial *ā*" like.

P. 216—L. 5. Read—निमिता. L. 25. Read—गोसालकानं.

P. 217—L. 3. Read—अपकृष्टः for अपकरः. L. 8. Read—समणदाप[तो] [हित]. L. 12. पुतो. L. 17. Read—राजप्रमुखा । शारीरस्य. L. 21. Read—तर-[पू ?]त. L. 22. Add—).

P. 218—L. 3. Read—छदिकोघ. L. 22. Read—मातृग्रामस्य (=स्त्रीसङ्घस्य). Read ग्लानकार्य्यस्य. L. 23. Possibly आयसक-गोष्ठ्याः.

P. 219—L. 3. Read—Nos. 98-100. L. 13. Read—बोधिनो. L. 16. Read—हिरण-^{6}कोटि०.

P. 220—T, L. 6. Read—परिनामेतुनं^{8}. FN. 11. Read—*Virūpāksha*.

P. 221—L. 1. Read—गोशतसहस्र. L. 3. Read—पितृस्वसा. L. 5. Read—कृपार्हं. Read— -दान. L. 18. Read—खंभं

P. 223—TS. L. 8. Read—[च कारितवती] । पर्ण०. FN. 1. Add—but cf.

पंदरस in *supra*, No. 91. FN. 2. Omit. FN. 6. Add—Cf. खस्ति-मुख=a Brāhmaṇa.

P. 224—T. L. 1. Read इखाकुराज.

P. 225—L. 10. Read—भदिलाय [।*] L. 13. Note on नागंन—Names like this indicate the name-suffix *aṃṇa* in place of *aṃṇaka* (see p. 185, n. 3). The *ka* is *svārthika*. Read बोधिरुख. FN, 1. Add—See p. 223, n. 6.

P. 226—L. 10. Read—बोधिश्रिया. L. 14. Read—पितामहस्य. L. 16. Read—बुद्धिवाणोकस्य, मातुः. L. 18. Omit FN mark from एवम्. L. 21. Note on कण्टकशोले—Or कण्टकशौले or कण्टकशूले ? FN. 1. L. 6. Read—Annam.

P. 227—T, L. 4. Read—सहोदरा. FN. Omit the first sentence.

P. 228—L. 4. Read—पंचम. L. 5. Read—हित[।]य.

P. 229—T, L. 8. Omit FN mark from चंतमूलस.

P. 230—T, L. 4. Read—अगिहोतगिधेम. FN. 6. Omit the first sentence.

P. 231—TS, L. 1. Read—सम्बुद्धाय. L. 6. Read—वानवासक.

P. 232—L. 2. Read—Inscriptions. L. 13. Read—अ[वय]ह.

P. 235—FN, L. 1. Read—ग्.

P. 236—L. 5. Read—स्थाने. L. 6. Read—खोतम्ने. L. 11. Read—खोतम्ने. L. 19. Read—वुक्कोस्.

P. 238—T, L. 3. Read—अरोगेमि.

P. 239—L. 10. Read—निष्काल०. L. 14. Read—=तस्य. L. 16. Add—"

P. 240—T, L. 1. Read—प्रियदर्शन०. L. 7. Read—वेग्-. TS, L. 1. Read—नामानं. L. 7. Read स्फूर्तियुक्तं.

P. 241—L. 11. Read—चोभवो.

P. 243—T. L. 5. Read—पदमुलंमि. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—Namilgayā. FN. 4. L. 2. Read—1935.

P. 245—TS. L. 18. Note on विहतयति—Or विहेठयति from विहेठ, injury.

P. 247— L. 12. Read—रम्सोत्सस. L. 16. Read—रम्मोत्सस.

P. 248—L. 2. Read—मोगतस् त[न] महत्वन अनतेन [।*]. L. 5. Read—कित्सैत्सस्. TS. L. 2. रम्पोत्सस्य (=रम्पोत्सेण). L. 10. Read—

सर्वभोगपरिभोगाय. L. 13. Read—साक्षिणौ. FN. 4. Read—words. Read—मिलिम and खि.

P. 254—L. 10. Read—c. 330-76 A.D.

P. 256—FN. 2. L. 5. Read—Guttala in Dharwar Dist.

P. 257—FN. 2. Add—In place of Achyuta and Nandin, we may also suggest one name, viz. Achyutanandin.

P. 258—FN. 5. Omit.

P. 259— L. 6. Read—॰र्विद्वज्जनोप॰. L. 9. Note on श्रीगुप्त—The name of this prince is Gupta and not Śrīgupta. It is therefore unreasonable to identify him with Śrīgupta mentioned by I-tsing as having lived about 175 A.D.

P. 261—T. L. 15. Read—[सम्मा*]नितः. FN. 3. Add—cf. कुबेरनागा and कुबेरनागदेवी in *infra*, Nos. 60-61.

P. 262—L. 5. Read—परिव्रिढ्नार्थम्

P. 263—FN. 4. Read ॰न्द्रान्तक. FN. 6. Read—been indiscriminately.

P. 264—FN, 7. Note on अक्षपटलाधिकृत—The *Arthaśāstra* suggests that he was also the Accountant General. He kept the account of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, *vyaji* or premia realised in kind or cash, status of Government agency employed, wages paid, free labourers engaged in connection with capital invested or any work undertaken, rates of barter and price of gems and commodities. Add—See p. 333, n. 7. FN. 9. Read—expression.

P. 265—FN. 2. Read—ओं सिद्धिः. FN. 3. Read—॰वारादयोध्या. FN. 4. L. 6. Read—दौहित्रो. FN. 5. Read—चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुर्मे॰

P. 266—FN. 5. Read—उपरिकर, 'tax paid by temporary tenants'; see *infra* p. 371, n. 5. FN. 9. Add—But later the word; was also used to denote any religious gift (*infra*, No. 37, l. 8).

P. 267—FN. 2. L. 2. Read—सि.

P. 268—L. 14. Read—altar. L. 15. Read—in Brāhmī. FN. 2. L. 2. Read—सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता· Add—It appears that the necessity of

sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only when Chandragupta I became an emperor and that Samudragupta was the later name of the prince whose early name was without *gupta*-ending like that of his grandfather. His early name was probably Kācha. The name of the Gupta dynasty is possibly due to the name-ending of Chandragupta I and his successors and not to the name of Gupta, the first but a less important prince of the line.

P. 270—FN. 3. L. 3. Read—376-77 A.D. FN. 4. Add—or एकपट्टे.

P. 272—FN. 3. Read—॰मुर्व्यां. FN. 4. Add—अवक्रय=price.

P. 273—FN. 7. Note on पञ्चमण्डली—cf. पाचक of a Nepalese inscription (*C. I. I.*, III. Intro., p. 183). Note on राजकुल—The word also means the king's court or a court of justice, and hence a member of that court.

P. 274—L. 9. Read—Gupta year 90+x(=AD. 409-10+x). FN. 4. L. 1. Read—were originally meant.

P. 275—FN. 1. Add—(Allan, *Cat.*, p. 51). FN. 2. L. 2. Add before (2)—who belonged to the fifth century (see *infra*, note 3).

P. 276—T. L. 1. Read—॰द्वर्त्तयतः. L. 2. Read—खड्गेन.

P. 279—L. 3. Read—संतताद्भुत. L. 8. Read—[ख]ड्गं[5]. L. 15. Read—वरस्तंभो[च्छ्रा]यः.

P. 281—L. 7. Read—॰वापमेकं[6]. L. 9. Read—दत्तं. FN. 6. L. 2. Read—Bengal *bighā* (=80 square cubits=1600 sq. yards=$\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre which is 4840 sq. yards). See p. 286, n. 9; p. 500f. Modern Kulavāy (=Kulyavāpa), Doṇ (=Droṇavāpa) and Āṛhā (=Āḍhavāpa) have lost their original denotations. *Omit the three sentences beginning with* "The word may also", "According to Kullūka" *and* "Medhātithi says".

P. 282—L. 4 Read—भद्रं न[1]. L. 5. Read—No. 17.

P. 283—FN. 3. L. 4. Add before देवद्रोणी—Of course one may suggest the correction पारगो भारडिद-समुद्र॰. In that case Bhāraḍida may possibly be identified with Bharādhī. *Add at the end*

—The passage श्रीसोमनाथदेवद्रोणीप्रतिबद्धमहायणान्तःपाति० of the Veraval inscription, l. 12, may suggest that the word sometimes meant a *devasthāna* or temple (*infra*, p. 361, n.).

P. 284—FN. 6. Add—It may be pointed out that the despised *Vaidya* caste born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother (*Mahābh.*, XIII, 9) is the outcast now called Vediyā and has little to do with the Bengal Vaidyas. FN. 10. Add before "For नीवि"—See *infra*, p. 338, n. 4.

P. 285—FN. 5. Read—श्लोको.

P. 286—FN. 9. L. 6. Read—See *infra*, p. 332, n. 7; p. 347, n. 5.

P. 287—L. 1. Read—श्लोकौ. FN. 8. Read—a symbol.

P. 288—L. 3. Read—Inscription mentioning Kumāra.

P. 289—L. 13. Read—विषये० FN. 1. Add—Cf. *infra*, Nos. 51-52.

P. 290—L. 18. Read—भूमे०.

P. 293—L. 14. Read—सुमेरु०

P. 294—L. 14. Read—बंधुवर्म्म०

P. 295—L. 8. Read—तुषार-कण०. L. 17. Read—पार्त्थिवैः. FN. 3. Add—स्थित्या=according to the established custom, i.e., the custom established by the Republic of the Mālavas. Cf. ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या in *infra*, No. 58, l. 6. FN. 4. L. 6. *Omit*—In that case. *Ll. 8-9. Omit the sentence beginning with* "If this interpretation" *and Read*—The Mandasor inscription (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 7) of Vikrama year 524 (=467 A.D.) records the donation of Dattabhaṭa (son of Vāyurakshita who was a general of Govinda Gupta son of Chandra Gupta II), the commander-in-chief of king Prabhākara, shows that Prabhākara was a son or successor of Bandhuvarman and was possibly ruling in A.D. 473.

P. 296—FN. Ll. 1-2. *Omit matter within brackets and Read*—Mālwā king in the Mālava year.

P. 298—Ll. 11-12. Read—Inscription [of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta] of the time of Kumāra Gupta I. *Note*—Considering the date of

the record, it ought to have been placed above between No. 16 and No. 17. Mr. M. B. Garde has recently published the inscription with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117. More than half of the stone has broken away from the left-hand side.

TEXT[1]

1 .....⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑— —

⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑— —

⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑[र]।रिर्य्यस्य लोकत्रयान्ते ।[3]

चरणकमलमत्यं[3] वन्द्येते सिद्धसङ्घैः[4] [॥*][5]

राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनु जयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्

2 — — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —[।*]

— — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —

— — — —⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— —[॥*][6]

...श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः

कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] [।*]

ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम्[7]

वीर्य्योग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् [॥*][8]

3 ...— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [गेश?]-गौरः [।*]

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1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

2 The *danda* is unnecessary. The first word may be मुरारि.

3 Read कमलमच्छं वन्द्यते. Or, better कमलमन्तं.

4 Read सद्धै

5 Metre: मालिनी

6 Metre: स्रग्धरा

7 Read पत्नीं

8 Metre: उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा)

क्षित्यम्बरे गुणसमूहमयूखजालो
नाम्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः [॥*][1]
स पूर्व्वजानां स्थिरसत्वकीर्त्ति-
र्भुजार्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिपपद्य ॥[2]
4 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*][3]...
[गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्][4]
समा शते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते ।
कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रिथिव्याम्[5]
विराजामाने[6] शरदीव सूर्य्ये ॥[7]
वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे
5 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*][8]...
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — त-
श्श्रीदेव इत्यूर्ज्जित-नामधेयः [॥*][9]
तदग्रजो(ऽ*)भूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञ-
स्ततो(ऽ*)नुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः [।*]

---

1 Metre: वसन्ततिलका. The first word may be नगेश.

2 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

3 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

4 Read ०श्वराणां.

5 Read पृथिव्यां.

6 Read विराज०

7 Metre: उपजाति.

8 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Vaṭodaka has been indentified with the village of Badoh in the Bhilsa Dist, Gwalior State.

9 Metre: इन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

ततो(ऽ*)वरो यश्च स भद्रदेव-

स्तत ☓ कनीयानपि सङ्गदेव[:][1] [॥*][2]

6 ...⏑ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

⏑ — ⌣ — — ⌣ न-सक्त-चित्ताः [।*]

समानवृत्ताकृति[भावधीराः]

[कृता]लयास्तुम्बवने ब[भू]वुः ॥[3]

अकारयंस्ते गिरि[श्रि]व्रतुङ्गं[4]

शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[वासहर्म्यम्*] [।*]

⏑ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —

⏑ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — [॥*][5]

P. 299—L. 21. Read—अर्द्धसम.

P. 301—L. 17. Read—विधाय.

P. 303—FN. 1, L. 2. Read—all-pervading.

P. 304—L. 15 Read—ब्रह्मण्य. L. 16. Read—शक्रः. FN. 4. Omit matter and Read—शक्र=प्रियंवद. FN. 5. Read—पर्णदत्तात.

P. 308—L. 17. Read—No. 26—Kahāum.

P. 310—FN. 4. Add—See *infra*, p. 345, n. 4.

P. 311—FN. 5. L. 3. Read—the interest or income was. FN. 8. Read—आजस्रिक.

P. 312—L. 13. Read—शार्दूल०.

P. 313—L. 2. Read—दौहित्रस्य.

P. 316—FN. 3. L. 4. Read—A line in Part II contained.

P. 319—FN. 1. Add—V. S. Agrawala (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, III, p. 82) points out that Bhadrā is the wife of Kubera

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1 Read सङ्ग०

2 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा.

3 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Tumbavana is Tumain in the Guna Dist., Gwalior State.

4 Read श्रृङ्ग

5 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

(Vaiśravaṇa). *FN. 4. Add*—The date on the coin No. 527 in Allan's *Cat.*, has been doubtfully read as 145 or 148. A comparison of the figures for 8 found on the coins of the Śakas of western India however shows that the date is 148 = A.D. 167-68.

P. 323—T. L. 1. Read—समतिक्रान्ते. L. 9. Read—प्रतिमां[3]. F N. 3. Add—Read यदत्र प्रतिमां पुरुषं in verse 4. FN. 5. Add—Note that Bhikshus and Arhats are often called *buddha-putta*.

P. 324—FN. 2. L. 4. Add before ग्रामिक—The word कुटुम्बिन् is the origin of Koormi or Kulmbi, a prominent agriculturist caste of North India.

P. 325—FN. 1. L. 3. Read—अग्रदा.

P. 328—L. 4. Add—D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 432f. FN. 4. Omit matter and Read—शण्डके may also be read गण्डके.

P. 331—FN. 4. L. 4. Read—dominions possibly.

P. 333—FN. 1. Read—बाधाब. FN. 7. L. 8. Read—p. 264. Add—like the Skytho-Parthians. The word गज्जवर (originally Persian) is used *supra*, p. 119. सामन्त=feudatory chief.

P. 341—L. 7. Add—(c. 340-60 A.D.). F. N. 1. L. 4. Read—Mālwā (*infra*, No. 51).

P. 342—FN. 4. Add—Ptolemy's Pentapolis?

P. 343—FN. 1. Read—∘धयति is right, but the order.

P. 344—FN. 5. Add—निम्र is the ordinary Pr. form for Sans. निम्न.

P. 347—L. 12. Read—दातुमि[ति]. FN. 3. L. 1. Read—पञ्चस्तूप (mod. Pānchthupī ?)

P. 351—FN. 2. Add—Chaṭṭa, as suggested by Pargiter, is apparently the same as the modern Chaṭṭopādhyāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to the popular tradition however the ancestors of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal came to the country from Kānyakubja or Kolāñcha at the invitation of a king named

Ādiśūra in the Śaka year 654 (=732 A.D.). As I have elsewhere pointed out, the Maithilī Brahmanic Mūlagrāma (the place where a family claims to have originally lived; same as the Bengali *Gāi*) Gaṅgauli is the same as the Bengali Brahmanic (Kulīna) cognomen Gāṅgulī or Gaṅgopādhyāya (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, 1942, p. 83). The usual identification of the locality in question with Gāṅgur in the Burdwan Dist. is unwarranted. The place was very probably outside Bengal. These facts appear to show that the social division of high class Bengal Brāhmaṇas into Rāḍhīya and Vārendra and the attempt to locate the 56 Rāḍhīya and 100 Vārendra *gāis* respectively in Rāḍha and Varendra (which as a name is not earlier than the age of the Pālas) are unsound.

The attempt is apparently connected with the mythical account of the rise of Kulinism in Bengal. It is to be noted that Kulinism is also found in Mithilā. There the credit for its introduction is given to a medieval king named Harisiṃha who holds in the story of the *kulapañjīkāras* the same position as king Ballālasena does in Bengal. But the silence of epigraphic records on this point is worth noticing. That the tradition of Ādiśūra is late is suggested by the reference to the Śaka era which was popular in S. India and was introduced into Bengal by the Senas in the 11th-12th centuries A.D. There is no truth in the fantastic idea that learned Brāhmaṇas could not be found in East Bengal and that respectable Brāhmaṇa families now living in eastern and central Bengal and calling themselves Rāḍhīya all migrated from their original home in Rāḍha. The artificial increase in the number of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas and the absence of *Vaṅgaja* Brāhmaṇa may be due to extraordinary fovour extended to the Rāḍhīyas by kings of the Sena Dynasty which was after all a Rāḍhīya family

later on ruling from Vikramapura. The existence of Brāhmaṇas outside Rāḍha and Varendra in early times is sufficiently proved by epigraphic evidence. As to the expansion of Aryanism in Eastern India, it may be pointed out that the early easternmost Aryan settlement was Mithilā from where Aryan culture spread over the countries of Jarāsandha of Magadha, Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva of North Bengal and Bhagadatta of Prāgyotisha (possibly derived from *prāgjyotis*, i.e. the dawn, which would then indicate the easterly course of the expansion of Aryan culture from Mithilā). East Bengal thus appears to have received Aryanism from the north and not from Rāḍha. Rāḍha was certainly Aryanized later than North Bengal; but its culture seems to be indebted not only to the north but also to the east. Epigraphic evidence proves that both North and East Bengal acknowledged the Prakrit language and the Brāhmī script long before the Christian era. No such proof has as yet come to light with reference to Rāḍha. *FN. 11. L. 1. Note on "Kulyavāpa"*—One K. of cultivated land was sold at 4 *dīnāras*=64 *rūpakas* in Central Bengal and one K. of fallow land at 2 *dīnāras*=32 *rūpaks*, or 3 *dīnāras*=48 *rūpakas* in North Bengal. The price of a *bighā* of land in many parts of the Faridpur District is even to-day almost nominal as they are thinly populated. In *average*, the price of a *bighā* of land now may be said roughly to be Rs. 20. But the purchasing power of the Gupta silver coin was much higher than the modern Rupee. From a study of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, it has been pointed out (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 52) that one rupee of Akbar's time was equal in purchasing power to six rupees in 1912, i. e. even before the First World War. The Chinese traveller Fa-hian, in his transactions with the common people of East India never met with coined money but only saw cowries. This

fact shows that the purchaging power of the Gupta *rūpaka* was even higher than Akbar's rupee. Sixty-four Gupta *rūpakas* were therefore equal to at least about six hundred forty rupees of to-day. *Kulyavāpa* was therefore a very large area of land. Bengali authors, especially of the *Smṛiti* school (cf. Kullūka on Manu, VII, 126 ; *Śabdakalpa*, s. v. *mushṭi* and *puskala*) refer to the following measurement of paddy—अष्टमुष्टिर्भवेत् कुचिः कुचयोऽष्टौ च पुष्कलम् । पुष्कलानि तु चत्वारि आढकः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥ चतुराढको भवेद्द्रोणः, etc. According to Medinīkara, a *kulya* is equal to eight *droṇas*. Now, according to the tradition followed by the Bengal *smārtas* (also according to actual measurement of the required number of handfuls), a *droṇa* of paddy is equal in the modern measure to 1md. 24srs. or 2mds. One *kulya* is thus equal to 12mds. 32 srs. or 16mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy was no doubt called *kulyavāpa* (cf. *Amarakośa*, Vaiśya, 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1md. of paddy for 10 *bighās*, seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy would require between125 and 160 *bighās*. A Kulyavāpa was thus originally not less than 125 *bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one Kulyavāpa would be from 38 to 48 *bighās*, as the rate is 1md. of paddy-seeds for 3 *bighās*. For further discussion, see my papers in *Bhāratbarsha* (Beng.), 1349 B. S., p. 263ff and in *R. K. Mookerjee Volume*.

FN. 11. L. 6. *Note on "the sea"*—The medieval tradition regarding the expansion of the Bay of Bengal as far as Devīkoṭa or Bāṇgarh in the Dināajpur District referred to in such works as Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa's *Padachandrikā* (पूर्वे किल देवीकोटसमीपे पश्चिमे पूर्वोदधिरासीत्, *I. H. Q.*, XVII, p. 471) is apparently due to the existence in the central region of Bengal of large *bils* or lakes like the Chalan.

P. 353—*FN. 14 Read*—Read.

p. 355—FN. 13. Read—॰दस्मद्विज्ञाप्य.

P. 358—FN. 1 L. 1. Read—भवद्भ्यः. FN. 5. L. 3. Read—XXIII.

P. 360—FN. 9. Note on कार्त्ताकृतिक—Cf. कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां विनियोजकः= chief executive officer to finally determine what ought or what ought not to be done in affairs of state (Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, XIII, pp. 128-29). Mr. K. G. Goswami Sastri suggests to me that कृताकृत means पूर्वं कृतं पश्चादकृतम्. In that case कार्त्ताकृतिक may indicate a judge of an appellate court.

P. 361—L. 2. Read—षष्ठिदत्त.

P. 365—FN. 1. Add—Numismatic evidence suggests that Kushāṇa influence extended over large parts of Bengal and Orissa.

P. 366—FN. 1. L. 20. Read—III, pp. 61-64. L. 24. Read—e.g. in the records.

P. 371—FN. 6. Ll. 12-13. Read—are intended. That they were royal officers is possibly supported by *infra*, No. 58, l. 2. The fines imposed. *Add*—Ghoshal takes चोरदण्ड in the sense of police-tax (*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 211). Mirashi (*Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, p. 23) thinks that this refers to immunity from entry of royal soldiers and policemen except when they had to punish thieves, etc.

P. 372—FN. 6. Add—or तद्.

P. 373—FN. 9. L. 1. Read—भोगिक. *Add*—Or it may be a case of wrong *sandhi* of दूतकः+महा॰.

P. 374—L. 1. Read—(b) Parivrājaka. L. 17. Read—नृप॰.

P. 375—L. 9. Read—पालयिष्णो॰

P. 377—FN. 2. Add—For another record of V. S. 474(=A.D. 417) of Naravarman, see *Addenda et Corrigenda* on p. 388.

P. 378—L. 11. Read—कृतोद्यमः

P. 382—FN. 3. L. 3. Read—सौम्येषु. L. 5. Read—सोत्तर॰

P. 384—L. 5. Read—नयन(:*). FN. 3. Omit the second sentence. FN. 7. L. 2. Omit—and नयनः in l. 27.

P. 385—L. 15. Read—विशुद्ध-भूरि

P. 386—FN. 2. (last line). Read—p. 388.

P. 388—FN. 1. L. 7. Read—true in all. Add—In the Biharkotra inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 131), Naravarman is called Aulikara (=Limakara, according to N.P.Chakravarti). Yaśovarman thus belonged to the same family as Naravarman.

P. 390—FN. 5. Ll. 3-4. Read—p. 157, n.

P. 391—L. 20. Read—लिखितेषु[4]. Read FN. 1. at p. 392 as FN. 4 at p. 391. In that FN. L. 2. Read—custom, seems.

P. 392—L. 5. Omit FN. mark on मानिनीनां. L. 8. Read—कान्तं[1]. L. 13. Read—धीमां[2]. L. 17. Read उत्कीर्णा[3]. Read FN. 2, 3 and 4 respectively as 1, 2 and 3.

P. 394—FN. 4. L. 4. Read—conquered.

P. 397—FN. 2. Add—Note that Dhanyavishṇu has no royal title, though Airikiṇa is referred to as his own *vishaya*. This possibly shows that Dhanyavishṇu's position as *vishaya-pati* was not as yet sanctioned by Toramāṇa who recently occupied the country. This fact may also suggest that the year refers to Toramāṇa's occupation of Mālwā and not to his actual regnal year which was possibly not known to Dhanyavishṇu.

P. 398—FN. 4. L. 9. Read—Suṅga.

P. 399—FN. 4. L. 1. Read—०वेणिकाद्भुत०. आवेणिकाद्भुतधर्म=the marvellous *dharmas* called *āveṇika* (see *infra*, p. 464, n.). *I.e.*, attained the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, etc.

P. 400—T,L. 10. Read—विधत्ते

P. 401—L. 11. Read—मुहूर्त्तं

P. 403—FN. 5. L. 1. Read—*drāṅgika*. Add—*draṅga* is used in *Rāj. Tar.* (VIII, 2010) in the sense of an interior post for the collection of duties.

P. 404—L. 1. Read द्राङ्गिक. Read FN. 4 as FN. 6 and also FN. 6 as FN. 4.

P. 405—L. 9. Omit FN. mark on प्राप्नोति. L. 10. Read—॰दिभि(:*) FN. 9. Omit—प्राप्नोति and

P. 406—FN. 2. Add—Bk. III, No. 15, etc. It is a matter of regret that Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Mr. D. B. Mahajan who have recently edited this record in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 137 ff have accepted this conclusion but have given no credit to the author of this pages (cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939, p. x f). It may also be pointed out in this connection that modern contributors to the *Ep. Ind.* are often shy in acknowledging indebtedness to others, apparently because this journal does not usually publish comments and criticisms. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi who has recently edited (*Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 45, n. 2.) a Śālaṅkāyana inscription has tried in his paper to prove at some length the unhistoricity of an alleged Śālaṅkāyana king named Buddhavarman. This however was conclusively proved by me as early as 1933 (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208ff; *Journ. Dep. Let.*, XXVI, p. 60; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 63ff.). It is curious that my friends refer to me not when they adopt my views and arguments but only when they think they can offer a suggestion better than mine.

P. 408—FN. 5. Add—*Si* is often found as a loc. sing. termination after words ending in *a* in Ardha-Māgadhī. But it may be that, as suggested by Mirashi and Mahajan, it is a gen. plu. termination formed on the analogy of pronouns like तेसि (=तेषाम्).

P. 409—FN. 1. Add—Cf. also करंणि for Sans. करणीय.

P. 410—FN. (last line). Read—p. 414, n. 6.

P. 412—FN. 4. Add—cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 88, n. 1.

P. 413—L. 8. Read—०स्माभि(:*). Omit the FN. mark. FN. 2. L. 3. Read—गोत्रिणी. L. 5. Read—Laghuhārīta(?). L. 13. Read—हृदयेन्द्रियैः. Add—The *Parāśaramādhava* refers to Gāndharva and other marriages and to the case of the Putrikā (cf. Laugākshi), when *gotrāntara* does not take place owing to *pradānābhava*. According to the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the father's *sapiṇḍas* are also the *sapiṇḍas* of the mother, but not so in the case of the Putrikā. N. C. Sengupta refers to the Gṛihya rituals in course of which the bride is universally called by the *gotra* name of her husband (*J.A.S.B.L.*, IV, p. 149ff). FN. 4. Omit.

P. 414—FN. 5. L. 2. Read—officers were.

P. 416—L. 3. Read—०द्धयातो. L. 10. Read—पौत्रा[9]. Read—FN. 4 as FN. 5, FN. 5 as FN.6, FN. 6 as FN. 8 and FN. 8 as FN. 9.

P. 417—FN. 14. Read—अतीता

P. 420—L. 7. Read—युधिष्ठिर

P. 423—FN. 10. Read—कोश-राष्ट्र

P. 426—FN. 2. Note—A more useful facsimile of the Ajaṇṭā record has been recently published in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

P. 427—L. 18. Read—नयवांस्तदा. FN. 4. Read—Mirashi's view has been reiterated in the paper on the Basim grant in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 137ff. श्रीविंध्यसेन may not be impossible.

P. 430—L. 11. Read—धर्म्मेण·

P. 431—FN. 1. Omit—नभोश्रितं

P. 433—FN. 2. Add—The peculiar forms of the letters are merely cursive ones. FN. 7. Add—I am now convinced that the letter is न, not ण.

P. 435—FN. 1. Add—Cf. *Addenda et Corrigenda* on p. 192, n. 6.

P. 436—TS. L. 10. Read—कुर्य्युः. FN. 1. Read—margin on the level

of lines. FN. 3. Read—margin on the level of lines. FN. 4. L. 1. Karṇāṭa.

P. 437—L. 2. Read—Year 8.

P. 441—TS. L. 9. Read—आरामं

P. 442—L. 14. Read—वत्तेंत. L. 18. Read—इति॥

P. 444—TS. L. 4. Read—भगवन्नारा॰

P. 447—L. 8. Read—निमित्तं

P. 448—L. 4. Read—भूतो

P. 452—L. 13. Read—॰ष्वरातिषु. FN. 2. L. 2. Read—p. 247.

P. 455—FN. 5. Add—It is however possible to suggest that the poet did not actually engrave but only wrote on the stone and the engraver cut the stone according to the poet's letters. This may have been the custom also followed in regard to some of the copper-plates.

P. 457—FN. 7. L. 2. Read—Sylhet Dist.

P. 465—FN. 2. L. 1. Read—formula.

P. 466—FN. 2. L. 4. Read—*pāda* 3; V. 2, *pāda* 3; V. 3, *pāda* 1.

P. 467—FN. 1. L. 5. Read—पुण्यम्

P. 470—FN. 8. L. 2. Read—ख्यातां पुरीं

P. 472—L. 8. Read—[नृ]-. L. 14. Read—विविचता. Read—सिंहासनाद्धयासने.

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